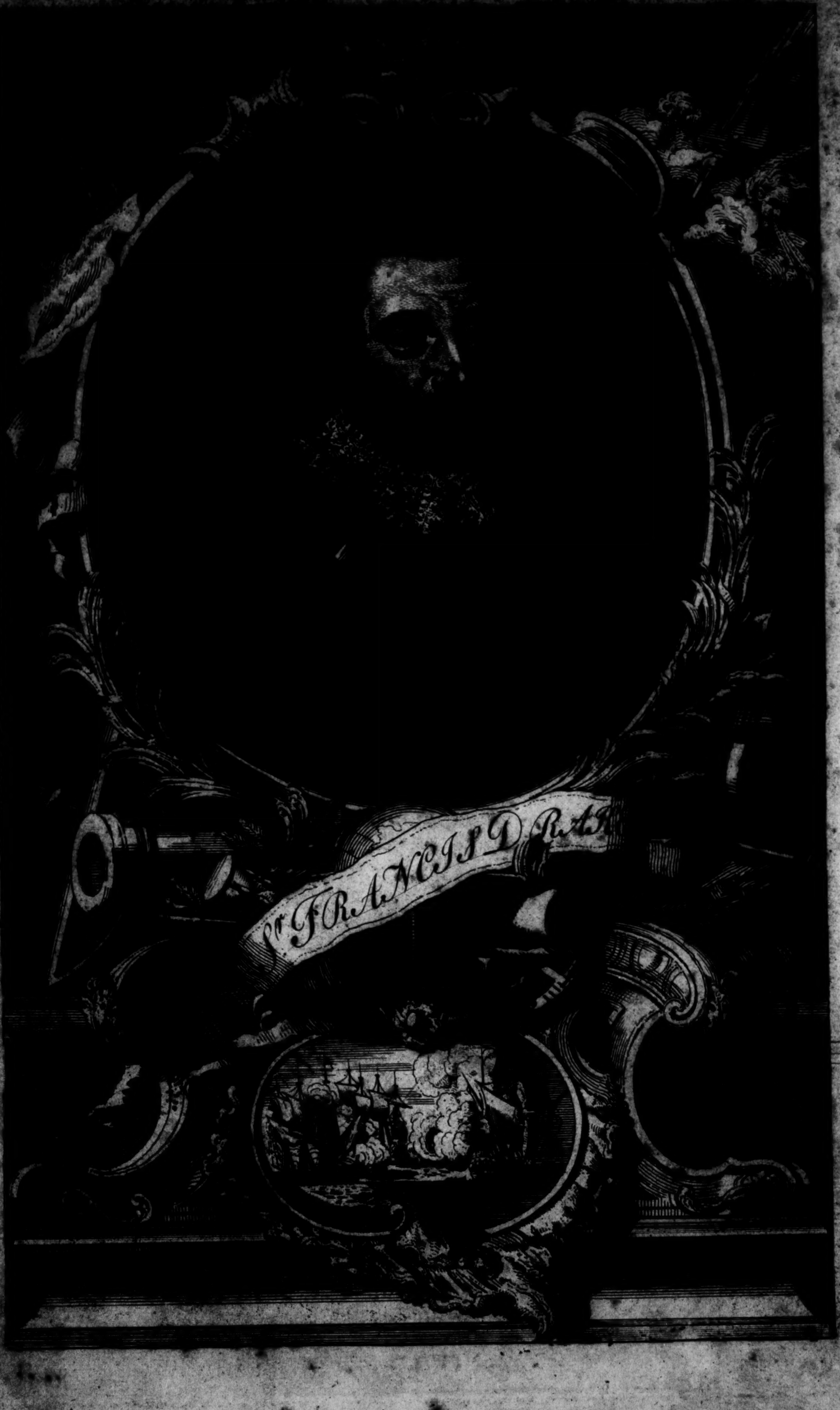
Sr FRANCIS DRAK

THE

NAVAL HISTORY

OF

BRITAIN,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Periods of which there are Accounts in HISTORY,

TO

The CONCLUSION of the YEAR M.DCC.LVI.

Compiled from the Papers of the Late

Honourable Captain **GEORGE BERKLEY,**

Commander of His Majeſty's Ship WINDSOR,

And illuſtrated with

A great Number of Figures, on Folio Copper-Plates, of SEA CHARTS, HEADS, ENGAGEMENTS, and other SUBJECTS.

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MDCCLVI.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO HIS

ROYAL HIGHNESS

PRINCE *EDWARD*.

SIR,

I HAVE the Honour to lay at Your Highneſs's Feet, the Naval Hiſtory of a Country, the moſt diſtinguiſhed in the World; that wherein You were born: A Work deſigned by another; a Commander in the Service he wrote to celebrate; and which, if Death had not prevented, would have come more perfect from his Hand.

Your Highneſs will here read the Hiſtory, the Glory, of Your native Kingdom; for ſpeaking of *England*, thoſe Words mean the ſame: nor has Your perfect Education left it needful for me to ſay, that Hiſtory is the Experience of Youth; and beſt Councellor of thoſe more advanced; or that of all Studies it is the moſt important to a Prince.

Your Highneſs will ſee by theſe Examples, what Acts they are which ennoble a Nation; and how Kings become the Fathers of their People: nor will the Patronage You have been pleaſed to beſtow upon the Work, I perſwade myſelf, be without Advantage to the Nation: the Commanders in the Royal Navy, will ſee by what their Anceſtors have done, what themſelves may do: and knowing the Story, freed from the vain Encumberance of Words, is placed here under Your Highneſs's immediate Inſpection,

ſpection, they will be animated to repeat thoſe Victories, of which you have read the Detail; and ſhew they are not degenerated.

The Author, had he lived to finiſh his projected Work, could not have aſpired to higher Glory than your Protection; nor is it poſſible for me to wiſh a greater Honour, than that the Actions may be ſo related, as to claim the Attention of Your Royal Highneſs; in whom, with a Satisfaction that may be declared, tho' it cannot be deſcribed, I ſee every Thing that ſhould conſpire to form a great Prince; and from whom I prophecy, *England* will one Time gain new Glory.

Thus freely let him ſpeak, whoſe Heart feels the Hope; and who, tho' in an humble Station, would not flatter Kings.

I have the Honour to be with the moſt perfect Duty,

SIR,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS's

Obedient,

And Humble Servant,

JOHN HILL.

PREFACE.

THE Uſe of Hiſtory is, by recording Actions of the dead, to ſet Examples before the living. Theſe are of two Kinds; ſucceſsful and unfortunate: they ſerve equally the ſame Purpoſe; one by directing what we ſhould purſue, the other by ſhewing what we ſhould avoid; and there is, therefore, the ſame Benefit in commemorating celebrated Atchievements, and great Diſaſters.

No Species of Hiſtory can be ſo important to a Nation, ſupported by its Naval Power, as that which relates Tranſactions on the Sea; nor could there be a Time at which, in this Country, ſuch a Hiſtory would be more uſeful than the preſent. Our former ſucceſsful Enterprizes will afford ſufficient Inſtances of what future Commanders ſhould purſue; and the Fate of our Enemies will teach them what they ſhould avoid.

The moſt intereſting of all Naval Exploits, to a Britiſh Reader, are thoſe which have been undertaken by the Britiſh People; and it is acknowledged, to our Glory, even by the Writers of Rival Nations, that none are ſo conſiderable. Theſe we propoſe faithfully to record together in the preſent Work, and we promiſe ourſelves they will compoſe a Hiſtory, capable of anſwering the moſt eſſential Purpoſes.

It will inſpire and animate the young Commanders in our Navy; and will confirm the more eſtabliſhed in that fearleſs Conduct, by which they have obtained their Station in the Service, and the Applauſes of Mankind.

It will remind the Sailor not to fear thoſe Enemies his Countrymen have ſo often vanquiſhed.

It will keep alive that Spirit in the Publick, which firſt made our Iſland Sovereign of the Seas, and will continue it ſo through all Ages.

The celebrated Names of thoſe great Commanders, whoſe fortunate Exploits, in different Ages, have preſerved their Country from Invaſions, protected her Commerce, or enlarged her Dominion, will ſtand like the Statues erected by the Greeks and Romans to their Heroes, as everlaſting Monuments of Glory.

So great, we are ſenſible, may be the Advantages ariſing from a compleat and faithful Naval Hiſtory of Britain; a Work not more deſirable, than hitherto wanting.

Among the Numbers who have written on Sea Affairs, no one has undertaken an Account of them on this Plan; and we ſhall add, with Freedom, becauſe ſupported by Authority, none could have propoſed it under ſuch Advantages as we have received from the Papers on which this Work is founded.

We find, among the Antients, the Tranſactions upon the Sea treated together with thoſe at Land; in general, ſhortly and imperfectly. Thucydides has indeed given, at large, the ſeveral Engagements during the Peloponneſian War; we muſt admire the Accuracy and Spirit of Polybius, in his Relation of the Conflicts between the Carthaginians and Romans; and we may learn from Cæſar ſomething of the Naval State of antient Britain; but the firſt are foreign to our Purpoſe; and the latter though authentick, is ſhort and unſatisfactory.

The Moderns, who have attempted the ſame Species of Hiſtory, are, for the moſt Part, confuſed, or inaccurate; and all imperfect. Of the two popular Works, Burchet's and Lediard's, the firſt has wandered from the great Point; for he has undertaken a Naval Hiſtory, not of Britain, but of the whole World, and has beſtowed ſo much of his Work on foreign Matters, that he is much too ſhort, ſlight, and imperfect on our earlier Naval Hiſtory; the other confines himſelf to the Subject, but he begins almoſt a Thouſand Years too late; he dates his Hiſtory from the Norman Conqueſt; not recollecting that Britain was formidable to Rome, in the Naval Aſſiſtances it gave the Veneti againſt Julius Cæſar.

We ſpeak not of the Compilers from theſe, for we do not intend, by depreciating their Works, to give an imaginary Value to our own; nor, in mentioning the Imperfections of ſuch as are more original, would be underſtood as cenſuring them in Wantonneſs: We have named their Defects to ſhew the Neceſſity of ſome Work upon ſo intereſting a Subject, more accurate and more comprehenſive.

This we attempt in the preſent Hiſtory; in which we give at large, a general, and particular Account of the Britiſh Force at Sea, beginning from an earlier Period than others, and continuing it to the preſent Year.

In the Courſe of the Work, we take Occaſion alſo to introduce, in a ſubordinate Manner, the Naval Tranſactions of all other Nations wherewith Britain has had Concern.

We lay down the Origin, Improvements, and Eſtabliſhment of the ſeveral Branches of our Commerce; and deliver, in a ſuccinct, yet circumſtantial Manner, every Engagement that has been fought upon the Seas by Britons, from the Struggles of our earlieſt Anceſtors to ſhake off Oppreſſion; to thoſe more ſucceſsful and more glorious Battles which eſtabliſhed, and have hitherto preſerved to us the Sovereignty of the Ocean.

In the Relation of theſe memorable Events, we have on all Occaſions, tied ourſelves down to ſtrict and impartial Truth; for a Work otherwiſe written, however elegantly, is a Romance and not a Hiſtory.

On Matters of leſs Conſequence, we have been more brief; and upon others we have enlarg'd, in proportion to that Importance by which they influence the Reader to wiſh he may hear of them more fully. Where the Conduct, Courage, or Succeſs of any great Commander have diſtinguiſhed the Action, we have endeavoured with our beſt Care, to tranſmit his Name with Honour to Poſterity; and in the whole have made it our Endeavour to be full without Tediouſneſs; and ſhort without Obſcurity.

The Naval Hiſtory of our Country, according to this Plan, includes a Succeſſion of about two thouſand Years: it will be neceſſary, in proportion to the Extent of that Time, to be careful in the Diſtribution of thoſe Events, by which its ſeveral Periods are diſtinguiſhed.

As the Samnite War has been made a Point of Time from which to date the Hiſtory of the Romans, we may, with equal Reaſon, eſtabliſh the firſt Invaſion of this Country by that People under Julius Cæſar as an Æra, whence to date the Naval Hiſtory of Britain; but there is ſomething in the ſcattered Fragments of early Hiſtory, long preceding this, and greatly to our Honour; this therefore muſt not be paſſed over ſlightly.

The firſt landing of Cæſar having happened a little more than eighteen hundred Years ago, points out the firſt or greater Diviſion of our Work into eighteen Books, diſtinguiſhed by ſo many Centuries; and in this we ſhall do little Violence to the Regularity of our propoſed Order, by enlarging the Period of the Firſt Book, and allowing a ſmaller Number of Years to the laſt, in order to accommodate it to the general Account of Centuries from the Chriſtian Æra.

Including in our firſt Book, together with the hundred Years immediately following the Birth of Chriſt, the half Century which paſſed before it, together with ſuch Accounts as we have with any Certainty of an earlier Time; and making the eighteenth conſiſt of the half Century and upwards, from the Year ſeventeen hundred to the preſent Period; we ſhall, in treating of the Naval Exploits of our Countrymen, uſe a very accuſtomed and familiar Manner of Expreſſion, which will be yet appropriated to the Subject. Nor will there ariſe any great Difference in the Quantity or Extent of the ſeveral Books from this Conduct: the firſt hundred and fifty Years, with what we know of the Time before them, containing Events leſs numerous and leſs important; and the Story of the laſt fifty-ſeven Years being more intereſting, and needful to be treated at large, than that of any other Period.

Having thus generally diſtributed our Matter with reſpect to known and eſtabliſhed Diſtinctions of Time, we have form'd the leſſer Subdiviſions upon the Succeſſion of Events.

We conſider Britain, as at preſent, poſſeſſed of a Naval Power greater than any other Nation has, or ever had; and we endeavour to deduce this punctually, from its earlieſt known Period to its preſent Glory; from that memorable Æra fifty-five Years before Chriſt, when the Britons were not able to oppoſe Cæſar's landing, to that Action, in which our Naval Power made Head, though unſucceſsfully, againſt Claudius; and thence follow it thro' the ſeveral Stages during thoſe Struggles, wherein it laboured to throw off the Roman Yoke.

From that Period, after many Encouragements and many Neglects, to which the Spirit of thoſe Attempts were forfeited, we purſue the Story of the Naval Power of Britain thro' the Time of the Saxons, ſlaughtered ſo often by thoſe Danes whoſe landing they might, by better Councils, have prevented; continuing it to their Alfred, under whoſe wiſer Conduct the Daniſh Fleet was vanquiſhed.

From this ſucceſsful Enterpriſe the growing Strength of Britain, on the Sea, will be naturally followed through the Reigns of Edward and of Athelſtan, to that of Edgar, who had at one Time on the Seas three Fleets, the Number of which, were it leſs ſubſtantially authoriſed, would ſeem too great for Credit.

Hence we are led through a long Series of intereſting Events to the Period of the Norman Conqueſt; and thence we purſue our Subject through the ſeveral ſucceſſive Reigns to the preſent Period.

We perſuade ourſelves we have, in this Manner, delivered to the Reader a juſt Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Naval Power of Britain, and of its various Services in War and Commerce; of the ſeveral hazardous Voyages, and fortunate Diſcoveries of our numerous Adventurers; and of their Exploits in the Defence of our Country, and the Deſtruction of our Enemies: In fine, of all important Naval Tranſactions from the firſt Dawnings of that Power at Sea, which at all Times diſtinguiſhed the Peovle of Britain, to its preſent full Perfection, aud Meridian Glory.

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THE
NAVAL HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

From the earlieſt known Periods to the End of the firſt Century.

SECTION I.

To the Invaſion under JULIUS CÆSAR.

CHAP. I.

Of the Uncertainty in the earlieſt Accounts of BRITAIN.

ALL Nations have in Hiſtory what are called their fabulous Ages; Periods of remote Time wherein they are ſuppoſed to have exiſted; of which there remain but uncertain Accounts, and thoſe generally mixed with Fable.

Britain has its Period of the ſame Stamp and Character; nor muſt it be omitted wholly in a Work that treats of the Iſland, ſo far as its naval Power has been concerned, from the earlieſt Time.

The Diſtinction properly eſtabliſhed between theſe uncertain Accounts, and more authentick Hiſtory, is this: The Writer who relates does not adopt their Story: he gives it as traditional, not eſtabliſhed Matter; and where it is impoſſible to ſeparate the Truth it contains (for in all theſe Relations there is ſome Truth) from the fabulous Additions, he gives it as it ſtands. The Reader is informed what is *ſaid*; as well as what is *known*; and he pays a more limited Credit to the former, with which it yet is not fit he ſhould be left unacquainted.

In moſt Caſes theſe fabulous Ages are carried back into an unmeaſurable Antiquity; and the Origin of Nations is laid among the Gods: this was the *Roman* and the *Grecian* Folly.

'Tis ſingular to *Britain*, that its fabulous Age is not its moſt remote known Period. We have Accounts of our Iſland, ſhort indeed, but not unſatiſfactory, in authentick Writings, as early as Hiſtory begins; and from that Period we loſe it for many Centuries in Fable.

The firſt true Knowledge of our Country we owe to *Greek* Accounts of the Voyages made by *Phœnician* Merchants: after this early Period all wears the Air of Fable throughout the Time of *Brute*, his Deſcendants, and their Succeſſors; till with *Cæſar* we arrive at Truth again.

The *Phœnician* Story is too ſhort for much Illuſtration; the Legend of *Brute*, and his Succeſſors, we ſhall not attempt to authenticate, but ſhall give a ſuccinct View of the principal Matters it contains: there probably is ſome Truth in the Foundation of the Story, however fanciful the Gothick Superſtructure; and this, eſpecially as the State of the naval Power of our Country is named there under certain diſtant Periods, we would not bury from the Reader's View under too raſh a Cenſure.

Though in the Paſſage to more certain Hiſtory, we thus propoſe to relate, upon the Authorities whereon it ſtands, ſomething of the fabulous or uncertain Story of the Iſland, we ſhall not ſo far imitate the Weakneſs we have cenſured, as to amuſe our Reader with the Hiſtory of an imaginary *Samothes* or *Dis*, ſixth Son of *Japhet*, ſaid to have peopled *Britain* two hundred Years after the Flood, and called it *Samothea*.

We ſhall paſs over with the ſame Neglect the Legends of the fancied Giant *Albion*, the Son of an imaginary *Neptune*, who as 'tis ſaid ſubdued the *Samotheans*, and called the Iſland he had conquered *Albion*; to this we pay no Credit, though the grave *Mela* ſays he ſaw in *Languedoc* a Stone erected on the Spot where *Hercules* deſtroyed him.

As we ſhall paſs over unnoticed the Sovereign of this Name; neither ſhall we regard the Story of his Giant Subjects; or of thoſe fifty Daughters of an unknown *Diocleſian* whom they are ſaid to have received and married; and with them to have poſſeſſed the Iſle till *Brute* arrived and conquered it.

Theſe are evidently Fables too groſs to have the leaſt Title to our farther Notice: but between theſe, the mere Workings of an idle Imagination, and ſuch others as appear to have had a Foundation in Truth, though obſcured by added Fictions, there is to be placed a great Diſtinction. There is a wide Difference between Stories altogether falſe, and thoſe partly imagined and partly true: the latter are to be allowed a very limited Regard; but the former none.

Of this latter Kind, though we cannot ſay with Certainty, yet we may gueſs with ſome Probability, is the Story of *Brute* and his Deſcendants. It is true we find no Mention of this Perſon in more authentick Hiſtories, but that muſt not be ſuppoſed to prove he never had Exiſtence. *Britain* was looked on as a Country removed from the reſt of the World; and thoſe People among whom Hiſtorians wrote had till the Time of *Cæſar* little Knowledge of its Concerns. The Scene of *Brute*'s Tranſactions is laid here; therefore there is the leſs Wonder we read nothing of them in the *Roman* Story.

His fighting Giants, and ſubduing Monſters, we treat with the Contempt ſuch Tales deſerve: even his making himſelf Maſter of the Iſland by Arms, we may reaſonably diſpute: but though we queſtion, and with juſt Cauſe, much that is recorded of him, there does not appear ſufficient Ground why we ſhould reject as chimerical his very Name and Being. Falſities there evidently are in the Hiſtory which gives an Account of him; and with them Errors and Abſurdities as palpable: but ſo there are in other early Hiſtories; indeed in all other: and he who raſhly rejects this for that Reaſon, would do well to ſee that he have not the ſame Cauſe for diſallowing many others.

There is no antient Nation whoſe Original is ſo clear as to be above this kind of Cavil: none whoſe firſt Records, even in the beſt Writers, may not be queſtioned in ſome Articles for their Abſurdity.

I ſuppoſe none believes the Fable of the Wolf, or Fatherhood of *Mars*, yet all credit many things, and they are probably true, concerning the early State of *Rome*, recorded with thoſe Fables.

He who imagines there are not irreconcileable Paſſages in the beſt early Hiſtories, has not conſidered *Herodotus*: he who thinks there can be no Truth where there is ſome Abſurdity, cannot have read *Diodorus Siculus*.

The *Aſſyrian*, the *Perſian*, the *Ægyptian* and the *Grecian* Dynaſties are full of Paſſages inextricable, or irreconcileable to all that is elſe called Knowledge; nor are even the *Roman Faſti Conſulares* free from Perplexity or Error.

Let the judicious Reader take with him ſo much Candour as will ariſe from this Conſideration, and he will find the Hiſtory of that long Period between the firſt *Phœnician* Exploits, and *Cæſar*, though fabulous, inconſiſtent, erroneous, and even abſurd in many Parts, yet with all theſe Faults not wholly uulike the earlieſt Accounts of other Countries, and therefore probably no more than they, wholly deſtitute of Truth for its Foundation: he will thank us therefore rather than blame, that in this Part where we treat of the Origin of the *Britiſh* Nation, we give him a ſuccinct Detail of what is there recorded, rejecting the miraculous and idle; and reſerving only what has the Face, and may in ſome part have the Truth alſo of Hiſtory.

CHAP. II.

Of the earlieſt certain Knowledge we have of BRITAIN, *and its Inhabitants.*

THOSE Hiſtories are by moſt held fabulous which bring *Brute* and his *Trojans* into *Britain*: but whether or not the whole or any part of what is there related be true, we have no Neceſſity to fix at that, or any other known Period, the firſt peopling of this Iſland.

A greater Antiquity is more honourable than ſuch an Anceſtor; and of this the Inhabitants of *Britain* may be ſure, there has been no known Time in which their Iſland was deſart or uninhabited.

Commerce firſt made the ſeveral Nations of the Earth acquainted with each other; and afterwards Ambition. The former of theſe, as the earlieſt, we regard firſt in this Enquiry; and tracing it, we ſhall have the Satiſfaction to find, that the firſt Adventurers who made their Way to *Britain*, found it not only inhabited, but in the Poſſeſſion of a civilized People; inſtructed in uſeful Knowledge, and governed by a judicious Policy.

This, though not ſufficiently conſidered, ſtands atteſted in the earlieſt *Greek* Hiſtorians; and is in ſome Degree confirmed by the *Roman Cæſar*.

The *Greeks*, from whom we trace the Origin of Science, learned it in *Ægypt*. There our remoteſt Knowledge ſtops; for by whom that People were inſtructed, no Hiſtory preſumes to gueſs. Cotemporary with theſe, and Co-rivals with them in many uſeful Arts, were the *Phœnicians*; and in Navigation, the immediate Subject of this Hiſtory, they far excelled them. We are told the *Ægyptians* firſt taught theſe early enterprizing People the Art of Sailing; but this is an Aſſertion without Proof: it comes from the *Greeks*, who, themſelves receiving the Rudiments of all Knowledge from that People, believed all others did ſo; and has no better Ground than their Conjecture.

Theſe two Nations flouriſhed at Sea together, in the earlieſt Times of which we have Accounts. The firſt Ship the *Greeks* ſaw brought *Danaus* from *Ægypt*, ſo ſays their Hiſtory; and the Accounts obtained from the *Ægyptians* by thoſe Sages, whom the ſacred Thirſt of Knowledge carried thither from *Greece*, the Pupils of their Prieſts, were, that they owed the Invention to *Iſis*, their Sovereign firſt, and afterwards their tutelary Deity.

The *Ægyptians* were led to Navigation by their natural Genius, and the Situation of their Country; an enterprizing People whoſe Eaſtern Coaſt lay for a vaſt Extent upon the *Red Sea*, and their Northern on the *Mediterranean*; who ſtudied and were converſant in mechanick Arts, and famous in Aſtronomy, could not be long blind to the Advantages which would attend on Ships of Commerce. It was natural they ſhould build them, and it is plain they did ſo, before our earlieſt Accounts; for the firſt Hiſtories mention Navigation as a Thing familiar to them.

The *Phœnicians* are recorded in the ſame Writings as poſſeſſed alſo of theſe Advantages at that remote Period, and carrying them much farther. They traded largely to *Greece*, to the Eaſtern and Weſtern Coaſts of the *Mediterranean*; and among other remote Countries, more diſtinctly named, to *Britain*.

We have no Knowledge of the Time when they made their firſt Voyage hither; but we know that it was very early, and that they found the Iſland not a Deſart to be peopled long after, as other Stories tell us, by Wanderers from remote Countries, but inhabited by an eſtabliſhed, a brave, and a free People, converſant in Arts and Commerce.

This is the firſt Knowledge we have of our Country; for we ſhall ſhew their *Caſſiterides* were Iſlands belonging to *Britain*. It is here we learn the earlieſt Hiſtory of our Iſland, its Condition, Products and Inhabitants: From this we know what true Antiquity it has to boaſt; and may aſſure ourſelves, that though the Fertility and other Advantages of the Country may have tempted People of various Nations, at different Times, to ſettle upon it, *Danes*, *Saxons*, *Gauls*, and perhaps *Trojans*; yet that prior to all theſe, there lived here its own proper Inhabitants, of whom we no more know how they came hither, or whence, than we do of the earlieſt peopled Countries.

On this eſtabliſhed Hiſtory of the Antiquity of *Britiſh* Inhabitants, it muſt appear idle to diſpute, in order to ſettle our Origin, whether the Story of *Brute* be a Fiction, or a true Account of ſuch Tranſaction; becauſe if the whole were Truth, he and his Followers, far from being the Fathers of the *Britiſh* People, muſt have been on their Arrival here, received among their proper Anceſtors, many Ages the Inhabitants of the Country.

Fourteen hundred and ninety one Years before Chriſt, the firſt Ship appeared in *Greece* with *Danaus*; but long before the *Ægyptian* ſailed to *Greece*, the *Phœnicians* traded to the *Caſſiterides*.

Three hundred and nine Years after this, the *Greeks* ſacked *Troy*, for that Event is placed eleven hundred and eighty two Years before Chriſt; and it was a conſiderable Time after that Tranſaction *Brutus* came, if he did come at all, to *Britain*. 'Tis therefore certain, this Iſland was inhabited by a civilized People more than three hundred Years before this Arrival of our pretended Anceſtors, though how much longer Hiſtory is ſilent.

CHAP. III.

Of the Situation of the Caſſiterides, *and the Geography of antient* BRITAIN.

THE earlieſt Knowledge we have of the naval Power of *Britain* depends ſo much upon the aſcertaining what were the antient *Caſſiterides*, that we perſuade ourſelves the curious Reader will not think a Chapter ill employ'd in tracing their real Place.

Few Points in Hiſtory are more difficult to be determined, than what the Antients knew of *Britain*. *Herodotus* leads thoſe who ſpeak of the *Phœnician* Trade for Tin to the Iſlands, thence named *Caſſiterides*, and he is quoted or copied by all ſince: but *Herodotus* has the Candour to acknowledge he knew not where thoſe Iſlands lay; though in this few have followed him.

Dionyſius names the *Britannic* Iſlands, but what he ſays of them is ſhort. He calls them *two*; and celebrates them for their *Bigneſs*. This is all.

The ſame Author names alſo the *Caſſiterides*: theſe he calls by another Name, *Heſperides*; but declares in the ſame Line, to be the Place where Tin was produced.

We may ſee by this, how little thoſe celebrated Writers knew of *Britain*; and how childiſh their Commentators have been, who for a Word that has eſcaped their Pens, upon a Subject they manifeſtly little underſtood, have argued againſt the plaineſt Demonſtrations of Truth and Reaſon.

The antient *Caſſiterides* were not the leſs a Part of the *Britannic* Iſles, becauſe *Dionyſius* mentions but two of theſe; for in this he plainly refers only to the two larger, *England* and *Ireland*, omitting the numerous ſmall ones that lie about them, the *Iſle of Wight*, *of Man*, the *Orkneys*, and the *Scillys*. Of theſe two large ones, the greater, now *England*, was called by the *Romans*, and by the later *Greeks*, *Britain*, but by the moſt antient Writers *Albion*; the other, or ſmaller of the two, now *Ireland*, was then called *Ierne*. This we find by *Strabo* and the reſt; and from this Name *Ierne* came *Juvernia*, *Juernia*, and *Hibernia*.

Of theſe *Britain* was firſt known, and, as we have ſaid, was firſt called *Albion*. *Ireland* was diſcover'd afterwards: that Iſland retained its diſtinct Name when ſpoke of ſeparately; but the Name of *Albion* being afterwards in a great Meaſure ſunk in that of *Britain*, both when they were named together, were called the *Britannic Iſles*. Thus we are to underſtand what the old Geographers mean when they ſpeak of theſe our Iſlands.

With reſpect to the *Caſſiterides*, there is no Queſtion

tion of their having been the little Iſles of *Scilly*; and the Tin there ſold was as certainly the Produce of the adjacent *Britiſh* Coaſt. We are not the leſs to believe this, becauſe there appear ſome Paſſages in the *Greek* Geographers which would call it into Doubt; nor although they ſhould have been copied faithfully into the *Latin*.

As to *Dionyſius*, it appears from his expreſs Words, that he underſtood the famous *Heſperides* to be thoſe Iſles to which the *Phænicians* traded, under the Name of *Caſſiterides*, for Tin. His Commentators have acknowledged ſo much; but this, far from diſcrediting the Opinion of the *Scilly Iſles* being they, only ſhews that *Dionyſius* did not know which they were.

We have two Marks by which to know the *Caſſiterides* of the *Phænicians*; their Situation, and the Production of *Tin* in them or near them. No Tin was ever found in the *Heſperides*; nor do they lie where the *Caſſiterides* are fixed by the beſt Authors.

Britain has at all Times been famous for its Tin; and though its adjacent *Scilly* Iſles perfectly anſwer the more accurate Deſcriptions of their Situation, we muſt not expect them to agree with all: others of the early Writers have miſtaken what the *Caſſiterides* were, as well as *Dionyſius*: for all the Antients were not Oracles.

It is certain the old *Greeks* knew theſe Iſlands called *Caſſiterides*, *Fama ſolum*, only by Report. They heard that the *Phænicians*, ſettled at *Cadiz*, brought thither Tin, which they purchaſed at certain Iſlands ſituate in the Ocean; (ſuch was their Expreſſion) and which they therefore called the *Caſſiterides* or the *Tin Iſlands*.

The *Phænicians* ſaid no more of them; nor could the *Greeks* of that Period know any Thing more. *Caſſiterides* was not, nor was pretended to be their proper Name, nor any Name by which they were elſewhere known. The *Phænicians*, jealous of ſo profitable a Traffick, concealed the proper Denomination, and even the Situation of the Tin Iſlands, under this arbitrary Term, that others might not gueſs whence they brought the Metal.

Strabo confirms this: He profeſſedly ſays, * That the People of *Cadiz*, a *Phænician* Colony, concealed the Situation of the *Caſſiterides* from the *Greeks*, that they might not trade to them: We are therefore of all theſe Writers to reſpect *Herodotus* the moſt, who not aſhamed of Ignorance where Knowledge was not in his Reach, declared he did not know where they lay; but only that there were ſuch.

As to *Dionyſius*, his Account of their Situation has been urged by ſome as a Proof they are not the *Scillies*; but it is plain he means, as well as names, the old *Heſperides*; which he took, though very little to his Credit, to be the Place whence the *Phænicians* had their Tin.

One univerſal Error has led Geographers to place the *Caſſiterides* near *Spain*; they thought the *Phænicians* at *Cadiz* had the Tin they ſold from their own Neighbourhood; but there is not in Hiſtory the leaſt Ground for that Opinion.

Thoſe who had made their Way from *Phænicia* to *Cadiz*, might very well puſh their Navigation thence to *Britain*; and what dark Remains there are upon this Subject favour the Opinion, that it was from a very remote Part of the Ocean they brought this Metal; and that the Iſles lay this Way.

Strabo eſcapes the common Cenſure in this Reſpect, for he places the *Caſſiterides* far remote from *Spain*; and upon the concurrent Teſtimony of what can be known from ſo early a Period, it appears evident theſe Iſles were they.

It were raſh at ſuch a Diſtance of Time, to call the preſent Number, or the Magnitude of them into the Account; otherwiſe every Circumſtance ought to be obſerved where they are ſo few to lead us. The univerſal Voice of Antiquity calls the *Caſſiteride Iſlands* ten; but a late ingenious Writer, Mr. *Borlace*, ſhews, that the *Scillies* have been too much alter'd in Number and Figure ſince that Time, for us to expect they ſhould anſwer to that Character.

The old *Greeks* knew *Britain* produced Tin; and *Diodorus* gives an Account of the Way it was carried thence; firſt to *Gaul*, and then, after a great deal of Land Carriage, diſtributed elſewhere: it is not impoſſible that at theſe very Times the *Phænicians* carried on their eaſier Traffick by Sea. The Words of *Strabo* are, That the *Phænicians* only ſent Veſſels to the *Caſſiterides* from *Cadiz*, concealing the Trade from others; and he gives an Inſtance of a Maſter of a *Phænician* Ship, who returning from this Voyage, ran aground, to prevent the Veſſels falling into the Hands of ſome *Roman* Ships, which might ſo have diſcovered the Traffick.

It is not wonderful therefore, that the *Greeks* were ignorant how near the *Caſſiterides* lay to *Britain*; nor is it impoſſible that *Cornwall*, the richeſt Country in the World in Tin, and which is itſelf a kind of Peninſula, might have been called one of them, either by the *Phænicians* from all they ſaw of it, taking it for an Iſland, or from an Incorrectneſs of Expreſſion.

Ortelius puſhes the Conjecture farther, he fancies that the *Britannic* Iſles themſelves were what the *Phænicians* called *Caſſiterides*; but this cannot be allowed: the *Phænicians* knew not *Ireland*, and there is none of the adjacent Iſlands of any Thing near a Size to be comprehended under the ſame general Term with *Britain*. This Author however conjectures with Reaſon, that all we find in the Antients concerning the Weſtern Situation of the *Caſſiterides*, is owing to an Artifice of the *Phænicians*, who told the *Greeks* that Story to prevent their finding where they were ſituated.

It appears indeed upon the whole beyond a Queſtion, that the *Scilly Iſles* were the *Phænician Caſſiterides*; that the Tin of *Cornwall* was there ſold to the *Phænicians*, and that the latter *Greeks* and *Romans*, when they became acquainted with the *Britannic* Iſles, did not perceive that the *Caſſiterides* lay there; having, as we have obſerved, been ſo deceived by the *Phænicians*, that they knew thoſe Iſlands by Name only, without the leaſt Gueſs as to their Situation.

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* Lib. III.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Phænicians *Trade to* Britain.

TO examine the Geography of *Britain*, in antient Time, we are to ſeek no farther back then *Ptolemy*. *Cæſar* is elder by half a Century, but *Cæſar* is leſs to be depended upon, as a Geographer, than as an Hiſtorian; and even in this laſt Capacity, ſome Reſerve muſt lie againſt too implicit a Faith in him, becauſe they are his own Tranſactions which he has recorded.

Tacitus, as well as *Cæſar*, has written ſomething of the antient *Britain*, but with the ſame Lightneſs and Inaccuracy: and as we give up theſe, the judicious Reader will know how he is to paſs over *Pliny* and *Solinus*; nay, often *Strabo* and *Pomponius Mela*, who copied from them.

Geography was but in its Infancy when *Ptolemy* wrote, but what he wrote was from authentick Memorials: we are therefore to value what we find in him as real Treaſure; while we lament there is not more of it.

We ſhall examine here, upon what is found in this Author, and what appears from the general Voice of Antiquity, concerning the famous *Caſſiterides*, what was the true State of that early Trade the *Phænicians* carried on with our Anceſtors.

The Reader ſees on how ſlender a Foundation is to be built all that can be ſaid relating to the old Geography of *Britain*. But howſoever that ſtand, we have ſhewn the Iſland was inhabited earlier than many have imagined; and that the firſt Knowledge we have of our Anceſtors, ſpeaks them ſuch as we can have no Shame to acknowledge. The Naval Hiſtory of the Kingdom is our immediate Purpoſe here; and we ſhall ſhew there is no known Period ſo early, as to be prior to our having a conſiderable Power at Sea.

We know of no Time in which our Anceſtors had not a Naval Force; and from the earlieſt Records, we may date that Claim of Sovereignty, at leaſt upon our own Seas, which we have extended ſince to the whole Ocean; which we have now preſerved through Ages, againſt a Thouſand Attempts; and which, I truſt, we ſhall preſerve as long as its Waves roll.

We have ſpoken in general Terms of the Trade of the early *Phænicians*, and the Condition in which they found our Anceſtors; and as more has been advanced here on that Head than by others, 'tis fit we explain it by Particulars, and eſtabliſh it upon the proper Authorities.

The concurrent Voice of early Hiſtory, affirms that the *Phænicians* in theſe moſt remote Times, traded to the *Caſſiterides*, certain Iſlands ſo called, becauſe they yielded Tin, *Caſſiteros* being the *Greek* Name of that Metal.

We ſhall underſtand theſe early Periods, and diſtant Accounts the better, the more clear we render every Step by which we advance to their due Knowledge.

The *Phænicians* traded to the *Caſſiterides*: and theſe *Caſſiterides*, we have ſhewn, are the Iſles of *Scilly*.

The Weſtern Part of *England*, what we diſtinguiſh now by the Counties of *Cornwall*, *Devonſhire*, and *Somerſetſhire*, appear evidently to have been then well inhabited. Probably the reſt of the Iſland was not leſs peopled; but of theſe Parts we ſpeak with Certainty.

They were inhabited, as we learn from all Hiſtory, by a People ſkilful in many Arts, and jealous of their Liberty. Theſe had a Naval Power ſufficient to prevent all Approach of Strangers, and they forbad it. Their Caution on this Head extended ſo far, even ſo long after as in the Days of *Cæſar*, that they ſuffered none but Merchants to enter their Ports: this himſelf mentions in his Commentaries as one of the Diſcouragements he met with in his deſigned Invaſion; but they were wiſer in thoſe earlier Times, of which we now treat; extending the Prohibition to all Strangers whatſoever.

The Part of the Iſland we have juſt named, abounded at that Time, and ſtill does ſo, with the Ore of Tin. This the Inhabitants wrought into the pure Metal; and in that Condition it became an Article of their Commerce.

We have ſaid theſe antient *Britons* were a People ſkilled in Arts, and governed by a cautious Policy; and we have here the Proofs of it: the working Tin from its Ore is no familiar or trivial Buſineſs; yet this they had in ſuch Perfection, that they regularly traded with the perfect Metal: and their judicious Conduct is ſeen in this, that they prohibited the Acceſs of Strangers, whom ſuch a Treaſure might have brought upon them.

Greece, and both Coaſts of the *Mediterranean*, in a Manner the whole known World at that Time was then ſupplied with Tin, as it ſtill is from *Cornwall*; and the *Phænicians* were the long Voyagers who purchaſed this Metal of the Inhabitants, and diſtributed it over the reſt of the World.

This is the firſt Article we know of *Britiſh* Commerce, and it is fit we repreſent it clearly.

The *Phænicians*, as Strangers, were not ſuffered to enter the Ports of the Iſland; but anchoring off the *Caſſiterides*, gave Notice of their Arrival, by means of the Inhabitants ſettled on thoſe little Iſlands. The *Britiſh* Merchants met them there, and ſettled the Exchange and Purchaſe.

They received for their Tin the Commodities of the Eaſt, which were not the Produce of theſe Parts of the World, and with thoſe they again traded in their own Neighbourhood.

This was the Traffick carried on between the *Phænicians* and *Britons*. The Account ſtands on the Authority of the old *Greek* Hiſtorians: they had no Intereſt in miſrepreſenting it, and therefore probably it is exact, and in all Reſpects true.

CHAP. V.

Of the Obſcurities and Defects in the antient Hiſtory of BRITAIN.

BRITAIN, we have ſhewn, ſtands allowed by the moſt antient, and authentick of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, to have been a Country powerful at Sea, and known by a profitable Commerce, in the moſt early Times of which they had Knowledge. So the *Phœnicians* found it; for the Trade they carried on with its Inhabitants, was ſuch as the *Britons* at that Time followed with many other People; though with no others ſo remote.

Thus we find our Country in the moſt antient Times: from theſe we are to trace its Power at Sea; and with that, in a ſuccinct Review, all its Hiſtory (for all is needfully connected with that Article) down to the preſent Time.

The candid Reader will not expect more than can be related with Truth, or on proper Authority. We have many dark Ages to paſs through: we muſt gather all the Glimmerings of Knowledge that appear concerning theſe; for we can do no more: to invent would be to inſult his Underſtanding, and pervert the Purpoſe of our writing. To collect with Care, and arrange with Perſpicuity; to collect from all good Authors fairly, and to explain one by another, is the whole now in the Hiſtorians Power.

Where there are wanting more certain and authentick Records, we muſt be allowed to make the beſt of what there are: not to impoſe them on the unacquainted Readers Faith as certain; but to deliver them on the Credit, frail as it may be, which they have.

Where Ignorance or Inattention have let ſlip by Tranſactions worthy of Record; where Contempt of thoſe in Power has ſnatched the Pen from the Hiſtorian's Hand; or where Things have been loſt by Revolutions, or by other great Cataſtrophes, we are to lament the Condition of Hiſtory, but not therefore to be ſilent: where more authentick Relations are wanting, we muſt content ourſelves with what are of leſs Credit, ſeparating, ſo far as may be done, by prudent Conjecture, the Falſehood, at leaſt the Abſurdity from Truth; and then delivering them with their uncertain Character.

That we ſhould not omit theſe utterly we have this plain Reaſon, that Relations long accounted fabulous, have in After-times been found to contain Footſteps of antient Truth: here ſtands the Reaſon of the Practice, and if we ſhould be called on for Authorities, they may be produced from among the greateſt Names: the *Greek Diodorus*, and the *Roman Livy* countenance the Practice; and tho' we wiſh they had been more reſerved, we thank them even for this Part of their Works. While we ſupport ourſelves on their Authority, we ſhall be careful to preſerve that guard we wiſh to have ſeen in them; and thus ſhall give the Naval Hiſtory of *Britain* its moſt ample Scope; though no more be adopted than can well be proved.

We are conſcious that we lie under every Diſcouragement and Diſadvantage that can attend ſuch a Reſearch. We have few Hiſtorians, and thoſe imperfect; therefore of the Exploits of many Ages, very little is recorded, and of that little, the much greater Part is juſtly to be doubted. Where nothing is left by the Antient, the Modern Hiſtorian muſt be ſilent; and thus we are obliged in the more early Hiſtory of our Country, to paſs over many Centuries, the Tranſactions of which, if we may judge by what preceded, and what followed them, would have done much Honour to its Inhabitants.

In Reſpect of what remains, that Regard to Truth, which is the firſt Recommendation to all Hiſtory, demands of us to judge with Strictneſs between Hiſtory and Fiction; but in the earlieſt of theſe Periods, we want the Means of ſuch Diſtinction. We have no Coins, no Records to which we can refer, or by whoſe ſtrict Teſt we can determine.

All in our Power therefore, with Reſpect to theſe dark Periods, is to be ſilent where we have no Accounts remaining; and where there are, to judge of them according to their apparent Authenticity; and ſo propoſe them to the Reader.

This is the Path we ſhall purſue in reſpect of the moſt remote Ages, whoſe Hiſtory muſt remain imperfect: we ſhall in the Accounts of theſe, deliver the beſt Relations that remain, but adopt none: we ſhall give the Reader with the Story its Author, and his Authorities; of theſe himſelf will be as able to judge as we; or perhaps as thoſe who have preſumed to determine with a Sort of imagined Certainty, concerning their Truth or Falſhood.

If Sir *Winſtone Churchill* has credited too much, Sir *William Temple* has believed too little: the firſt errs in ſuppoſing the Hiſtory of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, of as much Authority, as thoſe which deliver the Story of ſome other early Ages; and the latter is raſh in rejecting all Remains of ſuch a Period.

There is a middle Path, and this, we hope, the candid Reader in this Work will tread, for no other can lead him to the true Knowledge of his Country's Hiſtory. To reject ſo much as one of theſe Authors, or to believe ſo much as the other, in Hiſtory in general, would be to reduce all to Confuſion. The Authorities we ſhall produce for ſuch Relations as can be ſupported, and the acknowledging the Want of them in others, we hope will lead the Reader to this middle Courſe, between believing too much, and believing nothing.

CHAP. VI.

Of the principal Events in the antient Hiſtory of BRITAIN.

IN that vaſt Series of Time from the firſt Traffick of the *Phœnicians* with *Britain*, to the Æra of the Chriſtian Centuries, only two material Tranſactions are recorded: the one is, the Arrival of *Brute* with his *Trojans* in the Iſland; the other, the Invaſion of it by the *Roman* Arms under *Julius Cæſar*. Theſe are placed at Times exceedingly remote. The one of them is a diſputed Relation, the other a certain and eſtabliſhed Part of Hiſtory.

Troy was burnt eleven Hundred and eighty-two Years before Chriſt; and *Julius Cæſar*'s firſt Expedition was only fifty-five Years before that Period. Here is therefore a Space of about eleven Hundred Years, even ſuppoſing the Story of *Brute* to be authentick, in which we know ſcarce any Thing with Certainty; and in which very little is recorded by the moſt licentious in Hiſtory. On the other Hand, from this eſtabliſhed Date of *Brute*'s Arrival up to the firſt *Phœnicians* Voyages to *Britain*, is another Period of many Centuries, concerning which we know as little.

With Reſpect to the Time between, we can only ſay what appears probable; and in treating of theſe two Events, we are to diſtinguiſh between what is doubted, and what is received as certain.

It ſeems conſiſtent with Reaſon, and ſtands uncontroverted in Hiſtory, that *Britain*, as it had been long before, ſo it continued long after the firſt *Phœnician* Voyage, a Country inhabited by a People independent of all other Nations, governed by their own Laws, and ſkilled in Arts and Commerce.

Eleven Hundred and eighty-two Years before Chriſt, the *Greeks* after a ten Years Siege, which as it is one of the firſt, is alſo one of the moſt celebrated Events in Hiſtory, became Maſters of *Troy*.

Æneas, a Prince celebrated by all Hiſtorians, as the great Anceſtor of thoſe who founded *Rome*, the Town being ſurprized, retired with a Body of Troops into the Citadel: thence, after he had ſome Time defended it, he retired with his Family, Friends, and ſuch as choſe to follow him, to Mount *Ida*; and afterwards, the *Greeks* not permitting him to remain there, he embarked in Search of a new Settlement.

Brute, a Deſcendant of this *Æneas*, in the Year of the World two Thouſand eight Hundred and fifty-five, ſo ſays Tradition, came with a Number of *Trojans* into *Britain*; whether the Fact itſelf be true or not, admits a Doubt; but there is none concerning the Error that Hiſtorians have made in their Deductions from it.

Thoſe who adopt the Story, make this Perſon and his Followers, the Anceſtors of the *Britiſh* People. It would ſeem by their Accounts that he found *Britain* a Land of Savages; that he peopled it, ſettled upon it, and became the Founder of a Nation: but they muſt have ſlight and ſuperficial Knowledge of antient Hiſtory who can imagine this.

It is not improbable that *Brute* arrived here and brought with him theſe *Trojans*; but we have ſhewn the Iſland was inhabited, and that by a civilized and powerful People many Centuries before. Therefore when he came, he muſt have been received a Stranger, and a Gueſt; not have landed a Lord, and a Poſſeſſor: and if we credit this, it takes off the hateful Character,

Hoſpitibus feros,

Cruel to Strangers,

which the *Roman* Poets have ſince ſtamped upon the Inhabitants of the Iſland; and which, if ever they deſerved it, was in Conſequence of the *Roman* Tyranny.

Theſe People, Inhabitants of *Britain* at the Time of *Brute*'s Arrival, were found on the Iſland by the firſt who touched upon its Coaſts, ſo far as Hiſtory informs us. We have no Account of their being brought from elſewhere, therefore we may with Reaſon look upon them as its Original People. They had Power to have prevented the landing of theſe Strangers, for we ſee they could, and did forbid all whatſoever from coming into their Ports: therefore theſe being received, it follows, that they were touched with Compaſſion for their Sufferings, and that they admitted them as unfortunate Wanderers, to whom they gave Protection, and an Aſylum.

Upon this Review of the Tranſaction, and this Reaſon declares to be the moſt probable, we ſhall find that theſe our Anceſtors were an hoſpitable and humane, as well as a wiſe and powerful Nation; that they admitted the Strangers in Compaſſion, and probably blended them at length among their People: hence the Truth will appear, not that the *Britons* owe their Origin to *Trojan* Fugitives, but that they were long before a People; that they gave thoſe Fugitives Protection, and that ſome *Trojan* Families were mixed and loſt among them.

Theſe Original Inhabitants of the Country, are the People we ſhould look on as our proper Anceſtors. There cannot be a more honourable Deſcent than from a free People, eſtabliſhed ſo early, that all Hiſtory found them ſo; and whom all Hiſtory agrees to repreſent as eminent in Arts and Civil Policy, Lords of their Seas, and eſtabliſhed under a well regulated Government.

We have here conſidered this Account of the *Trojans* under *Brute* landing in *Britain* as a Fact, however it have been repreſented erroneouſly, yet in itſelf true: it is impoſſible to affirm with Reaſon that it is not; therefore it deſerves, and indeed demands our Notice; and we ſhall now enquire into what can be known concerning its Circumſtances, and upon what Authorities.

It is not at all improbable that a Body of the ſcattered *Trojans* came to *Britain*. We have the Authority of authentick Hiſtory, that ſome of them fled to *Gaul*, and from thence the Paſſage was eaſy to this Iſland. Whether the ſame who landed firſt in *Gaul* left it, and came to *Britain*; or whether while one Party of the Wanderers made that Coaſt, another reached this Iſland, cannot be known. Whichever were the Caſe, if any came, probably this *Brute* was he who led them; and having ſo much Foundation for believing what is reported of their coming hither, we have that Ground for giving ſome Credit to the Story of their Chief.

Some Leader they muſt have had; and his Name might as well be *Brute* as any other: that Name is preſerved to us, and no other; and there is Probability, that thoſe who wrote the Hiſtory had better Lights into the Fact than we. It is not to be conceived any would ſet about a Relation of this great Tranſaction without ſome Foundation; and whereever they obtained their Information, the Name of the Leader of the Colony could not well be wanting.

The Hiſtory of *Brute* we read in *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*; and what we know of its Authority is this. *Walter Calenius*, Archdeacon of *Oxford* in the Reign of *Stephen*, brought from *Britany* in *France*, a Manuſcript in the *Welch* Language; which he committed to the Care of *Geoffrey*. The Original Author of the Work was *Nennius*, a Name much celebrated in Hiſtory: but according to theſe Accounts, all that is there found is not to be attributed to him.

Calenius, a very diſtinguiſhed Antiquary of that Time, added much to it; and *Geoffrey* tranſlated the whole. The Tranſlation appears to have been finiſhed about the Year 1150, and the Work thus compleated, gives a Regiſter of no leſs than ſeventy Kings of *Britain* from *Brute* to *Julius Cæſar*.

If we could have received all that is contained in this Book as authentick Hiſtory, we ſhould have had leſs Reaſon to complain of the vaſt Space of Time, concerning which we are ſo ignorant; but they err certainly on the other Side, who, becauſe they will not believe all that ſtands there recorded, give up the whole.

The critical Reader will find an Air of Fiction and Romance, in many of the Incidents; but he who has Candour joined with his Diſcernment, will not fail to ſee, when he has conſidered the Ground there is in authentick Hiſtory for a Belief that *Trojans* did come to *Britain*; that it is a Story, the Foundation of which is true, but which has been related in that Work with a moſt licentious Embelliſhment.

It was the Genius of thoſe Times to mix Truth with Fable, and with Fancy: they had not arrived at that ſtrict Judgment which retrenches all ſuch Ornament. We are to lament this depraved State of that Period of Hiſtory, but we are not for that Reaſon to give up all that it contains. That there is Fiction mixed with Truth is too apparent to need farther Proof, but we have no Cauſe to ſuppoſe there is not a great deal of Truth among the Maſs: our Care muſt be to ſeparate this, not to reject the whole.

The Name and Condition of the Author; the collateral Teſtimonies of the Manuſcript, and the Credit which has been allowed it by many later Writers, all join to give it thus much Authority.

Walter Calenius who brought it from *Brittany*, has the Reputation of a great and learned Man; and he himſelf declared, he added much to it by Way of Supplement. This Churchman might find Fables in a Manuſcript, but he certainly would not add Fables to it: ſo much of it therefore as he added we have a Right to believe was Truth.

Geoffrey who tranſlated it, was, in the latter Part of his Life, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, and afterwards a Cardinal: he therefore had alſo a Character, which may give Credit to his Performance. Theſe are ſubſtantial Reaſons for allowing ſome Weight to the principal Facts therein related, tho' we are to make throughout Allowance for the Genius of the Time, and cuſtomary Method of Writing; which, under the Opinion of decorating, very unhappily for us, diſguiſed Truth by the Additions of Fancy.

Thus much we have judged needful to ſay with Relation to *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, and his Work; which, if we reject, we have no Record of the long Series of Time whereof it gives the Hiſtory; and with theſe Allowances, and theſe Reſtrictions, we think it may have its Uſe.

If we allow ſome Part of it to be authentick, the Story moſt probably was this:

The *Trojans* were hoſpitably received among the *Britons*, and *Brute* having recommended himſelf by his Knowledge in War, was choſen their King. Many Actions are recorded of him, while he held the Regal State, and probably ſome with a Foundation in Truth; but 'tis in the Relation of theſe, the wild and inaccurate Genius of the Time diſcloſes itſelf in what is called his Hiſtory: they are full of Miſtakes in known Chronology, and of Impoſſibilities in the Circumſtances. What Truth there may be in theſe, cannot now be ſeparated from the Falſhood, for we have no other Opportunities of knowing; we ſhall not therefore preſerve the Particulars of any.

Kings follow Kings in this Tradition, after the Death of *Brute*; and great Actions are recorded of them all, but with the ſame Uncertainty. His Story is in brief as follows.

CHAP. VII.

The Story of Brute *ſaid to have been King of* BRITAIN.

BRUTE was Great Grandſon of *Æneas*; Son of *Sylvius*, whoſe Father *Aſcanius* was Son to that celebrated Prince. His Mother was a Niece of *Lavinia*, married privately to *Sylvius*. The Birth of *Brute* was her Deſtruction, for ſhe died in Childbed. He was indeed fatal to both his Parents; for at fifteen, an Arrow ſhot from his Hand at random in the Chace, deſtroyed his Father.

On this, the Death of his Mother was called up freſh in Memory: *Brute* was a declared Perſon hateful to the Gods, and baniſhed.

His Fortune led him into *Greece*. He there joined the Offſpring of *Helenus*, Deſcendants of *Old Priam*, kept in that Slavery, whereinto they had been brought by *Pyrrhus*. *Pandraſus* then was King; and none had treated the Captive Race with more Severity.

Brute, who came a private Man among them, ſoon grew eminent. His Deportment ſpoke the Prince; his Eloquence aſtoniſhed; and he commanded by his Wiſdom, which, at his early Period, appeared more than natural. His Courage and his Intrepidity, were no leſs remarked than theſe his gentler Qualities: he ſeemed formed for Sovereignty. The common Voice adopted him the Avenger of their Wrongs; and called on him to open for them, and for himſelf, a Way to Liberty and Power.

The Numbers of the *Trojan* Captives were great, and their Reſentment was happily at this Time joined by a *Greek* Prince *Aſſaracus*, deſcended by his Mother from a *Trojan* Stock, and therefore treated hardly. He gave them Fortreſſes; and from the Looks of *Brute* they gathered Reſolution.

Aſſaracus joined the Body at the firſt Signal, and under the Conduct of their two Leaders, they went to their Places of Strength: they firſt fortified theſe ſtrongly, and then retired into the Hills.

There *Brute* ſeating himſelf on the Stump of an old Oak, harangued them to this Purpoſe. “ *Troy* periſhed for its Crimes; but we Countrymen are not “ guilty. Liberty is the Birthright of Mankind: “ none loſe it but thoſe who fear to aſſert it. Let “ us fear nothing but the Gods. If you will remain “ with me, I will defend you here; or lead you “ to a better Country.” The Applauſe of the Multitude was too tumultuous to hear more: *Brute* was choſen King; *Aſſaracus* his Collegue in Office; and a Meſſage was diſpatched to *Pandraſus*, “ That the *Trojans* not born to Slavery, had ſhaken off their Fetters. That they were retreated to the Deſarts, where, if he pleaſed, they would continue: preferring a ſavage Life, to one not ſpent in Freedom: but if otherwiſe, they would, and they wiſhed he might give his Permiſſion, ſeek ſome other Country.”

Pandraſus returned no Anſwer, but drew together his Forces. Their Numbers were ſuperior, and they promiſed themſelves the next Day the full Deſtruction of the Fugitives.

Brute, who ſaw the Diſadvantage of a regular Engagement, fell upon the Enemy at Midnight, and drove them with an incredible Slaughter before him till Day-light.

The *Trojan* Leader knew where to ſtop: he retreated after the Slaughter, and kept the Number of his Force unknown. The Sovereign rallied, and prepared for a freſh Action, ſitting down before a Place in which were Part of the *Trojans*.

Brute had Recourſe to Stratagem again. He deluded the Out guards of *Pandraſus*'s Camp from their Poſts by a ſpecious Pretence, and then fell in three Diviſions on a ſleeping Camp. Himſelf, with his Corps, moved ſtrait to the King's Tent; and being Maſters there, gave the Word for Slaughter.

Great Part of *Pandraſus*'s Army were now deſtroyed, and himſelf Priſoner. *Brute* knew how to make the beſt Uſe of this Succeſs: “ Sir, ſaid he, “ to the King, I do not ſo love War, though the “ Gods have hitherto made me ſucceſsful in it, “ that I ſhould give you Freedom for a Peace “ made with Conſtraint, and therefore ſure to be “ ſoon broken: what I firſt deſired I now demand, “ Permiſſion to depart with theſe my Countrymen; “ and I muſt have ſomething more; Ships, Treaſure, and all Neceſſaries for ſuch a Voyage as we “ may make together: and laſtly to compel a Friendſhip, if the Eſtabliſhments of Gods and Men can “ make it ſure, your Daughter muſt be given to me “ in Marriage. You know my Demand, concluded “ the brave *Trojan*: you have your Choice, to grant “ me this, or die.”

There is in true Magnanimity, ſomething that ſtrikes even thoſe who want it. *Pandraſus* anſwered, he conſented to the Terms. “ I cannot, “ ſaid he, give my Daughter to one ſo valiant, or “ ſo noble. If you will ſtay with me, accept with “ her the Freedom of your Followers; and as a “ Dower, a third Part of my Kingdom. If you “ prefer to go, my Ships and Stores are yours; “ and I will be myſelf your Hoſtage, till all ſhall “ be performed.

The *Trojan* was not to be altered in his Choice; the Marriage was ſolemnized, the Ships prepared, and he and his whole Company embarked.

Brute, in Purſuance of an Oracle, the Superſtition of thoſe Times, purſued his Courſe toward this Quarter of the World: he met with other *Trojans*, where he occaſionally put in for Neceſſaries for his little Fleet, and landed at length in *Gaul*.

There he was oppoſed: he fought ſeveral Battles with different Succeſs; but at length finding his Numbers decreaſe, and no Probability of a quick Settlement, he embarked again with his remaining Friends, and landed here in *Britain*, as is ſuppoſed, at *Totneſs*.

Thus far the Story carries in it nothing impoſſible, nor even improbable; but what follows in thoſe Writings which relate it, contradicting the moſt authentick Hiſtory, is not to be regarded. He is ſaid to have found the Iſland deſart for the moſt Part, and its few Inhabitants the Remainder of a Race of Giants: theſe, we are told, he deſtroyed, and dividing the Kingdom among his Followers, founded the Nation, and was its firſt King.

We have the Teſtimony of all the *Greek* Hiſtorians, that antient *Britain* was neither deſart, nor inhabited by Giants: this therefore falls to the Ground of itſelf; as to the other Part of the Story, nothing confirms, nor does any Thing contradict it. The Reader is to receive it as it comes ſlenderly atteſted, and to credit or reject it at his Pleaſure.

The Hiſtory of this King's Deſcendants is wildly and incoherently ſet down; their Exploits, are many of them unnatural, and the whole, though poſſibly founded in Truth, is yet overwhelmed with Fiction. We ſhall therefore give it a ſhort Recital: it appears unworthy the large Pains ſome have beſtowed on it; yet is not altogether to be omitted here, as we would have the Reader enter into a general Idea of what is ſaid, as well as what is known of *Britain*.

Brute is recorded to have reigned four and twenty Years, to have built *London*, then called *Troynovant*, and there to have been buried.

Three Sons they ſay ſucceeded him, their Names were *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber*, and that the Kingdom was divided among them.

Albanact, who ſettled in the North, and took in *Scotland*, had, as they record, a Naval Power, capable to face but not to conquer that of *Humber* King of the *Huns*, who invaded his Territories, ſunk and burnt his Fleet, and ſlew him.

The Subjects of *Albanact* retreating into *Locrine*'s Country, he and his Brother making it a common Cauſe, met *Humber*, and he was beaten and drowned in the River now called by his Name.

Locrine betrothed to *Guendolen*, Daughter of a Hero, to whom *Brute*, in Reward of his Services, had given a Settlement in his Kingdom, we are told, fell in Love with a Captive found in *Humber*'s Camp. He kept Terms with *Guendolen*, whom he after marry'd, during her Father's Life; but at his Death divorcing her, he was killed in Battle fighting againſt an Army ſhe had raiſed.

Guendolen, we are told after this, governed the Kingdom fifteen Years, in Right of her Son *Madan*, a Minor, whom ſhe then left in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, and to this King is attributed a peaceful Reign of forty Years.

Mempricius, a ſuſpicious and cruel Sovereign, followed him; and he, we are told, was ſucceeded by his Son *Ebranc*, famous for his Valour: his Reign was alſo forty Years, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Wars in *Gaul*, and built *York* and *Edinburgh* Caſtle, then called by a Name ſignifying the Caſtle of Maidens.

Another *Brute* is recorded to have ſucceeded him.

Leil, who ſucceeded this *Brute*, we are told, built *Carliſle*; he was followed by *Rudbyddibras*; that Sovereign by *Bladud*; and he by *Leir*, ſince called *Lear*; the Story of whoſe Diviſion of his Kingdom among his Daughters, as repreſented in our *Shakeſpear*'s Tragedy, ſtands at large in theſe Hiſtories. *Cordelia*, after the Death of *Lear*, whom her Huſband had again ſet upon the Throne, they ſay, ruled the Land five Years.

Cunedagius, a Son of one of her Siſters, they tell us, afterwards depoſed her, and ſent her into a Priſon, where ſhe died by her own Hand.

Rivallo, the Son of *Cunedagius*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. After him *Gurguſtius*, *Lago*, *Siſilius*, and *Kinmarkus*; after him *Gorbogudo*.

Gorbogudo had two Sons, whoſe Names were *Ferrex* and *Porrex*. The latter, we are told, attempted the Life of his Brother, and finally deſtroyed him. This was revenged by the Mother *Videna*, who, with her Women, murdered him in Bed, and with this Sovereign ended the Line of *Brute*, in the Year of the World 3430.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Succeſſors of Brute, *according to this Hiſtory.*

WE have thus gone through the Hiſtory, ſuch as it ſtands, of *Brute* and his Deſcendants: a Period of many Centuries, in which much muſt have paſſed as worthy Record, though little be well recorded; and of that little, ſcarce any Thing that can be exactly credited.

We have ſhewn in a preceding Chapter, that the *Britons*, long before the Period at which *Brute* is ſaid to have arrived upon their Coaſts, were Maſters of a powerful Navy; and as there is no Reaſon to believe they would at any Time neglect a Preparation for their Support, or occaſional Defence, ſo uſeful or ſo neceſſary, ſo it appears upon the Face of this Hiſtory, the only one we have of the Period concerned, that it was always preſerved.

When the three Sons of *Brute* divided their Poſſeſſions, 'tis natural to believe they parted among them alſo their Navy. A third of this we read was powerful enough to oppoſe a ſavage Enemy, who had committed Outrages on all the neighbouring Sea Coaſts; and had the whole Force of the Kingdom been united, there is Cauſe to think he would have been defeated there as eaſily as at Land. We quote theſe Paſſages as they ſtand: they are all we have, and we muſt either refer to them or be ſilent. If there be Truth in them, we ſee that *Britain* had in thoſe Days a powerful Navy; if not, there is nothing to ſupport, nor any Thing to contradict the Opinion.

We have no better Authority for the ſucceeding Period to the Time of *Cæſar*; but as there are ſuch Accounts as theſe, we ſhall add them here in a brief Summary; contenting ourſelves to deliver to the Reader what is ſaid; and leaving it upon its own too frail Authority.

The Line of *Brutus* being extinct, many, we are told, claimed together that to which none had Right, and their ſeveral Pretenſions were eſtabliſhed by Force: one prevailed over another according to his Skill in Arms, or the Number of his Followers; and *Britain* was almoſt half a Century a Scene of Blood.

At length the Iſland was divided by Conſent into five Parts, and to each of theſe there was a ſeparate King. The Proſpect of Peace this Diviſion brought, was but of ſhort Continuance. Each was jealous of the other; each wiſhed the Sovereignty entire; and their Subjects in ſome Degree eſpouſing their Intentions, there were repeated Wars upon their ſeveral Borders, which often brought on general Engagements.

One of the five Partitions of the Kingdom took in *Cornwall*, and the neighbouring Counties: the Sovereign of this was *Cloten*, who had a Son called *Malmud*, or as it is otherwiſe written, *Molmutius*.

This Youth inherited from his Father the Part of the Iſland he governed; and by his Valour and his Wiſdom, ſucceeded in the Deſign ſo many had raſhly and unſucceſsfully laid before him.

Dunwald and *Donebant* are other Names under which this Sovereign is recorded.

We are not to wonder that he has been called by ſome the firſt King of *Britain*. He reduced the Iſland, before divided, into one Kingdom; and there are

Things recorded of him ſo much ſuperior to all that is ſaid of the others, and with ſo much more Air of Truth, that 'tis not wonderful thoſe who knew nothing, or of what they had read knew not how much or how little to believe of the paſt Ages, endeavoured to ſink all preceding Hiſtory in Oblivion, and date their Annals from a Sovereign ſo eminent.

Malmud has, according to theſe Accounts, left ſo many Things memorable of him, that whatever Truth or Falſehood there may be in the particular Circumſtances of his wonderful Exploits, theſe very evidently ſhew there was ſuch a Perſon.

This Sovereign is ſaid to have eſtabliſhed the *Molmutian* Laws, which, according to *Lambert*, in his Treatiſe of the Laws of *England*, are the Foundation of the common Law at this Day.

He is alſo recorded to have been the Perſon who built the four great Cauſeways which croſſed the Iſland;[*] and which, as is ſaid, the *Romans* who have with moſt the Honour of deſigning, only repaired and perfected.

'Tis added of him that he eſtabliſhed Religion upon a more venerable and regular Foundation; and in the latter Part of his Life bent his Mind to the Support of Commerce, encouraging it by Immunities and Rewards; and ſettling the great Mart within the Bounds of his own Palace.

Two Sons were left by *Malmud*, *Belinus* and *Brennus*: of theſe *Belinus* became Sovereign, but he gave his Brother *Brennus* a great Eſtabliſhment North of the *Humber*.

Brennus grew powerful, and after having ſignalized his Arms ſucceſsfully in fighting for his Brother, turned them at length againſt him.

At this Period, ſo far as the Hiſtories recording its Tranſactions are to be regarded, we again find Mention of a powerful *Britiſh* Navy. *Brennus*, too weak to oppoſe his Brother ſingly, fits out his Fleet and ſails to *Norway*: there entering into a League with the Sovereign of that Kingdom, he encreaſes the Number of his Ships, and makes again for *England*: where after various Accidents he is beaten by his Brother, and eſcapes with a ſingle Ship to *Gaul*.

While *Belinus* was ſtrengthening himſelf at home, *Brennus*, whoſe Fame ran every where before him, contracted Friendſhips with various Princes in *Gaul*, allied himſelf by Marriage to one of the moſt powerful, and with great Preparation returned again for *Britain*. Here the Mother, who was yet living, reconcil'd the Brothers: they became Friends for ever; and this *Brennus*, from his long Reſidence in that Country, called a *Gaul*, is ſaid to be the ſame who ſacked *Rome*.

Gurguntius Barbirus ſucceeded *Belinus* in the Year of the World 3596. His moſt memorable Tranſactions relate to Naval Hiſtory. Among the reſt he is ſaid to have followed with his Fleet thirty Ships which appeared in his Seas, as far as the *Orkneys*, there to have come up with them; and finding they were freighted with People for a Plantation, to have given them *Ireland*.

Guitheline ſucceeded this laſt Sovereign in 3615.

He was ſucceeded in 3666 by *Siſillius* the Second; and after him reigned *Kimarus*, *Eanius*, and *Morindus*. Fables of the moſt extravagant Kind are recorded of this laſt Sovereign, who, they ſay, was ſucceeded in 3676 by his eldeſt Son *Gorbonian*, famous for his Piety: he was ſucceeded by *Archigallo*, his next Brother; who was dethroned for his Crimes, and *Elidure* the third Brother ſet up in his Stead.

After a long Exile; *Elidure* reſtores him his Crown; he reigns many Years, and at his Death *Elidure*, who ſucceeds him, is dethroned by his two younger Brothers and impriſoned. Theſe two divided the Kingdom between them, and after their Deaths, *Elidure*, it is ſaid, poſſeſſed it again.

After him we have Mention of twenty Kings, according to their ſeveral Succeſſions, of whom little more than the Names are recorded.

After theſe is placed *Blegabreclus*, famed for the Sciences, and after him another Series of Names; the laſt of which *Heli* ſtands recorded to have had three Sons, *Lud*, *Caſſibelan*, and *Nennius*. *Heli* was alſo called *Minocan*, and from theſe various Names, not obſerved by ſome to have belonged to the ſame Perſon, has riſen great Confuſion.

Lud, it is ſaid, was bold in War, and hoſpitable. He enlarged *Troynovant*, and called it by his Name *Lud*'s Town; whence thoſe who are fond of Etymologies, deduce our Word *London*.

Gildas tells us this Change of the Name gave great Offence to *Nennius*; and we read in *Huntington*, that after many ſignal Victories, he was buried near one of the Gates he had built, thence called *Ludgate*.

Lud left two Sons, *Androgeus* and *Tenuantius*; but the Eyes of all Men were now bent upon *Caſſibelan*, a Hero, and a Prince worthy to command more than a ſingle Iſland.

The Care of his Nephews devolved upon him, but the People forced upon him the Crown of their Father.

Caſſibelan was not ſo cold to Royalty, that he could refuſe the Offer: however, he eſtabliſhed the two Nephews nobly. He gave *Androgeus Kent* and its Neighbourhood, including *London*; and to *Tenuantius Cornwall*.

This *Caſſibelan* was the Prince in whoſe Time *Cæſar* invaded *Britain*.

Here then the Reader has in a ſmall Compaſs, the Hiſtory of a long Period, whereof otherwiſe, than on theſe Authorities, he can know nothing. The ſuſpicious Credit of the Works wherein all theſe Things are originally contained, we have named with Candour, leaving the Reader to pay to the whole what Degree of Credit he pleaſes; and to adopt what Part he chuſes for his more certain Faith.

At this Point concludes the uncertain Period of *Britiſh* Hiſtory; the next Events being thoſe of the *Roman* Invaſion, or ſuch as immediately preceded according to all, and tho' all have not perceived it, occaſioned that Invaſion.

What the Naval Power of *Britain* was at that Time we are about to ſhew; and to ſum up the ſhort Account of what it was till then, we are to obſerve, that ſo early as we have any Hiſtory, it appears to have been very conſiderable; that it is confirmed to be ſo by the Accounts of thoſe *Phœnicians* who firſt traded hither; and that, according to the only Hiſtory in which it is named, for the long ſucceeding

Period

[*] *Caxton*'s Polychronicon. *Hollingſhed*.

Period to *Cæſar*, it appears to have been kept up in its Original Force and Glory. We read of *Albanact* in 2555, employing it againſt the Invader *Humber*; and *Brennus* in 2563, againſt his Brother. This, if we chuſe to receive it, gives us Room to ſuppoſe the Navy of *Britain* was at all Times conſiderable: and if we chuſe not to credit this, there is nothing that contradicts the Opinion.

SECTION II.

From the Invaſion under Cæſar *to the Birth of Chriſt.*

CHAP. IX.

Of the Inhabitants of BRITAIN *in the Time of* Cæſar.

WE have ſeen in the preceding Section, what they were who may be called the earlieſt Inhabitants of *Britain*; not Savages or Giants, as fooliſh Hiſtories have repreſented them, but a People for their Time much civilized, ſkilful in Arts, formidable in Arms, Lords of their Seas, and enriched by a conſiderable Traffick held with the moſt remote, as well as with their neighbouring Nations.

What we know of theſe People is, that they were powerful, wiſe, and free. Whence they came, or at what Time they were eſtabliſhed, are Points Conjecture has no right to meddle with, for there is nothing firm on which it ſhould be grounded.

The Race of theſe plainly exiſted after ſo many Ages when *Cæſar* came to *Britain*. That they were unmixed all this Time with other Nations does not appear, nor is indeed probable. It is plain they had received Strangers in Diſtreſs, and probably they had permitted *Gauls* to ſettle on their Coaſts. They had not deſerved the Title given them by the *Romans*: on the contrary, 'tis highly probable their Hoſpitality to Strangers was the Original Cauſe to which they owed their Loſs of Independency.

Had the *Britons* in *Cæſar*'s Time preſerved that prudent Conduct with which their Anceſtors began, admitting no Strangers into their Ports, tho' they had aſſigned them Lands in other Places, they had remained as Nature placed them, *toto diviſos Orbe*, disjoined from the whole World; and never had provoked the *Romans*.

Their Connection with the *Gauls* ſettled on their Coaſts, led them into Friendſhips and Alliances with thoſe upon the Continent; and in an ill Time, and by an unhappy Choice, with thoſe who were the *Romans* Enemies.

The Period whereon we enter now, ſo important to *Britain*, and of ſuch Figure in its Hiſtory, was in the fifty-fifth Year before the Birth of Chriſt. *Cæſar* was then with a large Power in *Gaul*, purſuing Conqueſts with a Succeſs equal almoſt to his Ambition. The *Belgæ* were defeated; the *Germans* were expelled, and the *Valais* ſubdued. Fear kept all quiet; and the Conqueror taking the peaceful Opportunity went for *Illyrium*.

So terrible was *Cæſar* to the *Gauls*, that his ſingle Preſence awed more than all his Forces. *Craſſus* commanded at this Time in *Anjou* with the ſeventh Legion; and finding leſs Proviſions than he expected, he ſent his Tribunes with ſome Officers of Horſe to call for Corn upon the neighbouring Cities.

Velanius and *Silius* went to *Vannes*, the moſt potent Diſtrict on that Sea Coaſt; inhabited by the *Veneti*. Theſe People, the moſt brave and ſpirited of all the *Gauls*, impriſoned the Ambaſſadors. This was a Step by no Means to be juſtified, but the Laws of Nations were not then ſo well eſtabliſhed; nor indeed can they ſo much be blamed, as if they had been Embaſſadors from any other Kingdom. The reſt of the Cities took Courage at this Spirit of the *Veneti*, and all followed the Example. The Meſſengers were detained, and the *Gallick* Powers entered into a ſolemn League together, to aſſert that Liberty they had received from their Forefathers, and not to ſubmit to foreign Power: to make the Quarrel general, and ſtand or fall together.

The *Veneti* were powerful at Sea; they had a Navy formidable all round the Coaſts, and were better Sailors than any other of the *Gallick* People. On this Preſumption they had long made themſelves a kind of Sovereigns of the Seas around them. Their Ports were few and difficult of Acceſs, and they claimed a Right to Tribute from Ships of other Nations.

Theſe were the People, who as they had begun the Inſurrection againſt the *Romans*, were to ſupport and lead it. Their great Power being at Sea, they depended moſt on that; and looking upon what they were doing as the laſt Stroke for Liberty, they called in the Aſſiſtance of all who feared or hated *Cæſar*.

CHAP. X.

Of the Aſſiſtance given by the Britons *to the* Veneti.

THE Strength of the *Veneti* lying at Sea, they determined to bring the War thither; and to fill up the Number of their Fleet, and render Victory certain, they applied to *Britain*. “ Theſe “ ambitious Strangers are reducing us to Slavery, “ and their next Stroke will doubtleſs be at you.

" If you have Regard for your own Liberties, or
" Compaſſion for your antient Friends, ſend us your
" Naval Power to join with ours, and that of all
" *Gaul*, now armed againſt the Invader."

The *Britons* returned their Anſwer by their Fleet. Every Veſſel at that Time ready for Service was diſpatched to *Vannes*, with this ſhort Meſſage,
" That *Britons* did not know the Force of Fears,
" but there was nothing they denied to Friendſhip
" and Faith."

While theſe Preparations were making, an Embaſſy was ſent to *Craſſus*. " The *Gauls* would give the *Romans* Permiſſion to depart: they ſought only to recover their proper Liberties, and that it was indifferent to them to part with thoſe or die. That the *Roman* Embaſſadors were detained only in Return for the Hoſtages they kept of theirs, and ſhould be delivered back when thoſe were reſtored: in fine, that the whole Force of *Gaul* was on the Sea, determined if they muſt fight, to conquer, or to periſh."

Craſſus could only ſend the News to *Cæſar*. The *Britiſh* Navy joined the *Gauliſh*; and he oppoſed them with what Sea Force he had upon the Coaſt; and with a Reinforcement little thought of, Ships built with vaſt Expedition on the *Loire*, and manned with the beſt People that the Country or his own Corps afforded.

A little Care added to the natural Advantage of their Situation at Land, made the *Veneti* that way inacceſſible: this *Cæſar* knew, and it was therefore he made the Effort on the Sea.

Himſelf on this Occaſion kept at Land: the *Roman* Navy, enforced by all the Veſſels from the Sea Port Towns that held their Obedience, he committed to the Care of *D. Brutus*.

This was no inconſiderable Force, but the Confederate Navy was ſo much ſuperior in Number, and in Bulk of Ships, that the Admiral kept aloof all the Summer.

Cæſar the mean time waſted his Forces againſt a Number of Towns, whoſe Situation rendered their Inhabitants ſecure. 'Twas difficult to attack, and tedious to ſubdue them; and when taken, nothing was found in them; for the Sea being open, they were deſerted when they could no longer be defended, and the Conquerors found only the Walls.

Diſappointed in his Expectation here, *Cæſar* determined to call in his Navy. News ſpreads quick where Sea Communication is open. The Confederate Fleet drew out to meet them, conſiſting, according to his own Account, of no leſs than two Hundred and twenty Sail of tall Ships; having from their Structure, greatly the Advantage of his, both to attack and to defend.

Cæſar was ſtill on Shore; *Brutus*, his Admiral, who had been alarmed at the repoted Numbers of this Fleet, was terrified at the Sight: his Officers ſhared his Fears; but to fight was unavoidable. The Fate of *Gaul* depended on an Hour: the *Romans* muſt now conquer, or depart; and the *Gauls* were reſolute to take no Mean betwixt Victory and Death.

The Engagement began with the moſt deſperate Fury; the *Gauls* were the more numerous, and the better Sailors; but the *Romans* more inured to War, and hardier.

The *Romans* ſaw the Advantage the Confederates had in the better Management of their Veſſels; and they fell upon the Practice ſince adopted by the *French*, though without their Fortune, of levelling all their Efforts at the Rigging. They cut away the Tackles with hooked Scythes fixed to the End of Poles; and when they had thus diſabled, they ſoon boarded them.

'Twas now they fought on equal Terms, though againſt unequal Numbers. They conſidered the *Roman* Glory was intruſted to their Arms, and that they diſputed in Sight of *Cæſar* and their Countrymen, who covered all the Hills about the Coaſt, Spectators of the Scene. They attacked the *Gauls* with a Fury not to be reſiſted. They conquered one Veſſel after another; till Victory declaring fully for them, the Remains of the Confederate Fleet that could, ſtood out to Sea for flight. Fortune, that favoured the *Roman* Arms, forbad them even this; they were becalmed; the *Romans* followed, grappled, boarded, and deſtroyed them. Conſcious of the Hazard to which they had been now expoſed, they determined to cut off all Poſſibility of its being repeated; and the whole Confederate Fleet periſhed.

The Action, or rather this Maſſacre, and the deſtructive Conſequences of the Action, laſted till Night; and ſcarce a Veſſel of that vaſt Fleet, under which the Sea groaned in the Morning, was left to make its Eſcape in the Darkneſs.

The Victory was compleat: but let it be obſerved, it was won by *Brutus*.

The Towns ſubmitted all at once, and *Cæſar*, by an Act unworthy of a *Roman*, diſgraced a Victory which another had won, by his Cruelty.

The *Gauls* had fought only to preſerve their Liberty; a *Roman* ſhould have honoured them for this: they now ſubmitted to the Mercy of the Conqueror; a *Roman* ſhould have remembered, that *parcere ſubjectis*, to ſpare thoſe who ſubmitted, was the Character aſſumed by his Country. *Cæſar* forgot himſelf and *Rome*, he poorly took the Advantage of their Submiſſion; put their Senators to the Sword; and ſold the People into Slavery.

CHAP. XI.

Of Cæſar's *Deſign againſt* BRITAIN.

WE are arrived now thro' Paths of great Obſcurity, to a Period of more enlightened Time, and certain Knowledge. 'Tis happy that we have theſe Advantages for the recording an Event the moſt famous, and perhaps, the moſt important of all that concern the *Britiſh* Hiſtory. This every little Reader has by Rote, for every common Writer copies it.

The Story of *Cæſar*'s landing, as told by *Cæſar*, has been tranſlated into every *Engliſh* Hiſtory; and none has dared to doubt, to add, or to omit a Syllable. Were there no Writer of that Time but *Cæſar*, this were to be allowed; but even then with much Reſerve: for we ſhould remember he was recording his own Glory; every Thing to the Advantage of which, he would doubtleſs ſet in the full Light; and whatever tended to impair its Luſtre, obſcure as much as poſſible.

The Things that would diminiſh his Glory, are the very Articles which muſt embelliſh ours: let us ſeek them therefore carefully. Let the Reader once ſee a Hiſtory of his Invaſion written by a *Briton*.

I have ſhewn *Cæſar* could be meanly cruel; and having the Authority of his own Words to vouch it, who ſhall diſprove me, or vindicate this Hero! I ſhall ſhew more as little to his Honour, and every where relying on the Authority of antient and coeval Hiſtory, thoſe Cenſures, while they tend to the Honour of the *Britons*, will be as unanſwerable.

He who writes the Hiſtory of his Country, ſhould ſeek whatever may be to its Glory: and firſt confineing himſelf never to exceed the ſtrict Bounds of the Truth, he ſhould reſolve to omit no Circumſtance of Honour appearing within thoſe Limits.

This will appear a Cenſure on thoſe who have written *Britiſh* Hiſtory; and 'tis fit it ſhould. They have not enough conſidered *Cæſar*'s Words. I have ſhewn he could be cruel; and it cannot be hid from any, that he was oſtentatious: theſe, with his unwarrantable Ambition, are the Alloy in his great Character; and taking them at the utmoſt, they no more than ſhew no human Virtue can be perfect.

To attain the true Knowledge of an Event, recorded at large only by *Cæſar*; let us retain, as we read, *Cæſar*'s Concern in the Relation, and with it *Cæſar*'s Character.

When we have read him with theſe Allowances, let us examine carefully what little has been ſaid by others; and ſee how that may ſtrengthen our Conjectures. This is the only Road to Truth, when there are ſo few Materials from which to clear it up; and by this Courſe we ſhall better underſtand what was the true Tranſaction.

There is no Reader who will need be told, that *Cæſar* has been taxed with Falſhood in his Commentaries, by thoſe who muſt have had the Means of judging: his Candour does not ſtand without Suſpicion in the Relation of Tranſactions, wherein 'twas much more difficult to deceive, than thoſe which have Reſpect to *Britain*.

He who could miſrepreſent what paſſed during his Wars with *Pompey*, where thoſe could confute him who were Spectators; much more may be ſuppoſed to have favoured himſelf ſometimes at the Expence of Truth, when relating the Affair in *Britain*, where none were intereſted, nor any able to contradict him; where only his Soldiers, who ſhared the Glory of the Action, could ſay whether or not he repreſented it with Impartiality.

Under theſe Difficulties we lie, with Reſpect of the Expedition of *Cæſar* into *Britain*. 'Tis a Tranſaction which it very much imports us to know truly, and it muſt principally be obtained from the Words of an Author plainly intereſted in the Story. Others have taken it ſolely from him; and delivered it juſt as he relates it: we muſt be content to collect it principally from him; but we ſhall endeavour to enter into the Spirit of his Accounts, as well as to underſtand the Letter; to miſrepreſent *Cæſar*'s Story, giving it as *Cæſar*'s, is impoſſible, becauſe it is in every Hand; but 'tis not impoſſible to underſtand it better in ſome Inſtances than others have done, who have not been at ſufficient Pains to examine.

Cæſar, whoſe Spirit was as much above Fatigue as Danger, and whoſe Generalſhip exceeds all Praiſe; while his Troops were enjoying the Fruits of their great Victory, ſaw farther Advantages attending on it; and he determined to purſue them.

The Fleet commanded by the *Veneti* had been much greater than he ſuppoſed them capable of raiſing, and he enquired with Diligence into their Reſources. Much Aſſiſtance they had from Towns on the Sea Coaſt of *Gaul*, which were now with them reduced to his Obedience; but the great Number he learned were furniſhed them by *Britain*.

This placed our Iſland with him in the Light of a very powerful Country; one that was too near, as well as too ſtrong to be left an Enemy; and which it would be as much to his Glory, as to his Intereſt to ſubdue.

He had heard of *Britain* frequently, but with little Information; nor was he able now to obtain much more: but what he could not learn by Report, he found from Reaſon. That as an Iſland, the natural Defence of the People muſt be their Naval Power: that it was great, he had ſeen; but what he had ſeen, he had deſtroyed: the Conqueſt of the Iſland preſented itſelf as neceſſary; the Aſſiſtance they had given his Enemies, gave him a Cauſe, beſide his own Ambition; and his Diſcernment ſaw there could be no Time ſo proper as the preſent, in which their natural Safeguard was wanting, and themſelves full of a great Idea of the *Romans* from their late Succeſs.

What *Cæſar* found convenient to be done, no Difficulties prevented. Late in a ſucceeding Summer he determined to invade the Iſland; prefering a bad Seaſon, with their want of a Navy, and their imagined Terrors, to the faireſt Advantage of a ſucceeding Summer, when they ſhould be more prepared, and more in Spirit.

CHAP. XII.

Of Cæſar's *firſt Attempt on* BRITAIN.

IT was now the Autumn of the fifty-third Year before the Birth of Chriſt, when the Expedition againſt *Britain* was determined. The Importance of the Action preſſed, and the Neceſſity of the Seaſon haſtened the Preparations. Ambition and Reſentment were his Motives; for they knew little of this Leader's Character, who have told us, he was led to invade our Iſland by the Bigneſs of our Pearls.

We have ſeen occaſionally in the preceding Chapters, what was the Condition of the *Britons* at the Time of *Cæſar's* Invaſion; and we find by the Account of that Commander, how ſtrictly they had kept up the Policy of not admitting Strangers too far into their Secrets; for he tells us, how little was then known of them.

The firſt Step taken by this Leader, was to order his Naval Force to be prepared; and while that was doing, he ſummoned all the Merchants of that Part of *Gaul*, to queſtion them concerning *Britain*. His Demands were ſuch as became his intended Enterprize: what was the Extent of the Iſland; and of what Form the Government: what the Number of the People; what Skill they had in War, and what was the Condition of their Ports? but of all this he could learn little; in a Manner nothing.

What he could not find by Enquiry, he attempted to learn by Spies. He ſent out *Voluſenus* with a Galley, to make a ſhort Voyage to the *Britiſh* Coaſt, and return with what Intelligence he could.

While this Meſſenger was getting his Information, *Cæſar* marched into *Picardy*, and thither ordered his whole Navy, declaring his Deſign upon the Iſland, which he had ſent *Voluſenus* to examine.

The *Britons*, influenced, as it appears, by Prudence rather than by Fear, hearing of his Deſign againſt them, ſent Embaſſadors. They, as well as *Cæſar*, knew in how improper a Condition they were to reſiſt the *Roman* Force, and they had ſo great Opinion of its Strength, to wiſh themſelves prepared in the beſt Manner for their Defence.

The Intent of the Embaſſy ſeems to have been, that they might gain Time wherein to build a new Navy; but this *Cæſar* ſaw as well as they, and knew the Advantage, as much as they the Diſadvantage of the preſent Hour.

What was the Purport of the Embaſſy we cannot know, except from *Cæſar*: he tells us, they ſent an Offer of their willing Submiſſion to the *Roman* Empire, and their Readineſs to ſend Hoſtages of their Fidelity.

Cæſar received them favourably, promiſed them great Rewards, and ſent them back, accompanied by *Comius*, one who had *great Intereſt in Britain.* Theſe are the Words of *Cæſar*: He gave him Commiſſion to negotiate for the *Romans*, and added, he would in a little Time be there.

This was followed by *Cæſar's* firſt Expedition: a Tranſaction pompouſly recorded; but as appears with ſome Untruth. Let us firſt examine the Nature of the Preparation.

Cæſar, when he returned, not very ſucceſsful according to his own Account, ſet down the Commentaries of the Expedition; and he palliates his little Succeſs by the Diſadvantages in the Undertaking. It is with this Deſign the Difficulties of obtaining his Intelligence are introduced: and ſeeing the Intent, let us examine with that Freedom which becomes an Enquiry into Truth, the ſeveral Circumſtances.

We are told, *Comius had a great Intereſt in Britain:* could *Comius* have great Intereſt in a Country he did not know? If he did know it, why could not he give *Cæſar* an Account of thoſe material Circumſtances; the Number of the People, the Nature of their Government, and their Skill in War. Certainly their Numbers, and their Courage, were found very formidable: and this King of *Cæſar's* making, could not but know they were ſo.

This is not all. We are told before of *Divitiacus*, according to his own Account, well acquainted with *Britain*, and much in *Cæſar's* Favour, of him therefore certainly ſomething better might have been learned; nor is it poſſible the *Gauls*, who ſent their Youth to *Britain* in Times of Peace to learn the *Druid* Cuſtoms; and who in War received at all Times great Aſſiſtance from them, could be ſo ignorant of their Cuſtoms, Hiſtory, and Manneſs, as *Cæſar* repreſents them. *Pollio* had Reaſon when he remarked on this Occaſion, *Cæſar's* Memory failed him.

All this taken together, which we have here prefixed to the Event, as it concerned the Preparation; and this compared with the Event as *Cæſar* makes the beſt of it, a Reader of Diſcernment will not fail to ſee, that the Tranſaction of his firſt Attempt upon this Iſland, needed all theſe preparatory Palliations; the backward Seaſon, and the abſolute Want of needful Information.

But the great Palliative of all is yet to come: we are told, *Cæſar*, with all this mighty Preparation, did not propoſe to conquer, or make any Eſtabliſhment on *Britain* at that Time, but only to view the Iſland, to make himſelf acquainted with its Coaſts, and prepare himſelf for a future Attempt.

This is his own Account prefixed to the Story of the Expedition; but certainly ſuch a Fleet, and ſuch a Force, were not neceſſary for that Purpoſe; nor did his Conduct in the Expedition, anſwer to this propoſed Deſign of it.

The *Britons* had ſent a cunning Embaſſy: *Cæſar* had returned a ſpecious and evaſive Anſwer; *Voluſenus* returned with what Diſcovery he could make in a five Days Cruiſe without landing; and *Cæſar*, with the *Roman* Infantry, embark'd in eighty Tranſports: he gave Orders for the Horſe to come in eighteen more, that lay a few Miles diſtant, and ſet ſail an Hour after Midnight for the Coaſt of *Britain.*

The Seas were open to him; but the Shores defended. He arrived in ſight of Land two Hours before Noon, and ſaw it covered with an armed Force. The *Britons* had Intelligence of his Deſign, and were prepared for his Reception.

Cæſar diſliked the Appearance: the Shore was not advantageous: he waited five Hours for the reſt of his Tranſports, which did not yet appear; and then made his Way to a more favourable Coaſt, at eight Miles Diſtance.

The *Britons* watched, and followed him: their Chariots covered the Shore, their Infantry ſpread round them, and between Three and Four in the Afternoon the Attack began.

Cæſar acknowledges the *Britons* were bold, and that the *Roman* Soldiers never ſhewed leſs Inclination to fighting. They had all the Diſadvantages; and the *Britons* all the Aſſiſtance of Nature. Their Ships could not come near the Shore, and they were attacked by a deſperate Enemy, in the very Attempt to leave their Veſſels.

Some Gallies that could get nearer the Shore than their larger Veſſels, firſt made the *Britons* give ground; on that a Standard Bearer of a Legion leaped into the Water, and the whole Body followed.

The *Britons* beat them back, but the *Roman* Courage always ſerved to rally; and *Cæſar*, whoſe experienced Eye viewed every Part at once, ſending Supplies as faſt as they were wanted any where; the *Britons*, after a long Encounter, ſuffered the Enemy to land.

This is the Account given by the Author of the Exploit. He claims no more Houour than to have ſet his Foot on *Britain*; for he ſays, the Horſe being not yet arrived, he could not purſue the Fugitives: nor could he at that Time take the Iſland.

However, what he could not take, it ſeems by his Account, the *Britons* gave him. He tells us, they ſent Hoſtages of their future Fidelity, intreated Peace, delivered up *Comius*, whom, ſuſpecting his Buſineſs, they had impriſoned. The Princes from all Parts, came to deliver up themſelves and their States to *Cæſar*.

CHAP. XIII.

Remarks upon the Story of Cæſar's *firſt Invaſion.*

THIS is the Story of *Cæſar*'s firſt Expedition into *Britain*, and it has paſſed currently almoſt two thouſand Years: ſurely for want of due Examination, for it abounds with Contradictions.

If we recollect the Hour of the Day, and the Seaſon of the Year, Night muſt have ſoon parted the Combatants. *Cæſar* had eight Miles to ſail after Three in the Afternoon, in *September*. The Conflict could not be long; nor is there any Thing that could influence the Princes from all Parts to a voluntary Submiſſion. 'Twas not their Character; nor did any Thing like it appear in their ſucceeding Conduct.

The Veſſels that were to tranſport the *Roman* Cavalry appeared in ſight, but were driven back to *Gaul* by Storms: thoſe which had brought over *Cæſar* and his Legions, were damaged the ſame Night; and the *Britons* taking the Advantage of their Diſtreſs, aſſembled again to attack them: they fell upon his Foragers, and ſtood againſt the Forces which himſelf led up to their Aſſiſtance. He did not chuſe to attack them, but after maintaining his Ground a-while, retreated with his Legions to his Camp: and the *Britons*, he adds, while his People were otherwiſe employed, made their Eſcape.

I repreſent him fairly; and to the diſcerning Reader, what a Story! This Body of *Britons* whom *Cæſar* did not chuſe to attack, and who, he ſays, they ſome way or other ſuffered to eſcape, formed a Deſign immediately after to force the *Roman* Camp. This was a brave Attempt, though unſucceſsful. It ſhewed what *Britons* dared to do againſt the Conquerors of the World. They were repulſed; they retreated; and, as *Cæſar* ſays, ſent Terms of Peace again. He demanded double Hoſtages; but he did not ſtay to take them with him. His Departure for *Gaul* immediately followed, where he paſſed the Winter. The Hoſtages he demanded on the Part of *Britain*, were to be ſent after him; and he acknowledges but few of them ever came.

There is in all this but a very poor Account for a Conqueror. *Cæſar* arrived with a Fleet upon the Coaſt of *Britain*: the Natives diſputed his landing vigorouſly; when encamped they fell upon his Foragers, and upon his marching out with the greateſt Part of his Force to their Relief, it was a drawn Battle. He returned to *Gaul*, commanding Hoſtages which were not ſent; and on this Foundation claimed a Right in *Britain*.

This was his firſt Expedition; we ſhall in the next Chapter, give as impartial an Account of his ſecond: certainly this has been much miſunderſtood.

Our Hiſtorians writing in long diſtant Periods, call it a kind of Conqueſt: but the *Romans*, his Cotemporaries, ſpeak another Language; they tell him in Reproach, of turning his Back upon the *Britons*, and that in Terms little becoming the Story of a *Cæſar*.

> *Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis*,

is *Lucan*'s Phraſe; with how much Juſtice we cannot determine, but probably with more Truth than they have praiſed him who make this a mighty and ſucceſsful Expedition.

Our Hiſtorian *Gildas* wonders the *Britons* did not oppoſe *Cæſar* by their Naval Force: *Gildas* is right in ſuppoſing the *Britons* had in thoſe Ages a Naval Power capable of making Head againſt the *Romans*, but he forgets they had at that Time loſt it. Their Fleet had joined, and been deſtroyed with that of the *Veneti*'s, in the laſt Stroke for Liberty.

This left them open to the Attacks of a Force they would otherwiſe have been able to have repelled; and to this fatal Step, a Meaſure to be remembered with Honour and Compaſſion, rather than with Cenſure; the *Britons* might attribute *Cæſar*'s Succeſs, ſuch as it was, againſt them.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Cæſar's *ſecond Expedition into* BRITAIN.

A Year or little leſs paſſed, from the firſt to the ſecond Attempt of the ambitious *Roman* upon our Iſland; and here we are to regret it was not properly employed. The natural Strength of *Britain* is its Navy: the Inhabitants at that Time were neither few, nor ignorant in Naval Matters; had they employed thoſe many Months in building a new Fleet, they would have been eaſily able to oppoſe him on the Sea, whom they were not able afterwards to drive from Shore. This was an early Error, and its Conſequence was the Loſs of the Kingdom; let it ſtand an everlaſting Warning to their Succeſſors.

Following the Story of the antient Kings, we have ſhewn that *Britain*, at the Time this *Roman* made his Attempt upon it, was in a flouriſhing Condition both in Arts and Arms.

Lud had been poſſeſſed of a powerful Navy; the Strength of his own Dominions, and the Terror of his Neighbours. With this he had made many Conqueſts, adding to the *Britiſh* Crown the Dominion of ſeveral Iſlands, till then independent States.

His Death left *Caſſibelan* his Brother, the Care of his two Sons; and the People gave him more, even the Crown: but he eſtabliſhed his two Nephews Sovereigns in *Kent* and *Cornwall*, though dependent upon him; and it appears from the Accounts, that there were many others who commanded with a ſovereign Power in other Diſtricts.

This was the Condition of *Britain* at that Time, and to the jarring Councils of a Power ſo divided, much of the Misfortunes that followed are to be attributed.

The Winter following, the Attempt of *Cæſar* was no idle Time, either to the *Britons* or the *Romans*. He went into *Italy*; and when he heard the *Britons* did not ſend their Hoſtages, he ordered all poſſible Preparation for another Invaſion.

The whole Naval Force under his Command was put on its beſt footing, and amounted, according to probable Accounts, to more than two Hundred; there are thoſe who have written them a Thouſand Sail.

The *Britons* ſpent their Time not idly, though not wiſely. Their Succeſs the laſt Year at Land, gave them Hopes they ſhould be able, upon more Preparation, to cut their ambitious Enemies to Pieces. They met, raiſed Forces, and expected Sword in Hand the Adventurer; of whoſe Motions they had conſtant Intelligence. They knew when all was ready for his ſetting ſail; and they retired about twelve Miles from the Shore to wait for him.

Cæſar embarked at Sun-ſet, and made for the ſame Place where he had landed the Year before. 'Twas Noon the next Day when he made the Shore, having been becalmed and loſt his Paſſage in the Night. He landed without Oppoſition.

Cæſar ſays there had been Multitudes upon the Shore, and that they fled at his Approach; but this ſeems not probable. He marched forward in the Night; and toward Morning came up with the united Body of the *Britons*, whoſe Spirit getting the better of their Prudence, did not wait, but began the Attack, giving up by that the Advantages of an excellent Situation.

The *Britons* had Fury; but ſteady unremitted Reſolution was the *Romans*. The Battle went againſt our Countrymen, who retired into the Woods, takeing Advantage of a Fortreſs built before, and well defended by Trees cut down for that Purpoſe, and by other Methods.

The *Romans* being Maſters of the Art of War, eaſily drove them from this Place of Refuge, and a flying Fight was maintained till Evening.

The Conquerors encamped at Night, and ſet out to renew the Fight in the Morning, but they were recalled. A Tempeſt, *Cæſar* ſays, that Night had wracked his Veſſels. Perhaps this was not the only Reaſon for his making to the Shore. We muſt take Things as the *Roman* has been pleaſed to give them; here Lions were no Statuaries; the *Britons* wrote no Hiſtory of their Oppoſition: there are no Commentaries of *Caſſibelan*.

It took ſome Time to reinſtate, and to ſecure the *Roman* Navy; this done, ſays *Cæſar*, they went to ſeek the Enemy. There was no Difficulty to find the *Britons*, nor any long March to come up with them; for *Caſſibelan* waited for *Cæſar* on the ſame Spot where the firſt Battle had been fought.

Envy had made this Sovereign many Enemies, and *Britain* was, as we have ſaid, divided into ſeveral States: theſe, for the moſt Part, had made War upon this Prince, but now their common Danger made them Friends; and he had the chief Command.

The Aſſault was again made by the *Britons*: their Chariots and Horſe attacked the *Roman* Cavalry. The Day was fought with various Succeſs, the *Britons* often retreating, but after every Retreat returning with new Fury; and for the laſt Stroke, while the *Romans* were encamping for the Night, they charged to the very Poſts of the Guards and Centinels; and while the Cohorts ſent out on the Occaſion ſtood terrified, marched back again unaſſaulted by theſe Conquerors of the World.

The next Day was ſpent in Skirmiſhes, but all the Attacks were on the *Britons* Side; they looked upon the Enemy from the advanced Ground, and with great Skill in their Diſpoſition and Diviſions, fell upon the Foragers in proper Parties, and drove them with much Slaughter to the very Legions and their Standards.

Cæſar was never oppoſed by ſo deſperate an Enemy; nor were the *Roman* Soldiers ever ſo much terrified.

The *Romans*, when they had the leaſt Advantage, made the moſt of it: they purſued thoſe Parties they routed toward the End of the Day, and they ſlew many.

CHAP. XV.

Caſſibelan, *who oppoſed* Cæſar, *is deſerted by his Army.*

IN the ſucceeding Night, a great Part of *Caſſibelan*'s Army left him. Why they took this unworthy Step we are not told; but as he was now no longer able to attack, he retired to his own Territories, between which and *Cæſar* lay the *Thames*, over this River there then was no Bridge, and it was only in one Place to be forded.

Britons betrayed *Britain*. *Cæſar* got Intelligence of this Ford; and *Caſſibelan* now at Home reinforced his Army, defended the Shore in that Place, and ſtaked the Bottom of the River. Difficulties were oppoſed to *Cæſar*, but the *Roman* Virtue was Perſeverance;

he ſurmounted them. The Place of this Encounter was *Coway-ſtakes* near *Oat-Lands*; and in *Beda*'s Time, he tells us, there remained there the Veſtiges of *Caſſibelan*'s Defence. The *Thames* was paſſed againſt all theſe Diſadvantages, and the Succeſs was *Cæſar*'s.

Caſſibelan finding himſelf unable to oppoſe, thought only now of harraſſing the Enemy. He kept a Body of four thouſand Chariots, with which he watched all the Motions of the *Romans*, and cut off their Out Parties: the Terror of his little Company was ſuch, the Soldiers dared not forage.

The *Romans*, who had beaten the *Britiſh* Armies, now would have been ſtarved out of *Britain*, had not its own inteſtine Quarrels given them the Country. The *Trinobantes*, Inhabitants of *Middleſex* and *Eſſex*, while the reſt of their Countrymen were harraſſing thoſe whom they could not beat in a pitch'd Battle, ſent to them in Treaty.

But for this unhappy Step the *Romans* would have been able to have boaſted at beſt an empty Conqueſt: they would have been compelled to leave an Iſland, whoſe Inhabitants refuſing Slavery, would have cut off all they had dared to leave behind them. *Cæſar* muſt have ſeen this with Deſpair, when the *Trinobantes* ſent to him.

Caſſibelan had warred upon theſe People: He had killed their King *Immanuentius*, and the Terror of his Arms had driven the Son of that Prince to *Cæſar*. The *Trincbantes* ſacrificed to their Hate of *Caſſibelan* their Country. They entreated *Cæſar* to protect their Prince and them; they ſent Hoſtages, and, what the *Romans* much more wanted, Proviſions for the Army.

Britain was thus betrayed by her own Sons: for other Provinces ſeeing themſelves plundered, and the *Trinobantes* ſpared for a certain Allowance, purchaſed the ſame Immunity, on the ſame Terms, Submiſſion to the *Romans*. *Cæſar* became Maſter of ſix Provinces; and *Caſſibelan*, deſerted by thoſe for whom he fought, retired to his own City the antient *Verulam*: thither *Cæſar* followed him. The Place was fortified, but not of Strength to reſiſt a *Roman* Siege. *Caſſibelan* knew this: he hurt the *Romans* as much as he could, and as long as he could; and then retiring by an unknown Way, took with him his faithful Followers, and left the Conquerors his Walls; the Price of much of their beſt Blood.

The *Briton* made his Way, not to an inglorious Safety as many thought, but to a new Attempt upon his Country's Enemies; he led the March to *Cæſar*'s Camp, upon the Coaſt, which defended his Shipping. His Courage and his Conduct gained him a new Army as he went. He attacked the Camp with a deſperate Fury; but without Succeſs. The *Roman* all this Time ſtood firm and inacceſſible, marching as a Conqueror through the *Britiſh* Provinces. *Caſſibelan* knowing it was in vain to reſiſt longer, offered Peace, which *Cæſar* readily accepted. He ſent Hoſtages to the *Romans*: *Cæſar* impoſed a yearly Tribute on him, and retired to *Gaul*.

This was, if the Accounts are true, indeed a Conqueſt of the Iſland. *Caſſibelan* died ſome few Years after, and as is ſaid was buried at *York*.

We give this Story on the Authority whereon it reſts, the Words of *Cæſar*; but there is Reaſon to believe it was not quite ſo unfavourable in many Things to our Country. Even by his own Relation, our Diviſions, not his Arms, ſubdued us. The *Britons* loſt their Liberty like the *Mexicans*; the Force ſent againſt them was not able to have vanquiſhed them; but they betrayed themſelves.

Writers of *Cæſar*'s Time and Country, for to our Misfortune there remain no others, ſpeak of this Matter variouſly. *Lucian* makes *Pompey* charge him with flying from the *Britons*. *Oroſius* tells us, that in his firſt Expedition hither, the Sea deſtroyed moſt of his Horſe, and the *Britons* the greater Part of his Foot; he founds this on a Hiſtory of *Suetonius* now loſt. *Dionyſius* gives little better Account of his ſecond Expedition; he tells us, all his Foot were once routed by the *Britons*; and the ſame *Oroſius* ſays, his Horſe were fairly beaten.

Theſe are Authorities at leaſt equal to that of *Cæſar* ſinging his own Praiſes; and from theſe, joined with his own Account, we may collect this Truth, that Accident, and not his Power or Courage, ſo far ſubdued this Iſland. Had a Navy been prepared, and conducted with the ſame Spirit as their Land Expeditions, *Cæſar* could never have ſet foot upon the Iſland; and had the *Britons* adher'd to their own Intereſts, he could never have eſtabliſhed himſelf in Conſequence of all his little Victories.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Condition of the BRITONS *the firſt thirty Years ſucceeding* Cæſar.

THE Conqueſt, ſuch as it was of *Britain* under *Julius Cæſar*, was of little Advantage to the *Romans*; or beſide the Loſs of Liberty, of little Inconvenience to the *Britons*. The firſt Attempt of *Cæſar* was in the fifty third, the laſt in the fifty ſecond Year before Chriſt; that is the Period when *Britain* became ſubject to the *Romans*.

This ſecond was *Cæſar*'s laſt Landing; and his Conqueſt, as it was called by himſelf, was ſo much diſputed, that for twenty Years the *Romans* thought no more of this Country. *Caſſibelan* was dead, and *Julius Cæſar* in that Time murthered, having aſſumed the Empire of the *Romans*.

Octavius, the Nephew of *Cæſar*, ſucceeded in the *Roman* Empire; and he for the firſt Years thought nothing of our Country. *Strabo* would have us think he deſpiſed it; but that being impoſſible, it is much more likely he thought it but half conquered.

When the Claim to our Iſland had been twenty Years neglected, it came into *Auguſtus*'s Head to ſet it up again, this was in the thirty ſecond Year before

Chriſt, but the Deſign came to nothing. *Auguſtus* marched to *Gaul*, but he proceeded not to *Britain*.

Tenuantius the Son of *Lud*, and Nephew of *Caſſibelan*, ſucceeded him, and at that Time was in a Manner Sovereign of *Britain*; but there were ſtill ſeparate Claims, and independent Eſtates. What prevented the Viſit of *Auguſtus* to this Iſland, who had came as far as *Gaul* for that ſole Purpoſe, is not ſo clear in Hiſtory; unhappily we have only *Roman* Records. 'Tis not impoſſible, nay 'tis not improbable, that our Anceſtors in twenty Years had found their former Error, and that they had made themſelves Maſters of their Liberty by better Union, and ſecure of their Iſland, no more claimed by the *Romans*, by a powerful Navy. We are told, the News of a Revolt in *Pannonia*, ſaved *Britain* from this Viſit of *Auguſtus*; but that does not ſeem a ſufficient Cauſe: howſoever it was, our Iſle ſtood unmoleſted, and paid no Homage to its *Roman* Maſters.

Seven Years more the Claim lay dormant, but at the End of that Time 'twas again in *Auguſtus*'s Mind to land in *Britain*. 'Tis plain from the *Romans* own Accounts, he did not look on it as conquered: he did not intend to paſs as an acknowledged Sovereign from one Part to another of his Dominions, but expected Oppoſition. 'Twas in the twenty-fifth Year before the Birth of Chriſt this happened. *Auguſtus* came again into *Gaul*; but Embaſſadors from *Britain* meeting him there, he proceeded no farther.

The Year after, that is the twenty-fourth before our Saviour, the Treaty of the laſt was by no Means fulfilled, and he prepared again; but his Preparation again died without Execution.

All this Time *Britain* paid *Rome* no Tribute, unleſs we call by that Name the Duties on Merchandize with which they traded into *Gaul*.

Thus ſtood our Country eight and twenty Years after the Exploit of *Cæſar*; but as for a long Time there had been Talk at *Rome* of an Expedition into *Britain*, our Princes wiſhing if they could on eaſy Terms to purchaſe the Abſence of ſuch Viſiters, ſent Meſſages and Preſents frequently thither. All that we read of *Tenuantius* is, that he was a warlike Prince; what we can learn concerning the naval Power of this Country in his Time, ſtands but on the Footing of Conjecture; but there are Grounds for gueſſing.

That he had Ships is evident, by the Mention made of his Traffick with the *Gauls*, and of the Duties paid upon thoſe Articles of Commerce which he exported thither; probably Tin was the chief. That his Ships were numerous is probable, for there was nothing in which a wiſe and warlike Prince could better chuſe to ſhew his Diſpoſition; and the repeated Deſigns, and the otherwiſe unaccountable delaying of them among the *Romans*, ſeem alſo to ſpeak this Language.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the State of BRITAIN *in the Reign of* Tiberius.

THUS ſtood *Britain* during the Reign of this Prince and of *Auguſtus Cæſar*; *Cunobelin* followed him, and *Tiberius* ſucceeded *Auguſtus*.

Cunobelin was the firſt of a new Race of Kings. Hitherto our Sovereigns had been purely *Britons*, bred at Home, and poſſeſſed of their Country's natural and unpoliſhed Virtues. This was by Birth a *Briton*, but in his Education a *Roman*. He had been bred up from a Youth in the Court of *Auguſtus*; and his Friendſhip finiſhed what the Diſſentions of his Country had begun, the ſubjecting of it to the *Roman* Yoke. Coins remain of this Prince, by which we are aſcertained of his Hiſtory and its Period: his Reſidence was in *Eſſex*, at *Malden*, then *Camolodunum*.

In his Reign *Tiberius* ſucceeded to the *Roman* Empire, and in it Chriſt was born.

The Remains of Hiſtory in theſe Periods are very ſlender, but they do not leave us quite ignorant as to the Naval Power of *Britain*. A few Words dropt caſually by ſome *Roman* Hiſtorian, or ſome Tranſaction in which that People chanced to be concerned, is all we have from whence to trace our own Story.

Many Things unqueſtionably relating to our Ships paſſed in theſe Times unknown to us; but that we had ſome, is plain by the Uſe recorded on one Occaſion to have been made of them. *Tiberius* made no War on *Britain*: *Cunobelin* was his Friend, and nothing more. In his Reign we find by *Tacitus*, *Germanicus* paſſing the Seas near *Gaul* with *Roman* Troops, they were diſperſed by Tempeſts, and thrown at length upon the *Britiſh* Coaſts ſhipwrecked, and with the Loſs of their Veſſels.

The Story is related by different Hiſtorians, but very ſhortly and imperfectly by all. This however appears, that the *Roman* Veſſels being loſt, the *Britons* after entertaining the Soldiers handſomely, ſent them home in theirs.

Had there been no ſuch Accident to have confirmed that *Cunobelin* had a Navy, Reaſon would have told us ſo wiſe and powerful a Prince would not have been without one. We find by this that he had ſuch a Power, and that it was not inconſiderable, ſince it could on this immediate Notice do ſo important Service.

Cunobelin may be called the Civilizer of the *Britiſh* People. He lived in Friendſhip rather than in Subjection to the *Romans*; and they at that Time enjoyed an univerſal Peace. The Father of this Prince had ſent him, as ſome call it, an Hoſtage of his Fidelity to *Rome*: however that were, the Pretence was honourable; his Commiſſion was to bear the Congratulations of his Father to *Auguſtus* on his Succeſſes againſt *Anthony*; and whatever were the true Reaſons of his remaining there, the Story was, that he might learn the *Roman* Arts and Manners.

He profited in that great School; and being at his Aſcent to the Throne of *Britain* full of the Idea of the *Roman* Glory, he made it his Purpoſe to imitate that People.

He firſt coined Gold and Silver in a regular Manner; he improved his People in the Arts of living, in Houſes, Cloaths, Attendance, and every other Article: moderating ſo, that while he baniſhed the homely Plainneſs that had before prevailed, he did not in its Place introduce Luxury.

While this Prince enjoyed the Affections of his Subjects, and was reſpected, feared, and honoured by his Neighbours, he was not without Misfortunes in his Family, a graceleſs Son rendered his Life many Years full of Anxiety, and at length proved a terrible Curſe to his Country.

SECTION III.

The Naval Hiſtory of BRITAIN *for the Firſt Century.*

No particular Event in the Hiſtory of BRITAIN marks the Year of the Commencement of the Chriſtian Æra; but according to our propoſed Order, we diſtinguiſh the preceeding from the ſubſequent Incidents by this Diviſion.

CHAP. XVIII.

Caligula *is inſtigated by* Britiſh *Fugitives to viſit the Iſland.*

WE have ſeen *Britain* in a State, if it were Subjection, of a very honourable and very eaſy Subjection; but that did not continue. The *Roman* Name was all now known in the Iſland; but the Iron Hand of that oppreſſive People was ſoon after brought heavily upon it; and this now, as on all the preceding Occaſions, by Faults in its own People.

Adminius was the ungracious Son of *Cunobelin*. After many fruitleſs Attempts to reclaim, he baniſhed him the Iſland: the Youth repaired to *Rome*, and was there the Tool of that artful People, under the Idea of their being the Miniſters of his Reſentment.

His Purpoſe was to bring them back to *Britain*; and to induce them to the Enterprize, he boaſted of the Advantages, and ſaid much of the Riches of the Iſland. The Preſents ſent from time to time to *Rome*, confirmed this; and *Caligula* ſucceeding *Tiberius* in the Empire, the Project took ſtrong Footing.

The former Emperor had been content with the ſlight Marks of Subjection, acknowledged by the *Britons* in thoſe Preſents, and in the Language of thoſe who delivered them; but *Caligula*, wild, diſſolute, and in his Nature given to Tyranny, liſtened to the Propoſals of *Adminius*, and ſet out for *Britain*.

He paſſed the *Alps*; the Heir of *Britain* leading him to its Deſtruction. His Expedition is oddly recorded, and ſeems to carry an Air of Madneſs. He poſted his Army on the oppoſite Coaſt, picked up a Quantity of Sand and Cockle-ſhells, and marched away again, contenting himſelf with this as a Conqueſt of the Ocean; and telling the *Roman* Senate, in his Letters, that all was yielded to him.

Where the *Romans*, for we have no other Hiſtorians, have left us any Hints reſpecting our naval Power, they all repreſent it as conſiderable: when there are none, we muſt be allowed to reaſon from Probabilities: and in this Tranſaction of *Caligula*'s, nothing appears more likely, than that the Terror of a *Britiſh* Navy prevented his Deſign; and that the Cockle-ſhell Expedition was a little Artifice, or Trick, to give a Colour to his laying aſide his pompous Purpoſes.

This is all we know of the Reign of *Cunobelin*. No Mention is made of a Naval Power; but from his great Character as a wiſe Prince, and by the Diſappointment, for ſuch it certainly was, of an intended *Roman* Invaſion under one of their Emperors, it is moſt probable that great and natural Guard of the Iſland's Liberty was in a good Condition.

The Son of *Cunobelin* dared not ſet his Foot again in that Country he had ſo baſely meant to betray; and at the Death of the Father, his two younger Brothers ſucceeded together to the Crown. Theſe were *Togodumnus* and *Caractacus*. *Claudius* was now Emperor. It was common for *Britiſh* Fugitives to fly to *Rome*, and there continually propoſing Invaſions of the Iſland, joined one another in provoking that Deſtruction of their Liberties, which the *Romans* otherwiſe might not perhaps have ever undertaken.

Bercius, a diſaffected Man of Power and Intereſt in this Reign, fled to *Claudius* with a Party. He propoſed the abſolute Reduction of the Iſle as eaſy, and well worth the *Romans* undertaking; he pointed out the Means, he ſollicited the Meaſure, and promiſed the Aſſiſtance of Multitudes of his Friends, who ſhould join the Legions as ſoon as they arrived.

Britain was at this Time no inconſiderable Country; its Embaſſadors demanded back theſe Fugitives. But they were protected, and *Claudius* ambitious of the Honour of a Triumph, fixed upon this Expedition, which *Bercius* recommended as ſo eaſy.

The *Britons* had now long maintained this uncertain Situation between Subjects and Friends of the *Romans*: 'twas in the Year of the Chriſtian Æra 42, theſe Practices of *Bercius* were diſcovered, and he demanded back as a Traitor to his Country. This was not the Language of a ſubjected State, much leſs was the Reſult of the *Romans* Refuſal. They received a ſecond Meſſage, declaring, that ſince they refuſed to deliver up Criminals demanded in due Form, the *Britons* diſclaimed all Friendſhip with them.

War could not but be expected from this; and here was an Occaſion offered to the *Britons* to ſhake off for ever the *Roman* Yoke: but like all others it was neglected. The Eſtabliſhment of a Naval Power ſhould have been the firſt Preparation, but this they utterly neglected. They depended upon their own Courage; and on the *Roman* Fear of it, for their Security.

The Intelligence they had might not improbably miſlead them into this Security, but it deceived them. *Plautius* the *Roman* Prætor was commiſſioned to lead the Legions then in *Gaul* to this new Expedition. It was no eaſy Taſk, the Story of *Cæſar's* Reception was yet alive, and the Troops delayed, and at length ſet ſail murmuring. Tempeſts beat them back, and they were not diſpleaſed with them: but ſome artful Perſon, taking Occaſion from their Superſtition, got them out again with better Hope and better Inclination. He perſuaded them that a Meteor, then accidentally taking Fire in the Air, pointed their Courſe to *Britain*: they followed, and the *Britons* upon the Coaſt, who ſaw them coming, neither attempted to meet them on the Sea, nor on the Shore, but retiring to the neighbouring Woods lay wait to deſtroy them as they ſeparated, without hazarding a general Action.

The *Britons* and the *Romans* ſeem at this Time to have been mutually afraid of one another; they had not met in any Encounters, but each had heard the other's Courage extolled highly.

The *Romans* were no ſooner landed, but the *Britons* ſaw their Error. They now trembled to think of facing even the detached Parties of thoſe whom they might before have beat together: they retired farther into the Country, and by ſome ill Conduct ſeparated.

Plautius engaged the two Kings ſeperately, and beat them both. They retired, and the Strength of *Britain* with them to a Place of Force defended by a River. This being unfordable and without a Bridge, the *Britons* thought an abſolute Defence; but it was paſſed by ſwimming; and our People ſuffered a dreadful Overthrow, and a great Slaughter. *Veſpaſian*, afterwards Emperor, was in this Action.

The *Romans* thought they had obtained a greater Victory than it proved; for the Enemy appeared again next Day reinforced with Numbers, and animated with new Reſolution. The Battle was deſperate and bloody, and the King *Togodumnus* after many great Exploits, fell. This gave a Turn to the Fortune of the Fight, and *Geta* a *Roman* purſucing an Advantage at the ſame Time, they univerſally prevailed; and the *Britons*, as was their Cuſtom, retreated.

From this Time 'twas a running Fight between the Armies; *Plautius* purſuing, and the *Britons*, who knew the Country, leading their Enemies into Bogs and Quagmires, where Numbers periſhed. The Retreat was along the Banks of the *Thames*; and the *Britons* taking every Advantage of unſafe Ground to draw the Purſuers into Danger, more were drowned, or ſwallowed up, than fell by the Sword.

CHAP. XIX.

The Romans *harraſſed by the* BRITONS, *but at length ſucceſsful againſt* Caractacus.

PLautius finding his Numbers decreaſe faſter than he gained Advantages, wrote to *Claudius*, telling him his Condition, and inviting him to come. *Claudius* came, and brought with him in a Manner the whole *Roman* Force: the *Britons* who expected this, gathered from all Parts to oppoſe them, and faced them in the open Field.

Had they called in theſe Numbers againſt *Plautius*, they had conquered; but they were now beaten; they diſperſed, and they rallied no more. *Claudius* proceeded to the Royal Seat of *Cunobelin*, which he took without Reſiſtance; and behaving with Moderation in his Succeſs, he carried all before him: the *Britons* laid down their Arms and ſubmitted.

Speaking of theſe Enterprizes, the *Romans* never fail to call the Parties they engaged the *Britons*, as if the united Forces of the whole Iſland: but the Truth was otherwiſe. *Claudius* received great Honours for his Victory, and *Plautius* was left behind to compleat the Reduction of the Iſland; but in this he and his Aſſiſtants found continual and deſperate Service.

The reſt of the *Britons* did not ſuppoſe themſelves tied down to Conditions made by the Conquered, and they diſputed every Foot of Ground the *Romans* attempted. *Veſpaſian*, who now commanded under *Plautius*, had thirty Engagements with them, in which though the Succeſs uſually was on the Side of the *Romans*, yet it was always with Loſs: they ſuffered in general more than the *Britons*, who fought in an irregular Manner, and when the *Romans* prevailed ran off, but rallied again in a Day or two. Thus was the War endleſs; indeed the Intent of our Anceſtors ſeems to have been not to engage in any deciſive Action, but to harraſs the *Romans* by continual leſſer Attacks.

In all this Time however the Enemy advanced farther and farther into their Territories. *Veſpaſian* took many of their Towns, and the *Iſle of Wight*; and the ſame Succeſs followed the *Romans* elſewhere, though with Loſs and Trouble.

'Twas in the Year 47, he obtained theſe Victories; and he was honoured for them at *Rome*, as if he had conquered the whole Iſland.

The *Romans* were always magnificent in their Reward of Valour and perſonal Services, and this has made ſucceeding People who were only acquainted with the Tranſactions by this Means, conſider them as much greater than they were. The *French* have improved upon the *Roman* Artifice, in ſinging *Te Deum* when they have been beaten. The *Romans* never made themſelves ridiculous: but 'twas an excellent

Policy to give great Honours for ſmall Exploits, and liberal Rewards for little Services; for it engag'd greater.

We learn from *Tacitus*, that *Oſtorius* ſucceeded *Plautius*, with the Title of Viceprætor, in the Year 50; and complaining of the Troubles of the *Romans*, he gives us a great and worthy Character of the *Britons*. Thoſe who were unſubdued refuſed all Treaties, and conſidering their Enemies as Robbers and Ruffians, fell upon them wherever they had Opportunity. They made continual Inroads into thoſe Countries which had ſubmitted, and ſcarce ſpared their Countrymen; the *Romans* never.

Oſtorius behaved with Prudence and Reſolution. He made a bold Attack upon theſe *Britons*, purſued them as they fled, and deſtroyed many. He then placed Garriſons in the conquered Provinces, and diſarmed thoſe in the Neighbourhood of 'em whom he ſuſpected, and who could not oppoſe him.

The Regard for Liberty has been always Hereditary to *Britons*. They have beheld Oppreſſion and the Marks of Slavery with the ſame Abhorrence in their earlieſt Periods, as in theſe civilized Times.

This Step of placing Garriſons, made thoſe who had moſt quietly received the *Romans* revolt, the *Iceni* led the Way: they were joined by others, and they fought furiouſly for their Liberty: but they were beaten. The *Roman* Perſeverance carried all before it.

Caractacus now ſhone. In the Year 50, the *Romans* beſtow'd on *Cogidumnus*, a King of a ſmall Province in *Britain*, many other Cities. They found him devoted to their Intereſt, and ready to ſacrifice his Country to his own Ambition. They therefore gave him Titles, and a ſubordinate Power, that he might bring more into a voluntary Subjection. The reſt of the *Britons* ſaw this, they flew to *Caractacus*, and formed a conſiderable Body. Theſe he poſted carefully in a Place ſtrong by Nature, defended by Hills and Rocks, and ſeparated from the Enemy by a River.

“ Here is the Place, virtuous Countrymen, ſaid “ he, for the laſt Stroke for Liberty. This is the “ Day of Trial, for the Oppreſſors are advancing; “ and this the Spot where we will conquer, or die “ free.”

The Fight was deſperate: the River was to be paſſed, and many of the *Romans* periſhed in it. The Hills were ſteep, and more fell in mounting them: but the *Britons* were driven off. The Family of *Caractacus* were with him, and were made Priſoners, but himſelf eſcaped. He threw himſelf into a neighbouring Province, whoſe Sovereign, a Woman, *Cartiſmandua*, delivered him up bound to the *Romans*.

This Battle was fought near *Ludlow* in *Shropſhire*, and *Caractacus* fell into the Hands of the *Romans* in the Year 53, after a long and glorious Oppoſition.

CHAP. XX.

The Condition of the British *Navy in the Middle of the firſt Century.*

THE *Romans* made great Triumphs for this Victory, and *Caractacus*, whoſe Name had been long ſounded in their Ear, was carried to *Rome*, and ſhewn before the People.

He was introduced to the Emperor in publick. His Brothers, his Wife, and his Daughter preceded in the pompous Proceſſion: himſelf came laſt. Nothing of that dejected Countenance which marked the other Captives, was ſeen in him. He approached with the Air of a Sovereign, who, though unfortunate, ſcorned to take Acquaintance with his State; of one, who having loſt his Liberty, held all elſe indifferent.

Cæſar, ſaid he, “ I might have come a Friend “ into this City. I was a Sovereign King of many “ Nations, what I am thou ſeeſt: my Condition, “ inglorious to myſelf, gives thee Honour. I had “ Territories, Subjects, and Treaſures; you do not “ wonder that I fought to preſerve and to defend “ them. If Fortune gives to you alone the Empire, the Lot of others is Subjection. If I had “ yielded when you firſt attacked me, your Glory “ had been leſs in your Succeſſes; and my Name “ and my Misfortune little known. If you determine now to deſtroy me, both will be ſoon forgotten; but if I live by your Permiſſion, you will “ be long adored for Clemency; the Virtue of a “ God.”

Cæſar, aſtoniſhed at his Fortitude and manly Wiſdom, gave him his Life and Liberty; and extended the Gift to all who were about him.

This was the greateſt Triumph *Rome* ever had to boaſt over *Britain*, yet this was not a Conqueſt of the Iſland. *Caractacus*, though entruſted with the Forces of many Provinces, was Sovereign but of one, nor did the reſt of the Kingdom ſubmit becauſe his Part was conquered.

The *Britons* from many Parts joined again; they attacked the *Romans*, ſlew many, and cut to Pieces the firſt Parties ſent to their Aſſiſtance.

Venutius ſucceeded in the Command upon *Caractacus*'s Loſs; and he, taught by the various Fortunes of theſe frequent Actions, grew more careful and more cunning. He harraſſed the *Romans*; and broke the Heart of that *Oſtorius*, who had received ſuch Honours for his Succeſſes.

Didius was ſent in his Place, and fared like him: hem'd in by a numerous and revengeful Enemy, who cut to Pieces all that fell in their Way in ſmall Parties, and ſtill avoided a deciſive Action.

The *Romans* at this Time rendered themſelves more odious to the *Britons* by an Act of Injuſtice. *Venutius* was the Huſband of that *Cartiſmandua* who gave up *Caractacus*. Depending on the *Romans* for this Friendſhip, ſhe married another while he was living, and implored the *Roman* Aſſiſtance to ſupport her and the Adulterer on the Throne: they granted her Aſſiſtance, and by that loſt every honeſt Heart in *Britain*.

Cartiſmandua ſupporting herſelf in her Treaſon by their Means, the Britons fell upon them with double Boldneſs, and with double Fury. They had ſo many Succeſſes in the Years 54 and 55, that *Nero*, then Emperor, had Thoughts of calling home the Legions left in the Iſland, and giving up the Thoughts of a full Conqueſt. Other Generals ſucceeded, and attempted other Provinces. *Suetonius Paulinus* conquered the Iſle of *Angleſea*; but while he was gaining ſomething before him, he loſt more behind.

This Conqueſt of *Angleſea* is one of the Events that ſhews us what was the Condition of the Naval Power of *Britain* at this Period: it was plainly nothing. *Angleſea* had received the Fugitives from all Places. It was crowded with a deſperate Body of People, who heard of the *Romans* intent againſt them. They marched together to the Shore, where Prieſts, Women, Children, all joined againſt the landing of the Enemy: but their Attack was from the Shore, they had no Naval Power to face them.

The *Romans* came over in flat bottom'd Boats, and met no Oppoſition till they came to Land: this was a laſt Reſort of Multitudes of the *Britons*, they defended it with all the Power they were able to collect; and their uſing no Shipping to this Purpoſe, is a Proof they had none of any Conſequence.

This was the Neglect to which our Anceſtors ſacrificed every Thing: to this they owed *Cæſar's* landing, and to this their being beaten out of this poor Iſland, their miſerable Retreat. Their Spirit for a Naval Armament fell with their Fleet that joined the *Veneti*.

The Hiſtorians who regret the want of Veſſels in all this Period, ſuppoſe the *Romans* awed them from the Attempt of building any: but the greater Part of the Iſland remained unſubdued all this Time, and nothing prevented their fitting out a Fleet, ſuch as was then in Uſe, but a Neglect to which they owed their Deſtruction; a Neglect that would at this Day be as fatal to this Country.

Looking into the Condition of the *Britiſh* Veſſels at this Period, we find them ſhrunk into a miſerable Kind of Canoes, framed with Ribs of Wood, made up between with Wicker, and covered with Leather. Theſe were their Boats for fiſhing, and other needful Purpoſes, and they had now no others. With theſe, which were made but for four, but would occaſionally carry about ſix Perſons, they managed their little Domeſtick Buſineſſes: in theſe they could keep a few together, and ſkulk away from the conquering *Romans*, but not oppoſe them; and theſe continued from their Loſs at *Veneti*, for a long Period, their only Veſſels.

CHAP. XXI.

Agricola, *the* Roman *Governor, becomes eminent in* BRITAIN.

THE *Romans*, who had been celebrated as much for their Virtue as their Valour and their Wiſdom, now loſt all Credit upon that Account in *Britain*: we have ſeen them eſpouſing the Cauſe of an Adultereſs againſt the King her Huſband; and a few Years after, the Story and Revenge of *Boadicea* becomes the great Act in this Hiſtory.

Praſutagus, her Huſband, King of the *Iceni*, left *Cæſar* Coheir with his two Daughters.

The Power this gave the *Romans* in the Family was ſhamefully abuſed, the Daughters were raviſhed; and the Queen their Mother who exclaimed againſt it, bound and whip'd.

This was ſeverely revenged; the *Britons* from all Parts join'd *Boadicea*, who led them herſelf to Action. *Paulinus* was abſent, the *Romans* were leſs prepared for Defence, becauſe leſs expecting to be attacked; and they were grown more hateful to the People, whom they now oppreſſed as well as enſlaved.

The *Britons* Eyes were at length perfectly opened, they followed the enraged Queen in vaſt Numbers, and attacked the *Romans* every where. They fell upon their Towns, deſtroyed all wherever they came, and in a little Time no leſs than ſeventy Thouſand of that People, and thoſe incorporated with them fell.

This was repaid however upon the *Britons* with Intereſt. They raſhly ventured a pitch'd Battle with the *Romans*, and they were beaten, though ſuperior prodigiouſly in Numbers. Fourſcore Thouſand of our People were left dead upon the Field. A furious Woman they found too late was an ill Leader: a *Caractacus* would not have brought them to ſo terrible an Overthrow.

The *Roman* General grew inſolent on this, and cruel. News of it reached *Rome*, and he was recalled. *Petronius Turpilianus* ſucceeded him, and was idly peaceful. Two other peaceful Leaders of the *Romans*, *Trebellius Maximus*, and *Raſcius Cælius* followed; and under their Adminiſtration, the *Britons*, diſheartened by their late Loſs, and not exaſperated by any freſh Inſults, were quiet.

Things kept ſome Time their former Footing. *Vitellius* was Emperor, he gave himſelf no particular Concern about our Iſland; and here thoſe who hated heartily, held their Tongues. *Bolanus*, who followed, enjoyed the like Tranquillity.

In the ſucceeding Year 74, *Venuſius* grew conſpicuous on our Part: himſelf had never been conquer'd, and a great Part of his Province never reached; ſo that he maintained a free Sovereignty, and this he ſupported againſt the Attacks of *Rutilius Cerialis*, who followed *Veſtius Bolanus*, in many a bloody Action.

In the Year of Chriſt 79, *Veſpaſian* being Emperor, ſent over a Commander into *Britain*, of more Service to that State than all who came before him; this was *Agricola*. He extended the *Roman* Juriſdiction farther than any other had done.

A Party of *Roman* Horſe were cut to Pieces by the *Britons* juſt on his Arrival: and he revenged their Death in a dreadful Manner, by extirpating the Authors of the Deſtruction. This happened in 79, the laſt Year of *Veſpaſian*: in 80, the firſt Year of *Titus*, *Agricola* purſued his Victories in this Iſland; and he then behaved with ſo much Friendſhip to thoſe who ſubmitted, that Cities and Provinces continually offered themſelves to the *Roman* Maſter.

Agricola brought in his Country's Cuſtoms among thoſe ſubject to him, and made them ſpeak the *Roman* Language. His Gentleneſs and Juſtice won more than his Sword conquered.

In the Year 81, as ſoon as the Seaſon permitted, he took the Field. He marched Northward: he received kindly all that ſubmitted, and waſted the Country of thoſe who oppoſed him.

In this long March he built Caſtles and Forts in many Places, Marks of the *Roman* Power. He left alſo a Fortification at the Extent of his Conqueſts, the Friths of *Clyde* and *Forth*.

In the Year 82, *Domitian*, then Emperor, *Agricola* went over the conquered Provinces, reconcileing them by his engaging Manner to the Yoke under which his Valour had brought them.

In 83 he paſſed over to the *Orcades*, and other Iſlands near the Coaſt of *Scotland*.

The *Scots*, it is ſaid, had a Navy in theſe Times, but if that be true, they did not, and therefore 'tis probable they were not, able to oppoſe the *Romans*. Wherever *Agricola* came he conquered; and left Teſtimonies of the *Roman* Power behind him. He came much nearer to the Conqueſt of the Iſland than any who had gone before.

Toward the End of Year 83, he prepared for the Attack of *Ireland*: for this Purpoſe he made to the Sea Coaſt of *England*, facing that Iſland, and made himſelf Maſter of that whole Territory. This he intended ſhould cloſe the Buſineſs of that Year, and the Deſign upon *Ireland* uſher in the next; but while he lay thus on the oppoſite Coaſt, one of the Kings of *Ireland*, for that Iſland like *England*, was in thoſe Times divided into many Principalities, came over to him.

Agricola received him kindly, ſome Diſſenſions in the Iſland had brought him over, and the *Roman* remembering how much the firſt *Cæſar* had owed to theſe Diviſions in *Britain*, determined to take his Time, and improve this Opportunity.

The Scene of the War lay in the Year 84, in *Scotland*. *Agricola* had aw'd the Northern Coaſts with the *Roman* Navy; but though the *Britons* were terrified, the *Scots* to whom the *Romans* were leſs known, now roſe at once, and attacked the *Romans* with ſome Succeſs.

The *Britons* being driven Northward by the *Roman* Arms, joined the *Scots*, and a vaſt Body of them covered the Hills in the County of *Mar*. They increaſed daily, and by that Time the *Romans* came up with them, were not leſs than thirty Thouſand. The *Romans* call their Leader *Golgacus*, the *Scottiſh* Hiſtories preſerve his Memory under the Name of *Corbred* the IId.

So early as in theſe Days the Highlanders were famous for their broad Sword. That and their Target are mentioned by the *Roman* Hiſtorians on this Occaſion; and 'tis acknowledged, that they did great Execution with this Weapon, more terrible to the Legions than any Thing they had ſeen.

In this Action, which was very bloody, the *Britiſh* and *Scotch* were routed. They left ten Thouſand on the Field.

'Twas but in the Year 84, that *Britain* was known by the *Romans* to be an Iſland; ſome *Germans* in the Service of *Agricola*, fled to Sea to eſcape Puniſhment for their Crimes; and commencing Pirates, made this Diſcovery.

Agricola ordered his Admiral to ſail round *Britain*; and finiſhed the Operations of the Campaign in 85, by taking Hoſtages from ſuch Parts of *Scotland*, as terrified by the late Defeat, preferred Submiſſion to a farther Conteſt.

Domitian was leſs pleaſed than his People with hearing theſe Exploits of *Agricola*; he, in Appearance, joined the publick Voice, but in his Heart he hated the Man he praiſed. He decreed him publick Honours; and was at the ſame Time contriving his Ruin. Virtue in the Reign of *Domitian* might eaſily be a Crime.

In the Year 86 *Agricola* was ordered Home.

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BOOK II.

During the ſecond Century.

The Tranſactions of this Period are ſo imperfectly recorded by the *Roman* Hiſtorians, and have ſo little Connection with the preſent Subject, that we ſhall paſs them over ſhortly: all that is to be collected from their Accounts concerning the *Britiſh* Naval Power during this Century is, that it was miſerably neglected. We ſhall therefore only lay before the Reader, a ſuccinct View of the State of the Iſland during this Period, to keep up the Thread of the preſent Hiſtory.

WE have thus far purſued the Hiſtory of *Britain* from the Writings of theſe its Conquerors, but here there appears in moſt of them a great Chaſm. Very little is recorded of what happen'd in this Iſland for a Space of near five and thirty Years.

Agricola was ill rewarded for his real and great Services to his Country, this Juſtice let us do an Enemy, for he was taken off by Poiſon. His Honours and his Death were decreed by the ſame Maſter.

We hear no more of *Britain* till the Time of *Hadrian*. In his Reign the *Roman* Power ſeems to have been gradually declining in the Iſland; and under *Trajan* there was an abſolute Revolt. Of this, or any other Tranſaction of that Time, we hear imperfectly. The *Romans* were often negligent, but when they came to Blows with our Anceſtors, they were always ſucceſsful: theſe are the Accounts, but we muſt remember *Romans* were the Hiſtorians.

Probably in this great Gap of Time, Things worthy Note were done by the *Britons*; but theſe the *Romans*, partial to themſelves, bury in Silence.

Under *Hadrian*, *Severus* behaved well in *Britain*; but being called away on other Service, Things took ſo ill a Turn, the Emperor himſelf was oblig'd to come hither.

He gave up Part to ſecure the reſt: he divided what the *Romans* had from what they had not conquer'd; and built for this Purpoſe the famous Boundary, known under the Name of the *Picts Wall*. This was in the Year 122, and for this that Emperor is called upon his Coins, the Reſtorer of *Britain*.

Under *Antoninus Pius*, the *Brigantes* made an Effort for their Liberty; but fruitleſs, as all the former.

Under *Marcus Aurelius*, in 162, another *Agricola* put an End to many deſperate Commotions.

In the Reign of *Commodus*, the *Roman* Intereſt ſtood much on the former Terms: but this is a Period dignify'd by a much greater Event, Chriſtianity was at this Time received in *Britain*. *Lucius* is named as the Sovereign, who made it the National Religion; and he is honour'd by being called the firſt King in *Europe* who adopted it.

Commodus found Buſineſs for his Arms in *Britain*. The Northern Inhabitants made their Way over the great Wall, deſtroy'd Numbers of the *Roman* Settlements; routed the Army, and killed their General.

Ulpius Marcellus was ſent to command in his Stead. 'Twas in the Year 182, the *Britons* were ſo ſucceſsful; in 189 *Marcellus* went over, and he reſtored all to Peace. He was a Man of *Agricola*'s Turn, and therefore fitteſt for the Service; for the *Britons* were much eaſier wrought upon by thoſe whom they reſpected, than by thoſe they fear'd. He had like to have ſhar'd *Agricola*'s Reward at Home: ſo dangerous was it then in *Rome* to have too much Virtue.

Marcellus left all quiet, but it did not long continue ſo. The Legions mutiny'd: in 186 a Body of them, deputed by the reſt, went to *Rome*, and terrify'd the Emperor into Conditions: in Spite of which they attempted here to ſet up another Emperor; and *Helvius Pertinax*, then in the Command in *Britain*, and afterwards Emperor, was left for dead in one of their Diſputes.

Clodius Albinus was his Succeſſor. The Attempt to make a new Emperor in *Britain* being once ſet on Foot, there did not want Spirit among the *Roman* Chiefs to continue it; this *Albinus* was one. He began by trying the Senſe of the Soldiery in an Harangue againſt Monarchy: this took too much Effect upon them to be indifferent at *Rome*; Notice was given of it, and *Clodius Albinus* was commanded Home; a Succeſſor was appointed, and all was ſuppoſed finiſh'd: but *Albinus*, had no Intent to reſign: the Soldiers lov'd him, and he lov'd Power: he commanded in *Britain* according to his own Pleaſure; and continu'd, as he ſet out, during the ſhort Reigns of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*.

Rome had in theſe Times Buſineſs enough at Home, and *Albinus* had Addreſs to manage according to his Deſign, without an abſolute Rupture. This was in the Year of Chriſt 193, and the ſucceeding.

After this *Septimus Severus* had the Empire. He ſaw plainly the Deſigns of a diſobedient Officer in a remote Province; and ſent *Heraclius* for *Britain* to diſplace and to ſend home *Albinus*.

Albinus kept Terms as long as he could, but when no ſhuffling could avail him, he threw off the Maſk, declared himſelf independent, and not waiting for the *Romans* in *Britain*, took over the *Britiſh* Power to *Gaul*.

The *Britons* were now in many Places ſo well reconciled to the *Romans* that they made as it were one People: Thoſe thought Independance on *Rome*, though under a *Roman* King, was better than that diſhonourable Slavery, and they follow'd.

Thoſe in *Gaul* who were diſaffected, join'd them: *Albinus* march'd toward the Emperor, then near, and coming up with him, fought the whole *Roman* Power there, near *Lyons*. However *Albinus* might conſider this, the *Britons* who join'd him thought they were fighting their own Cauſe againſt *Rome*: they probably conſider'd one Tyrant, and his Power in their Kingdom, would be eaſily cut off afterwards; and that the getting a *Roman* Sovereign of their own, was the eaſieſt Way to be utterly rid of them. But *Albinus* had more extended his Project; his Deſign was on the whole Empire.

The Battle was bloody, and went againſt him; he was defeated, and left dead on the Field, whence his Body was ſent to *Rome* to be treated with all Marks of Ignominy.

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BOOK III.

During the third Century.

We have ſeen the Naval Power of this Iſland, its proper and true Strength, neglected during a whole Century; but we are now entering upon another, in which it was raiſed to a glorious Height, and in which BRITAIN, as a natural Conſequence, grew great.

CHAP. I.

Of the firſt Years of the third Century.

THE Government of *Britain* was now thought by the *Romans* too great a Truſt for any one Man, and according to a Policy adopted ſince in other Nations, it was divided between two Perſons.

The divided Power acted leſs forcibly; the *Britons* aſſerted every where their Independence, they fell upon the *Roman* Eſtabliſhments, and did ſo much Miſchief to them, that *Severus* came himſelf with a great Power to quell the Danger.

He landed in the Year 208, and deluded the *Britons* with an Imagination of peaceful Meaſures, till he was ready to fall on them: he did this with great Spirit, great Force, and great Precaution; but to little Purpoſe.

The *Britons* kept out of his Reach, though they continually did him Damage, leading his People in ſmall Parties into Ambuſhes, or drawing them into Bogs, where they periſh'd.

The Emperor loſt fifty Thouſand Men without doing the *Britons* any great Damage. He puſh'd farther North however, than any had done before, and added ſome more Provinces, which ſubmitted by Treaty to the *Roman* Poſſeſſions. To mark and to ſecure theſe, he built a Wall, they ſay, from Sea to Sea, a very aſtoniſhing Undertaking, and very nobly executed.

This Wall that croſs'd the Iſland, and was a Work of prodigious Labour, was finiſh'd in the Year 210. He hence obtain'd the Addition *Britannicus* to his Name, and did the *Roman* State great Service.

Buchanan places this Wall in *Scotland*, and makes it altogether diſtinct from *Hadrian*'s; but others ſuppoſe it only *Hadrian*'s rebuilt, and better finiſhed.

Severus return'd, and thought he left all quiet, but he deceiv'd himſelf; the *Roman* Arms alone kept up a Shew of Submiſſion in the *Britons*, and they conſtantly were no ſooner withdrawn, than the Spirit of Liberty broke through all Bounds again.

Thus it happen'd now; and the Emperor enrag'd at what he call'd their Perfidy, ſent his eldeſt Son *Antoninus* againſt them with the moſt cruel Injunction, to ſpare no Age or Sex: but the Execution was not ſo rigid as the Command. Indeed the Son did ſcarce any Thing. His Thoughts were all employ'd, not to deſtroy the *Britons*, but his Father, whoſe long Life was hateful to him. The next Year 211, *Severus* dy'd.

This Son *Antoninus Caracalla* ſucceeded him in the Empire, and ſettling Terms in *Britain*, haſted back to *Rome*.

From this Tranſaction, which happen'd in the Year 211, we have very little Account of the Affairs of *Britain*, for a Period of more than ſeventy

Years. This may be conſider'd as another Chaſm in the *Roman* Hiſtories reſpecting this Iſland; and it leads to a very important Period in our Naval Hiſtory.

The Fleets of *Britain* had now for many Years made very little Figure, but they ſoon after became conſiderable.

All we know of the enſuing Period of ſeventy Years is, that *Nonnius Philippus* govern'd in *Britain* in the Year 242, under *Gordian*, this appears from an Inſcription on an Altar yet preſerv'd.

In 259 we find there was a general Struggle in the Iſland for its Liberties. This happen'd under *Gallienus*.

In the Year 282, where Hiſtory begins to have a Tongue again, a very important Tranſaction is recorded.

Bonoſus, a *Briton* by Deſcent, join'd *Proculus*, and ſet up for Emperor: *Probus* fought him at *Cullen*, the Battle was not a long, but a very ſharp one, and *Probus* was victorious. *Bonoſus* was afterwards found deſtroy'd by his own Hand. He had been a great Commander, but the *Romans*, who talk more of the Vices than the Virtue of their Enemies, record him chiefly as a Drunkard.

Probus now attempted by a Maſter-ſtroke of Policy, to keep the *Britons* in continual Subjection.

Having conquer'd a great Body of the *Vandals*, he ſettled them upon the Iſland; heap'd Favours on them, and gave them in Charge ſecretly to be upon the Watch, and always ready to prevent or cruſh popular Commotions.

In 283, *Carus* placed his Son *Carinus* over *Britain*; but *Diocleſian*, ſaluted Emperor by the Eaſtern Armies, fought, vanquiſh'd, and ſlew him.

We have thus, to keep up the Thread of our Hiſtory, gone through the ſeveral Revolutions in this Kingdom, under its different Governors, from the Time of the firſt *Cæſar* to the Beginning of the Reign of *Diocleſian*. This is an Æra from whence we are to take a new Account of our Country.

We have ſeen the *Britons* hitherto brave, but unfortunate: eternally renewing Struggles for their Liberty, but in them all unſucceſsful. The great Error which made them Slaves, continued them in Slavery in Spite of all theſe Efforts; this was their Neglect of a Naval Power, their proper and their natural Defence.

They might have oppos'd *Cæſar* at Sea, though they could not conquer him at Land: they might have prevented him from ſetting his Foot upon their Coaſts; though they could never with all their Arms drive him off again.

They might during this long Period of the *Roman* Tyranny, have built Ships in the unconquer'd Provinces, and ſupported an Independency upon the Sea, though they were unable to do it by Land; and when Maſters there, their Enemies, who for want of that Caution were at all Times too powerful for them, would have been at all Times at their Mercy: they could have receiv'd no Succours, and they might have been utterly vanquiſh'd without a Blow.

They would been glad to have compounded for Leave to return home, with thoſe who had cut them off from all Communication with their Country. Half the Spirit and Perſeverance that anſwer'd no Purpoſe at Land, would have unqueſtionably accompliſh'd this at Sea.

CHAP. II.

The Hiſtory of Carauſius, *Emperor of* Britain, *and of the Naval Power of the Iſland in his Time.*

WE are now arriv'd at the Year 284, the Beginning of the Reign of *Diocleſian*; a Time of Trouble among the *Romans*, and in which *Britain* made a very conſiderable Figure on the Theatre of the World; though little in their Hiſtory.

The Iſland had now a Sovereign; tho' they ſo little care to own it, that were it not for Accident, the Remains of Coins, and ſuch certain Teſtimonies of Antiquity, we could ſcarce know there was ſuch a Perſon: much leſs make out any Thing of the Particulars relating to his Actions.

We ſhall attempt to give the Hiſtory of this extraordinary Perſon, ſo ſignal a Commander of the *Britiſh* Navy; and to fill up a numerous Series of Tranſactions, almoſt as much left vacant in the *Engliſh* as in the *Roman* Writings.

The *Romans* never had more Occaſion for a Naval Power than at this Period, the Beginning of the Reign of *Diocleſian*; but they never had more neglected that Part of their Force.

The Art of building Ships was at a low Ebb, and they knew as little of commanding or of fighting them.

The *Franks* and *Saxons* took Advantage of the *Roman* Neglect in this Particular, and cover'd the Sea with Pirate Veſſels. Theſe, though of no Force, rob'd and plunder'd every where; aweing by their Numbers; and by the barbarous Severities of the Robbers who commanded them.

After waſting the Coaſts in many of the conquer'd Provinces of *Britain*, as well as *Gaul*, they preſum'd to attack the *Roman* Eſtabliſhments; and they were ſecure of getting off by Sea; the Neglect of Naval Force among the *Romans*, rendering them unable to oppoſe them.

Rome ſaw her Error ſo late, that it was not eaſy to ſay what ſhould be the Remedy. She called in on this Occaſion, a Perſon whoſe Name was *Carauſius*; and gave him not only the Care of the Preparation, but the Command of the Fleet he ſhould be able to equip againſt theſe inſolent Robbers.

Who this *Carauſius* was, thus honourably brought at once upon the Stage of publick Action, has not been well determin'd. Many have erred extreamly about his Birth and Country; but what can be collected on this Head, we ſhall lay with its Authorities before the Reader.

What we find of him in the old Hiſtorians is not only very little, but evidently it is told with

Partiality againſt him. He is repreſented as a mean and infamous Perſon; but with great Injuſtice: what he had he obtain'd indeed by Force, but ſo did thoſe who thus hateſully condemn'd him.

Aurelius Victor calls him a Native of *Menapia*, and a mean Perſon, who had rais'd himſelf by ſlow Degrees to Conſideration. It is plain the *Romans* thought greatly of him by the Truſt they repoſed in him; nor is there any Thing to ſupport what this Author ſays, which has been the Occaſion of many Errors: where there is little Information, People catch at every Syllable of that.

The *Britiſh* Antiquarians are in a Manner the only People who have given themſelves any Trouble about this Sovereign; and they in general have gueſs'd unhappily about him.

The Number and Variety of his Coins found in this Iſland, could not but incite their Curioſity to enquire who he was; and the firſt Conjecture founded on the ſhort Account of *Aurelius*, has been altogether erroneous, tho' copy'd by moſt, and ſtrongly ſupported by ſome.

From the Word *Menapia*, us'd as the Place of his Birth, he has been by theſe Perſons repreſented as a Native of *Ireland*. But tho' the Word *Menapia* be uſed in a Senſe that would juſtify that Opinion, if there were nothing repugnant in Hiſtory, it cannot ſtand good here.

Ireland was not at that Time a Place with which either the *Britons* or the *Romans* had any Communication; and it is utterly improbable they ſhould have a Leader from an Iſland in which they were utter Strangers.

Menapia is a Name of a Part of *Flanders* as well as of *Ireland*; and from this latter it was as natural they ſhould have an Officer, as it was utterly againſt Reaſon to imagine they ſhould from the other.

Some have fancy'd him a Native of *Scotland*, but neither is there any real Foundation for that Conjecture.

As the Country of *Carauſius* appears to have been miſtaken by many, ſo does his Deſcent: he is generally underſtood to have been a low Perſon, brought by Accident into Power; but his Name *M. Aur. Val. Carauſius* frequent on his Coins, ſpeaks him to have been a *Roman*, and of a noble Family. *Eutropius* is of this Opinion; and it is collaterally proved by his Conduct; for though at Enmity with the *Roman* Emperor, his Heart ſpeaks itſelf *Roman*: no Thought of aggrandizing *Britain* appears in any Thing wherein he has been engag'd, but *Roma Æterna*, and the like Expreſſions on his Coins, ſhew his Ambition was that of a *Roman*.

As to the Perſon, this is all the Account that can be collected, and from this it is probable he was a noble *Roman*. We come now to treat of his Actions.

The *Romans*, ſenſible of the Neceſſity of a bold and experienced Sea Officer, pitch'd on this *Carauſius*, before not raiſed that we know of to any Dignities.

The Title with which they inveſted him was Admiral of the *Belgick* and *Armorick* Seas; and his Inſtructions were to clear thoſe and the other Seas under the *Roman* Juriſdiction of Pirates, to puniſh all with Rigour; and to confiſcate the Effects for the publick Treaſury.

Carauſius felt the Weight of his Commiſſion, but he wanted the Means. The Pirates, tho' poſſeſſed of no Veſſels of Strength, were formidable by their Numbers; and to ſuch utter Ruin had the *Roman* Navy been ſuffer'd to run, that he found himſelf, when commiſſion'd to command the whole, Maſter in a Manner of nothing: the Enemy might have fought and conquer'd his full Force with half their Numbers.

Carauſius was therefore to build a Navy before he could command one: he employ'd the moſt able Perſons in the Ports of *Gaul*; and in the Year 285 failed with a few large but ill-built Veſſels. Theſe were well manned, and he fought out the Pirates: the Name of a *Roman* Navy was terrible to them; and the principal, both *Franks* and *Saxons*, offer'd him large Tribute to let them paſs with Impunity.

Carauſius was too wiſe to have taken a part for the whole, when in his Power; but now he knew it was not. He receiv'd their Acknowledgments, and rated them highly, till he ſhould be in a Condition to attack them.

This was his Conduct toward the principal, the leſſer he ſeized and confiſcated wherever he found them; and the Terror of the Examples he thus made, kept the others ſtrictly to their Compact.

CHAP. III.

Carauſius *eſtabliſhes the Naval Power of* Britain.

THUS by Captures and Tribute *Carauſius* amaſſed a prodigious deal of Treaſure; but the ſeizeing it was the only Part of his Commiſſion he thought proper to obey.

He converted all to his private Uſe: not a Farthing went into the *Roman* Treaſury, and but a very ſlender Account of his Tranſactions to the Government.

Carauſius knew that in his Deſigns, which were now become very great, all muſt depend upon the Fidelity and Affection of his Sailors. Two Things he knew commanded that, Succeſs and Liberality. Of his Succeſs there could be no Doubt, for he was indefatigable in the Search after the Prizes, and he attack'd only ſuch as were in no Condition to reſiſt him.

None but himſelf knew what he gain'd by the Captures: when he had laid by a Sufficiency, enough ſtill remain'd for all the Purpoſes of an abundant Generoſity. This he diſtributed freely; and by that Beneficence, and by his prudent Conduct, he kept the Hearts of his Sailors while he preſerved the moſt ſtrict Diſcipline.

Rome could not be an indifferent Spectatreſs of the Succeſſes of a Commander, who plainly look'd upon himſelf as not accountable to them, and who had the Hearts of the People.

Diocleſian declared him an Enemy to his Country, and not trifling with a Parley, the End of which he knew could be only Blows, he began there.

He ſent *Maximian Heraclius*, his adopted Son, to *Gaul* with Power, and with Commands to reduce *Carauſius* to Obedience.

Carauſius heard in Time what was intended againſt him; and not being of Force to meet the *Roman* Arms in *Gaul*, he ſailed with his ſmall Fleet to *Britain*.

His Character gain'd him the Hearts of the Legion left here in Power from *Rome*: they join'd him with Acclamations; the foreign Troops in the *Roman* Pay follow'd; and with this Force at Land, and, poor as it was, the beſt Navy on the Seas, he eſtabliſh'd himſelf King of *Britain*. A *Roman* taught the *Britons* what they ſhould have done long before. He placed his Strength and his Dependance on a Navy.

Carauſius gain'd the Hearts of the *Britons* as well as of the *Roman* Legions; it was his Buſineſs to make all his Friends, and he purchaſed the Friendſhip of the Natives with great Conceſſions.

The Affairs of the Iſland now took quite a new Turn; a *Roman* indeed was Sovereign, but it was not the *Romans*. The *Britons* look'd on him as their Protector againſt thoſe Tyrants; and 'twas *Britain* that ſhook off the Yoke of the Empire, though one born its Subject led them.

Carauſius's Fleet had hitherto ſerv'd his Purpoſes, but it was not of Power to guard them againſt the *Roman* Preparations. He had ſet theſe aſide for a Time, by drawing all their Naval Power under his Command; but he knew they would prepare more, and he ſet himſelf to the ſame Preparation: he found the *Britons* much more expert than the *Romans* in what related to Naval Affairs: he repreſented to them, that to preſerve their Liberties thus far regain'd, they muſt be able to keep off their Enemies: that this could only be done by fitting out a powerful Force at Sea; and that ſo long as they [illegible] ſuch a Power, they muſt be independent.

The Harangues of the new Sovereign had the utmoſt Force and Earneſtneſs, for his own Cauſe was ſtaked wholly on the Succeſs of them; and the *Britons* found it equally their Intereſt.

They ſet to work, the *Romans* and they together; and they were ſoon Maſters of a Fleet *Rome* could never face. This ſhewed them by the Event what was always in their Power; the ſame Means which ſecured their new King in this Eſtabliſhment, would have preſerved their Liberties.

Carauſius, while he employ'd innumerable Hands to build his Navy, was at as much Pains and Care to man it. He encouraged all that knew any Thing of the Sea in *Britain*, *Romans*, or Natives; he invited all who had been in the Service of the Merchants in *Gaul*, and engag'd Numbers from barbarous Nations. He encouraged all by vaſt Pay, and repeated Liberalities; he invited Thouſands by the farther Promiſe of Spoil; and all he brought over he kept in conſtant Exerciſe, and made them train up others.

Thus was a Navy fitted out, the moſt expeditiouſly, and the moſt advantageouſly that we read in Hiſtory; and the Service became a Nurſery for growing Numbers. This Navy, though commanded by a *Roman*, was properly a *Britiſh* Force: *Britons* were the Builders, and *Britons* ally'd to the *Romans* made the principal Number of the Sailors.

This was the Æra when the Naval Power of our Country became reſtored. We have ſeen that in the earlieſt Periods it was conſiderable: it was deſtroyed with that of *Veneti* under the Fortune of the firſt *Cæſar*; it droop'd during the long Period which follow'd, in which Time the *Romans* tyrannized; and it now revived. The Year of Chriſt 286 was the Period.

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CHAP. IV.

Carauſius *made Collegue with* Diocleſian; *the Authorities on which his Hiſtory is founded; and his Death.*

ROME, which had view'd *Carauſius* long with jealous Eyes, now look'd on him with Fear. *Britain* was become the School of Naval Knowledge, and while that grew to an eminent Height under this Commander here, 'twas in a Manner loſt among the *Romans*. They fear'd to face the Power of *Britain*, now disjoin'd from them, and the Navy of our Country gave a Preſage of what it has ſince arrived at, conquering all at Sea.

Carauſius, who himſelf commanded, was continually out: not content with defenſive Strength, he acted on the offenſive, plundering all along the Coaſts of *Gaul*. This *Britiſh* Navy acted on *Britiſh* Principles; ſparing no *Roman* Settlements where it could deſtroy.

Maximian who wiſh'd to attack the Uſurper, march'd to *Boloigne*; but 'twas in vain for him to attempt paſſing againſt *Carauſius* thoſe Seas which he commanded: he found him ſo dangerous an Enemy, that 'twas his Intereſt to make him a Friend, and he gave him for that Purchaſe our Iſland.

Carauſius was acknowledged by the *Roman* King of *Britain*, and Collegue with *Diocleſian*. This appears on authentick Memorials, it is a Fact proved by Coins yet remaining, *Pax. Aug.* the Inſcription.

Carauſius expected nothing from this ſolemn Treaty; which he knew was but an Act of Neceſſity. He doubted not but he ſhould be attack'd, and he prepared for it, by defending himſelf at Land, and continuing his Care to increaſe and ſtrengthen his Navy.

In the Year 291, five Years after the Eſtabliſhment of his Sovereignty, *Conſtantius* aſſumed into the Dignity of *Cæſar*, was diſpatched againſt him.

Carauſius having fitted out his Navy to his Inclination, enlarg'd his Fortreſſes on Land. He repaired *Severus*'s Wall, and fortified it with ſeven Caſtles.

As *Boloign* was a Place of Importance, he ſecured that, and made perfect Friends of all the Franks, who had by his Permiſſion ſeated themſelves in

Belgia: Thouſands muſt have been ungrateful not to have been devoted to *Carauſius*; he erected his Throne in the Hearts of Men, by his Liberality and Readineſs in their Defence.

The Preparation of *Conſtantius* was great againſt him, and he was prepared no leſs: the Diſpute would have been very bloody; but before it came to an Iſſue, *Carauſius* was treacherouſly murther'd.

This Murther was committed by one of his Boſom Friends, *Alectus*; not from any Motive of Reſentment, but Ambition.

Thus fell a Man eminent in his Time, and much miſrepreſented. An Uſurper he certainly was; but thoſe in which he lived, were Days when Power ſeem'd the ſole Determiner of Right and Wrong.

The *Romans* ſpeak harſhly of him, but whatever were his Faults, they had them in greater Meaſure: if the *Britons* had Reaſon to curſe him for his illegal ſeizing on the Crown, they have alſo Reaſon to revere his Memory for reſtoring that only kind of Power which could be the Support or the Avenger of their Liberty.

The principal Facts recorded here of *Carauſius*, are ſupported by his Coins, or by the Teſtimony, however ſhortly it be given, of *Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, and *Oroſius*: more of his Hiſtory we know not, except that he was marry'd.

This is a Circumſtance very lately diſcover'd by a Medal, an Unic in its Kind, which fell into the Hands of the late celebrated Dr. *Mead*; and is now in the Muſeum of the King of *France*, a Preſent from its Original Poſſeſſor.

On the Reverſe of this Medal is a Female Head, the Inſcription *Oriuna Aug.* more of her we know not, than that there was ſuch a Perſon.

This indeed has been diſputed, and different Senſes have been endeavour'd to be put upon the Words, and even upon the Figure; but they are all forced and idle. It is unqueſtionably the Head of an Empreſs, Wife of *Carauſius*, and her Name *Oriuna*.

Thus, with great difficulty, are we able to make out an imperfect Hiſtory of one of the moſt conſiderable Perſons of his Time; one who raiſed the *Britiſh* Navy from nothing, to a moſt formidable and glorious Condition, and with it faced and maſter'd the ſtrongeſt *Roman* Oppoſition.

We are not to wonder at many Things worthy Record relating to our own People, having eſcap'd them, when they thus neglected the Actions of a *Roman*: it appears they took Pleaſure in recording nothing but what tended to their own Glory.

The *Britiſh* Naval Force had been neglected more than three Hundred Years, to the Days of *Carauſius*, who as it were at once reſtored it to its antient Glory: from the fatal Battle with the *Veneti* it had been wholly diſregarded, till a *Roman*, to defend himſelf in an uſurped Authority againſt the *Romans*, reſtored it by *Britiſh* Hands.

Britain had been between three and four Hundred Years, in a Condition of Servitude to an Enemy, whom ſhe would have been able to have oppoſ'd this Way, though no other; but we ſhall find too many Inſtances of the fatal Effect of the ſame Negligence in after Periods, to lay the whole Blame here.

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CHAP. V.

Of the British *Naval Power in the Time of* Alectus.

ALECTUS, who murder'd *Carauſius*, ſucceeded ſo far in his Purpoſe, as to ſeat himſelf in his Place: but 'twas a Condition not to be envy'd. His Predeceſſor was in the firſt Stage of a very formidable War: therefore *Alectus* found himſelf involved in it. Leſs ſecure of Men's Hearts, and leſs a Commander by many Degrees, he had at the ſame Time to cope withal, the Uncertainty of his People's Affections, and the whole *Roman* Power.

Carauſius had govern'd *Britain* as a Sovereign ſeven Years, when he fell by the Hand of this *Alectus*: and although ſome Hiſtorians imagine the Expedition againſt this his Succeſſor to have been manag'd ſo well, and carry'd on ſo diligently, that his Deſtruction follow'd quickly upon his Advancement; yet by more accurate Computation, it appears he reign'd between three and four Years.

It was in the Year 292 that *Carauſius* was murther'd, and *Alectus* fell in 296, having all that Time ſupported himſelf in his Independency, as Sovereign, or Emperor of *Britain*.

The Naval Power of this Iſland was in his Reign at a very glorious Height, he received it from *Carauſius*, ſuperior to the *Romans*, and he improved, increaſed, and added to it continually. *Britons* were the Artificers, and *Britons* the principal Sailors: ſo long has it been the Prerogative of the Iſland to excel in this great Article.

Conſtantius, who had come againſt *Carauſius*, purſued the Advantage of his Death with Vigilance, and determin'd to fall upon his Succeſſor before he could be ſettled in his Affairs; but ſome Preparation was neceſſary to attack an Enemy of ſuperior Force at Sea, and this took up Time; this done, he order'd out all the Naval Force he had from every Port; and he uſed every Means to make it appear more formidable than it truly was.

Alectus hearing of a Preparation that ſpoke the Enemy ready to attack him, drew together the *Britiſh* Navy off the *Iſle of Wight*, in its full Force; and he no ſooner received Intelligence of the *Roman* Veſſels being out, than he put to Sea to meet them; his Sailors ſhouting as ſure of Victory, and himſelf not leſs confident of it, from his known Superiority, not only in Number, but in the Bulk of Ships, and the Experience of his Sailors.

Conſtantius wiſh'd to land without meeting him; and he ſucceeded. Conſcious of the Diſadvantage under which he muſt have engag'd *Alectus* at Sea, his Point was to get ſafely on Shore: he waited all Advantages for this Purpoſe, and at length took the Opportunity of a thick Fog, and paſſed the *Engliſh* Fleet undiſcover'd, though at a very moderate Diſtance.

Alectus was afflicted at the News; but he concealed his Uneaſineſs: *Conſtantius*, happy to have eſcaped one Sea Engagement, reſolved never to riſk the Hazard of another; and to ſhew his Soldiers his determin'd Purpoſe, they were no ſooner landed, but he burnt the Ships.

" We are ſuperior here, ſaid he, and let us
" uſe the Advantage; at Sea we ſhould have op-
" poſed an Armament vaſtly greater than our
" own."

Alectus landed as ſoon as he heard where the Enemy lay: he fought them againſt great Odds; and he fell. His Body was found, but without the Marks of Royalty; which himſelf is ſuppos'd to have thrown off in the Action, that he might be leſs conſpicuous to the Enemy.

Eumenius is the Hiſtorian to whom the World owes the more particular Detail of this Tranſaction, and he relates it with its Conſequences (which were very terrible to thoſe who had follow'd the Fortune of *Alectus*) as if atchieved in a very little Time, but in that we know he is not to be depended on.

Eumenius was of the Houſhold of *Conſtantius*, and his great Aim was to do the Conqueror honour.

We are ſenſible from Dates, Times, and the unexceptionable Teſtimony of Medals, that *Alectus* was not conquer'd in that Manner. We know with a tolerable Exactneſs the Time he reign'd; and there remain Coins of him. One of Gold, a very ſingular and fine one found in *Britain*, was ſent to the *French* King a Preſent from our late Dr. *Mead*, with the before mention'd one of *Carauſius* and *Oriuna*.

In another Point *Eumenius* would willingly miſlead his Readers. He introduces the *Britons* as meeting *Conſtantius* with Joy, and calling him their Deliverer from Tyranny: but we know the Thoughts of the *Britons* on this Subject from leſs prejudiced Relaters. They thought no Tyranny equal to that of the *Roman* Government: this they had felt, and under this they had groaned long.

It is certain, that *Alectus* had neither the Wiſdom nor the Virtue of his Predeceſſor; but tho' leſs agreeable to them than *Carauſius*, he was preferred by them to the unlimited Oppreſſion of the *Roman* Government: beſides, they were ſenſible that themſelves fought againſt the *Roman* Power in all theſe Engagements, though under a Leader who was a *Roman*, and they therefore could not rejoice in loſing a Battle.

Sigonius follows *Eumenius* in his rapid Account of the Victory of *Conſtantius*, and Death of *Alectus*; but Records more authentick than their Writings teſtify a longer Time; nor are we wholly left uninformed how it was employ'd.

On the Part of the *Romans*, it was ſpent in making Preparations, not for a Naval War, but for ſuch a Force as would carry their Legions over, and be able to make ſome Reſiſtance if oppoſed.

As to *Alectus*, it was his ſole Buſineſs in this Time to perfect his Fleet. On that he depended, and in that Dependance he would not have been diſappointed; but 'twas an Accident that threw his Enemies beyond him, and being reduced to the Neceſſity of fighting on Shore, he reſolved it raſhly, and engag'd in it deſperately.

He made the Attack, when the greateſt Part of his Force was not come up; and he fell a Sacrifice to that daring Spirit of perſonal Courage, which is not the Duty of a General, and therefore cannot do him Honour.

The *Romans* acknowledged *Alectus* poſſeſſed of a ſuperior Power to theirs at Sea; nor to theirs only but to all others: they acknowledged therefore the *Britiſh* Navy as eſtabliſhed by *Carauſius*, and perfected under *Alectus*, to be Sovereign on the Seas. Theſe *Romans* led the *Britons* to their full Glory in this Article.

The Part of *Alectus*'s Army which had not come up when he engaged the *Roman* Forces under *Conſtantius*, were Mercenaries; Strangers of different Countries whom he had hired at a large Price, and to whom he had promiſed Miracles in the Diſtribution of the *Roman* Spoil.

Theſe People having no Affection for him, or for his Cauſe, no ſooner knew his Fate than they determined to act as Banditti: they marched for *London*, then an opulent Seat of the *Romans*, and determin'd, after deſtroying the Inhabitants, to ſeize upon what Veſſels they ſhould find in the *Thames*, and go home with the Booty.

As an Accident had ruin'd *Alectus*, another ſaved the Inhabitants of this devoted Town. Part of *Conſtantius*'s Forces had loſt the reſt in the Fog at Sea, and making to the firſt Port, had landed in this Part of the Kingdom.

They arrived in *London* in their Way to join their Commander juſt as the Ruffians enter'd; and they attacked, routed, and deſtroyed them. Very few eſcaped the Slaughter.

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CHAP. VI.

Of the Britiſh *Naval Power to the End of the third Century.*

THE Navy built and man'd with *Britons* under *Carauſius* and *Alectus*, fell on the Death and Defeat of the latter into the Hands of the Conquerors: and *Britain* ſunk again into a Province of *Rome*, after having been more than ten Years govern'd by its own Monarchs, independent of the *Romans*, and ally'd to the general State. This is a peculiar Period of the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, and demands to be treated in a particular Manner.

The Naval Force that now commanded the Seas, and had been ſo formidable to the *Romans*, before an Accident threw it into their Hands, is to be conſider'd as *Britiſh*. It was under the Sovereignty of *Romans* evidently, but ſtill as built in this Iſland, maintain'd by this Iſland, and man'd by its Inhabitants, 'tis properly to be conſider'd as a *Britiſh*

Navy. It was not ſo properly the Navy of their Maſters, as their Navy under the Command, and in the Service of their Maſters.

The *Romans* had never ſo well known before the Importance of our Iſland: they ſaw now that its Strength was at Sea, and that this was important in a double Senſe: that it might render the Iſland independent of them if ſeized by ſome other enterprizeing Perſon; and that if kept under proper Regulation, it might be their great Reſource of Shipping in this Quarter of the World.

The *Gauls* then no more than now, equalled the *Britons* in this Article; it is the Genius of the People at this Time, and it was ſo at that remote Period.

After *Diocleſian*, *Conſtantius* divided the Empire with *Galerius*, and retained for his Share, with many other Provinces, *Britain*. He ſaw the Advantage of its Naval Force, and he ſecured and improved it. He enlarged the Navy taken from *Alectus*, not with his own Veſſels, for they were burnt, but if they had not been ſo, they were not worthy to have been received among the others: he cauſed more of the ſame Bulk and Dimenſions to be built: theſe he ſaw frequently exerciſed, and to prevent ſuch terrible Arms from being turned upon himſelf, he placed Garriſons in all the Sea Ports; and whereever Veſſels of Force were either built or preſerved.

Conſtantius ſpent a great deal of his Time in *Britain*, and during his Reign the Naval Force of the Iſland continued what he found it, the Terror of the Seas. It could have no more than that abſolute Sovereignty, but it was much more numerous, better man'd, and in more regular Order during his Time, than in that of the two independent Sovereigns, or in any other before known Period.

THE
NAVAL HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.

BOOK IV.

During the fourth Century.

This is another of thoſe Centuries in which few Things material are recorded concerning the Naval Power of our Iſland; wherefore we ſhall paſs it ſhortly over, preſerving the Courſe of Hiſtory.

CHAP. I.

Conſtantius *renders himſelf formidable in* BRITAIN.

CONſtantius was not ſo wholly devoted to Sea Affairs, as to neglect the Land Service: the *Scots* had many Incurſions on the *Roman* Territories, and he was marching with a great Force againſt them when he died at *York*. This was in the Year 303.

Conſtantine ſucceeded his Father *Conſtantius*; and inheriting his Policy with his Honours, he kept up the *Britiſh* Navy in the ſame Force and Splendor. The Sovereignty of the Seas was univerſally acknowledged to it; and there was no more heard of thoſe Pirates who had been uſed, till the Re-eſtabliſhment of this Force in our Iſland, to awe all the Coaſts.

This was a Power that muſt have been very formidable to the *Romans*, if it again ſhould have fallen into the Hands of a private Perſon; and the Story of *Carauſius* was too freſh, to let the Memory of ſuch an Exploit drop. It was therefore guarded well, kept ſeparate, and employ'd only in ſuch Parcels as were needed on particular Occaſions; ſometimes one Diviſion of it, and ſometimes another.

Though *Conſtantine* while he reſided in *Britain*, was perfectly free from Diſturbances at Sea, he was not ſo quiet at Land. The Northern Parts of *Britain* never were ſubdued; and their ſtubborn Inhabitants were on all Opportunities making Inroads upon the *Roman* Provinces.

We learn from *Sigonius*, that he was called to the Northern Parts of his Dominions in the Year 307; but while on the March, Matters of more Importance in *Gaul* requir'd him there; he therefore compromiſed Matters in the *Britiſh* Provinces as well as he could, and returned for the other Expedition.

Four Years after, that is the Year 311, he again made his Progreſs to the North of *Britain*, but now the Commotions with *Maxentius* called him back, and *Pacatianus* was left to officiate in his Abſence; dividing the Kingdom into four Parts.

Conſtantius, the eldeſt Son of this *Conſtantine*, ſucceeded his Father, and had *Britain* among the other tranſalpine Provinces; he in a Diſpute with his Brother was killed; and this Brother *Conſtans* the IId, Son of *Conſtantine*, with *Conſtantius* the IIId, took *Britain* as part of their Provinces.

From this Time to the Year 354, *Britain* was under various Governors, and its Naval Power ſeems to have been all that Time carefully preſerved.

We hear of no Tranſactions on the Sea in theſe ſucceſſive Years, but the Reaſon ſeems evidently, that the *Britiſh* Navy was too powerful to be oppoſed; and by the wiſe Regulation under which it was now put, was not eaſily to be turned upon the *Romans*.

The Fertility of our Country is recorded in the ſtrongeſt Colours in theſe Times: we hear of Corn exported to all the neighbouring Nations from *Britain*, and what ſerves as a collateral Proof of the good Condition of the *Britiſh* Navy even from theſe Accounts is, that no. Pirates appear'd upon the Coaſts to hinder this free Exportation, or annoy any other Part of the *Britiſh* Commerce.

Whenever the Naval Power of this Kingdom was neglected, the Sea ſwarm'd with *Saxon* and *Gallick* Pirates; who, though they dared not attempt any Thing on Land, hover'd about all the Ports, and took up every Veſſel that went out.

We read of the *Romans* at different Times being obliged to ſend out a large Force to clear the Seas of them; ſometimes, as in the Inſtance of *Carauſius*, (for his Beginning was no other) a Power able to ſhake their own Supremacy.

When the *Britiſh* Navy was kept in a Condition for Service, none of theſe Thieves, ſo bold from her Neglect, dared to come out: ſo early we ſee Leſſons for our proper Conduct.

CHAP. II.

Of the Decline of the British *Navy during the Reigns of the ſucceeding Emperors.*

IN 360 *Julian* was made Emperor, and nothing remarkable is recorded of *Britain*: all we can learn by the Accounts is, that the Navy was too little regarded alſo in the ſucceeding Reign of *Valentinian*.

Britain was haraſs'd by her Northern Inhabitants, the unconquer'd *Scots*. Theſe Year after Year made Inroads on the Provinces under the *Roman* Subjection, and called all the *Roman* Power in the Iſland thither. Here therefore began a new Diſtreſs.

The Naval Power which had been ſome Years before ſet upon ſo excellent a Footing, was of late neglected: not from an Opinion of its being leſs uſeful; but from the Neceſſity of the *Romans* being employed elſewhere.

The *Scots* were bold to attack, and cunning to take all Advantages. A Naval Power a few Years neglected, is in no Condition for Service without long Time, and immenſe Labour to refit. This they knew, and when they had called off the *Romans* from the Coaſts, and by their repeated Inroads, kept them continually employ'd on Land, they began to venture out to Sea.

The *Scots*, while they knew the *Romans* were neglecting their Navy, were indefatigable in fitting out ſmall Veſſels: theſe People, fond of Liberty themſelves, and diſdaining the *Britons* who had ſubmitted to its Loſs, were continually in Arms, to ſhew the *Romans* that the whole Iſland was not conquer'd; and to teach the *Britons* in their Neighbourhood, that in ſubmitting to a foreign Power, they had gained the Hatred of their neareſt Friends. They were too rough to diſtinguiſh between Neceſſity and Choice. They had the Spirit to prefer Death to the Loſs of Freedom, and they expected the ſame Conduct from others.

When we read of theſe People in the *Roman* Hiſtory, they are called Barbarians; but we muſt there read with Caution: they were a dreadful Annoyance to the *Roman* Power in *Britain*, and thoſe People never obtain'd any ſignal or glorious Advantage over them. The utmoſt they could do, was with a ſuperior Power to repel them back into the mountainous Parts of their own Country, where they were inacceſſible; and with this Situation, and their own Spirit of Liberty, therefore invincible.

This was the Condition of the *Scots* in the Time of the *Romans*, and we know thoſe People had no Pleaſure in recording Tranſactions that had not turned to their own Honour: therefore they treat the *Scots* uncivilly; but even their own Hiſtories, unwillingly as it is done, ſhew them to have been a gallant People. The preſent Tranſaction will ſet them alſo in the Light of a politick and wiſe Nation.

Their Hatred to the *Romans* was unconquerable, they purſued every Opportunity of harraſſing and diſtreſſing them, and they now did it warily as well as boldly: they were terrible in the Field; and they were not ignorant at Sea. Long before this Time they had been poſſeſs'd of no inconſiderable Naval Power, and they now prepared a new Fleet. They knew they kept the whole *Roman* Power ſo employ'd at Land, that their Sea Service muſt be neglected: they heard, for they were careful of Intelligence, that even the Garriſons at the Ports where the Veſſels of War were laid up, were thin'd by frequent Draughts to ſupply the Deſtruction made by their Incurſions; and that the Navy, which from *Carauſius* had fallen through the Hands of *Alectus* into their Power, and for a Time had been ſo well regulated, and ſo much enlarged; had now been, Year after Year, decaying, till it was out of a Condition of Uſe, and not to be refitted but with much Time.

This was the Period they expected; this the Advantage they had ſo long waited: they were populous as well as Soldier like, and while their whole Power ſeem'd to the *Romans* to be engaged in the Incurſions upon their neighbouring Provinces, they were preparing, if not a larger, yet a more deſperate Band to fall upon another and richer of the *Roman* Provinces in *England*.

In 365 this Preparation was ready. It conſiſted of Tranſports capable to bear thoſe Seas, and to convey over Numbers: they knew the Condition of the *Britiſh* Navy too well to make any Preparation for a Sea Fight; as that kind of Oppoſition they were convinced was impoſſible; therefore all they attempted was, to convey over a ſufficient Number; to land them in proper Places; and to keep the Expedition, as they had kept the Preparation, ſecret from the *Romans*, till they heard its Conſequences.

The Veſſels put out at different Times, they had their Rendezvous ſettled; they met happily there, and they ſucceeded in their Enterprize.

The *Romans* were ſcarce more diſtreſſed than aſtoniſhed at this Tranſaction. They feared fighting the ſame Enemy in two Places; and knew not which Way to bend their chief Force.

They ſent for more Troops from the *Roman* Territories, but before the Emperor's Order could be obtain'd, and thoſe Troops arrive, there was freſh Cauſe of Fear. Their *Scottiſh* Enemy had conjured up another, as induſtrious, though from a worſe Principle; and not leſs terrible.

CHAP. III.

Of the Attempts of the Saxons *in the Time of* Valentinian.

WE find by repeated Inſtances, that while the *Romans*, Maſters of the World, were poſſeſſed of *Britain*, 'twas its own Naval Power and not their Arms which was its proper Defence.

Their Exploits were againſt *Britons*; but from common Enemies, the *Britiſh* Fleet was the conſtant, the certain, the only Protection. This Service the *Romans* made it conſtantly perform againſt other Nations; though the *Britons*, its natural and proper Maſters, did not call it in to this Service againſt their *Roman* Tyrants.

Whenever the *Britiſh* Navy was neglected we read of Pirates; and a Thouſand Inſults; but when that was kept in Order, nothing of this Kind ſtands recorded: the Seas were clear, and the little Merchant who trafficked with the Produce of his Land, might carry it to *Gaul* in his own Wicker Boat; aſſuring his Children of his Return, and of the Price of his Induſtry.

In the ſame Manner when the *Britiſh* Navy was in a Condition of Service, the *Britiſh* Coaſt was ſecure. The Fiſherman might keep upon the Beach in Safety, and the little Hamlet on the extreameſt Shore was as ſecure as the beſt garriſon'd City.

This was the Protection given by the Naval Power, and no other could give it. Not all the *Roman* Force at Land could prevent the Pillages and Murthers of the moſt contemptible Enemy, when the Sea was left unguarded.

Thus it happen'd in the preſent Inſtance. The Exploits of the *Scots* in the remote Parts of *Britain*, were ſpread wherever the little Traffick of thoſe troubled Times extended.

It was rumour'd on every Coaſt, that thoſe People with a ſmall Power landing without Oppoſition, had carried off a vaſt Booty.

The neighbouring Nations had always Ears open to theſe Accounts; the Decay of the *Britiſh* Navy was their great Source of Hope and Enterprize, as its being kept in a Condition of Service was their Terror.

We have mention'd Pirates always ready to put to Sea, when the Fleet of *Britain* did not awe or diſturb them; and this was the Caſe now. The *Gallick* Pirates were reduced to nothing by the *Roman* Power in thoſe Parts; which had ſeized upon their principal Ports. But the *Saxons*, always formidable at Sea as Robbers, though contemptible as fair Enemies, remained unſubdued.

Their Veſſels had been deſtroyed or driven home by the *Britiſh* Fleet; but they now knew there was none to oppoſe them. They built many new ones, they fitted up all the old that would bear the Sea; and full of the Report of the *Scottiſh* Expedition, which Fame that magnifies in proportion to the Diſtance had repreſented greater than it was, they no longer confined their Deſigns to plundering the little trading Veſſels of the *Britons*, but determin'd to land upon their Coaſts.

The firſt of their Incurſions was, according to *Ammianus*, in the Year 366. In this Expedition they bore up to the Shore without Oppoſition, landed their Men, burned and deſtroyed wherever they came; and when they had Notice of the Approach of the *Romans*, they retired to their Veſſels loaded with Spoil, and returned with little Loſs in Number.

Even this ſhews the cowardly Diſpoſition of the *Saxon* Enemy. They were no ſmall Force; the Body of the *Romans* were employ'd in the North, and what could be raiſed on ſuch an Emergency where they were, could not be very formidable.

They fled however before their Approach: they had come as Robbers, and they went off as ſuch, doing all the Miſchief they were able, getting together all the Treaſure they could lay their Hands upon; and flying with it from thoſe againſt whom they might eaſily have defended it.

Here we ſee the Effect of ſuffering the Navy of this Iſland to be unfit for Service. A Band of Robbers who would not have dared to put to Sea to prey even upon the moſt defenceleſs Veſſels, had the *Britiſh* Ships been in Order, no ſooner learned that they were rendered unfit for Service by Neglect, but they attacked its Coaſts. Ruffians, whom a thouſandth Part of the Iſland would have been able to have cut in Pieces, boldly committed the worſt Acts of Cruelty and Rapine; becauſe the *Britons*, nor their *Roman* Maſters, were in a Condition to prevent their landing.

Cowards were valiant, becauſe keeping the Sea behind them, and having no Sea Armament to fear, they knew they could at any Time run away.

What a Diſgrace to the Policy of thoſe Times, that a Banditti ſhould be able to come like Conquerors into the Ports of *Britain*; and after Maſſacres and Robberies, to depart in Safety.

CHAP. IV.

Of the ſucceeding Depredations of the Saxons, *and thoſe of other Nations in the ſame Reign.*

WE have ſeen how the *Scottiſh* Depredations raiſed up the *Saxon*: and as Miſchiefs always multiply, this laſt was the Parent of ſo many more, that *Britain* was near being taken out of the Hands of the *Romans* by a barbarous Power; form'd of the Ruffians of many Nations, whoſe very Names were at that Time unknown.

The *Saxons*, the boldeſt of all Robbers in that Time, had been the only People who took Courage to land in *Britain*, from the Account of the *Scot's* Succeſſes; but many other Nations heard of them. Theſe heard alſo of the Succeſs of the *Saxons* in their Enterprize; and the Aſſurance they derived from hence, that the *Romans* had no Naval Power in *Britain* fit for Service, gave them Courage to imitate the Example, and ſhare the Fortune of their Neighbours.

Among the *Saxons*, every Man who was able got into the Service for the next Year's Expedition againſt *Britain*. The Number of their Veſſels was increas'd with all poſſible Diligence; and every People who had reſolved upon the ſame Expedition, uſed the ſame Induſtry in their Preparations.

In the Spring of the Year 367, the Seas ſwarm'd with Pirates: large Bodies of them join'd and hover'd about different Parts of the Coaſts, waiting a few Days for their full Number; and the News ſpread to the remoteſt Part of *Britain*.

The *Romans* who knew the Extent of the former Year's Succeſs, look'd upon it as an Act of bold Robbery, which they would puniſh at a more convenient Time; but here their Policy failed them. They ſhould have conſider'd, that thoſe Succeſſes of the *Saxons*, though they appear'd not of any great Conſequence to themſelves, who knew the true Account of them; yet would be repreſented as Miracles of Succeſs, and *Britain* as an inexhauſtible Mine of Plunder to the neighbouring People. They ſhould have conſider'd human Nature ſo far, as to have foreſeen what would happen, and what did happen; for it was not difficult, and they ſhould have prepared againſt it.

Here is a repeated Inſtance of the Importance of a Navy to this Iſland, and of the Danger attending its Neglect.

The *Romans* ſhould have ſpent their Time in preparing a Naval Power to defend their Coaſts, while theſe Enemies were employ'd in Preparations to land upon them.

Their Veſſels, though they wanted Repair, yet could not be too far gone for it: at leaſt ſome might have been fitted out; and the very Shadow of a Navy would have frighted back ſuch Ruffians; whoſe Attempt, bold as it appear'd, was grounded ſolely on this Circumſtance, their Dependance that they ſhould meet no Oppoſition.

If the *Romans* had foreſeen all that happen'd, they could not have ſpared Men for any great Naval Preparation; nor was there Time for it: but ſuch as they could have made, and ſuch as the Time allow'd, would have been ſufficient againſt ſuch Enemies.

The *Scots* kept the *Roman* Legions in full Employment on their Borders; and in many deſperate Enterprizes were frequently ſucceſsful. Their Policy was too fine reſpecting their Naval Expeditions; for not imagining the *Romans* could have ſuffer'd the Injuries of their landing without preparing againſt a ſecond Diſaſter of the ſame Kind, they had not ſent any Veſſels the ſucceeding Year on that Employment.

The *Saxon* Pirates that Year had ravaged alone; but in this, the *Scots* joined heartily in the general Deſign. They ſent a larger Number of Veſſels early in the Year, to repeat their Depredations on the Coaſts, where richeſt, and moſt *Roman*; and they increaſed their Numbers at Land; and redoubled their Spirit in Incurſions, to keep as much of the *Roman* Power as could be employ'd there.

The Succours ſollicited from *Rome* were very ſlow, while this Expedition was uſed by the Invaders on all Parts.

The *Romans* being kept in Action far North, the general Scene of the Invaſion was in the Southern Provinces: here the ſeveral Nations, *Scots*, *Saxons*, and *Barbarians*, landed in various Parts; and all acting as Aſſociates in the common Cauſe, took their ſeveral Diſtricts for Deſtruction, and kept clear of one another.

The Expedition was not this Year as the laſt, confined to the Coaſts: the Robbers gaining Courage from one another, marched up far into the Kingdom, the moſt flying before them, and thoſe who oppoſed finding no Mercy.

Nataridius, who was appointed over the Sea Coaſts, made the beſt Oppoſition he was able; and like a *Roman*, fell where he could not conquer.

Bulchobandes was ſent out againſt the Banditti with ſuch a Force as could be raiſed in that Haſte the Nature of the Service requir'd, and in the preſent State of the *Roman* Power.

The *Saxons* were thoſe againſt whom he bent his firſt Oppoſition, and they had the Addreſs to lead him into an Ambuſh, where Multitudes of the others joining them upon the Succeſs, he and his Forces were cut to Pieces.

This was an Enterprize that ſet all on Hazard. The *Romans* ſaw the Iſland which had coſt them ſo much Blood among the Natives in gaining, upon the Point of being wreſted out of their Hands by Barbarians. Diſpatches were ſent one after another for Succour; the *Roman* Force was in great Part recalled from the remote Part where they were then warring againſt the *Scots*; and Preparations were made with all poſſible Diligence, to attack the Bands that were enter'd.

They in the mean Time went on, deſtroying wherever they came, fluſh'd with their Succeſs: and holding the whole *Roman* Power as nothing; becauſe they had been ſucceſsful againſt thoſe little Parties which had been oppoſed to them.

CHAP. V.

The Romans ſend Theodoſius to BRITAIN.

VAlentinian now waked in earneſt by the News, ſent over Forces under *Severus*; then recalling him, *Jovinus* came with more; but all inſufficient. At length *Theodoſius*, a Name famous in the *Roman* Annals, reſpecting this Iſland, was ſent over with full Power. He was the Father of the Emperor of that Name, a great Soldier, and a Politician. Unconquerable in the Field, and mild after Succeſſes. He was another *Agricola*.

This Commander haſten'd by the Butcheries and Devaſtations of a barbarous Enemy, who came ſolely as Robbers, arrived in a ſhort Time at *Bologne*; and thence getting on board the Tranſports prepared for his Reception, he croſs'd the Sea to *Britain*. He landed toward the Cloſe of the Year 367, at *Richborrow*, near *Sandwich*.

At the Head of the four beſt Legions in the *Roman* Armies, and reinforced by vaſt Numbers of *Britons* who fled to him for Succour againſt this dreadful Ruin, he bent his March to *London*: there learning the Diſpoſition of the Enemy, who were ſcatter'd over different Parts of the Kingdom deſtroying all with Fire and Sword, after they had ſecured the beſt Plunder; he divided his Forces, now very numerous, into four Parts, and ſent each of them againſt ſome one Body of the Enemy: their Orders were ſhort, they were to give no Quarter, and to ſend up the Booty recover'd from them to him.

Theodoſius was ſo good a Stateſman that he formed Deſigns greatly to the Advantage of his Country from this Incident: it is the Quality of great Minds, inſtead of lamenting Misfortunes, to find the Way of turning them to good.

Theodoſius conſider'd theſe Enemies as a certain Prey; and he had order'd them to be treated like what they were; not to be taken Priſoners as Soldiers, but to be executed as Thieves. He was ſcarce ſorry the *Britons* had ſuffer'd ſo much by them: for he conſidered this as an Incident that would reconcile them to the *Roman* Sovereignty. They had never yet been ſettled in their Obedience to thoſe whom they look'd upon as Tyrants; but he thought it reaſonable to ſuppoſe they would depend on their Protectors. Thoſe whom the *Roman* Arms could never perfectly conquer, this General determin'd to fix in their Condition by the *Roman* Policy; nay, it demands a better Name, the *Roman* Virtue.

He thought the *Britons* would by this Example, be inform'd that they were not able to defend themſelves, and would therefore court from the *Romans* a Power to protect them from theſe Barbarians. In this alone he deceived himſelf: the *Britons* by what Infatuations ſoever they had neglected to defend themſelves in repeated Inſtances by their Naval Power; ſtill knew it was their proper, their natural, and their ſufficient Defence: they were, however, now in a Condition to feel the *Roman* Protection in its fulleſt Force, and to receive the Benefit with the utmoſt Gratitude.

Theodoſius took this Opportunity to repreſent to them in the faireſt Light, the *Roman* Power, and the *Roman* Generoſity. It was not long before his four Diviſions were diſpatch'd four ſeveral Ways; and ſome of the *Britons* join'd them, but more ſtaid with the remaining Force behind.

Every Eye was upon thoſe Legions that were out, every Ear open to the ſlighteſt Rumour concerning their Expedition; where they arrived this Day, where they reſted the next Evening; and what was the Deſtination of the third March, were treated as Matters of the moſt immediate Moment.

At length News came that one after another they had come up with Bodies of the Enemy: a few Hours more brought Intelligence of their abſolute Victory; and ſoon after came in the recovered Booty.

Theſe Ruffians were not able to ſtand before the *Roman* Soldiers, nor were they in a Condition to attempt it. They were laden with Plunder, and diſperſed for more, and not one Body of them rally'd to meet the Enemy. Their only Hope was in flight; and whither ſhould they fly? the *Romans* poſſeſs'd the Provinces between them and the Coaſt. They deſtroy'd all that kept in Bodies; and the Stragglers had no Hope in a Country where they had committed all Kinds of Outrage.

One after another their ſeveral Parties fell Parcel after Parcel: the Plunder was recover'd; and while part of the *Roman* Force was employ'd in the Deſtruction of the Robbers, there were other Bodies under wiſe and reſolute Commanders, who made themſelves Maſters of the Shipping that had brought them over, and was to have carry'd them with their Plunder back.

The *Britons* were now perfectly reveng'd againſt their barbarous Enemies: this the *Roman* Courage had perform'd for them; but there remain'd the Virtues of Juſtice and Liberality.

Theodoſius ſummon'd a general Aſſembly of the Survivors of the plunder'd Towns, and the Heirs of thoſe who had periſh'd: the Plunder recover'd from the Barbarians was produced, and reſtored to its proper Owners; who only allow'd out of it a Bounty to his Soldiers. The General, who might have enrich'd himſelf at Pleaſure, took no part. The Soldiers were well rewarded by the free Offerings of the People; and the *Romans* vanquiſh'd more by this Inſtance of their Virtues, than by their Arms. *Theodoſius* conquer'd *Britain* more than *Cæſar*.

After the Goods, the Houſes, Cities and Caſtles were reſtored to their proper Owners. Some *Scots* were now diſcover'd in different Places who had more Knowledge of the Country than the others: the *Britons* were eager to deſtroy them; but *Theodoſius* interfered: theſe Men, he ſaid, were not Strangers as the others, but ally'd to them; that he conſider'd their Attempt rather as the Effect of Reſentment againſt the *Romans*, than either Hatred to the *Britons*, or the Deſire of Plunder. That if it appear'd in any Thing they were enrag'd againſt the *Britons*; it was becauſe they had, as ſeemed to them, too freely admitted the *Roman* Sovereignty. He concluded, that although as a *Roman* he was oblig'd to combat all the Enemies of the Empire; yet as a Man, he admir'd their Love and Reverence for Liberty. He deſired the *Britons* would not be more ſevere againſt their Countrymen than the *Romans* were; and finding he had gain'd greatly upon the People, who adored him for his Moderation, he publiſh'd a general and free Pardon for all who would lay down their Arms: the *Scots* ſeeing it was impoſſible to reſiſt, and knowing they could plead an abſolute Dependance upon the *Roman* Offer, all came in.

It appear'd they had not been guilty of thoſe abhorred Barbarities committed by the others. The *Britons* were reconciled to them at the Interceſſion of their admired Deliverer; and tho' Permiſſion was granted for who choſe it to return, moſt remain'd.

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CHAP. VI.

The Neglect of the British *Navy under* Theodoſius.

THE ſucceeding Year 368 diſcover'd a moſt abhorred Conſpiracy. *Valentinus*, by Birth a *Pannonian*, a Man of an enterprizing Spirit, and unaw'd by Crimes, having been baniſh'd *Rome*, came into *Britain*.

He had heard of a *Carauſius* and an *Alectus* ſetting up here an independent Sovereignty, and he determin'd to follow their Example: he firſt attempted the Life of *Theodoſius*, whoſe Virtues rendering him reverenced by the People, made him the firſt Obſtacle for *Valentinus* to remove. He failed in the Attempt: his Aſſociates, a lawleſs Band of Vagabonds, were diſcover'd, and all ſuffer'd the juſt Puniſhment. This happen'd in the Year 368.

While *Theodoſius* was employ'd in ſtrengthening the *Britons* againſt all foreign Enemies, and aſſiſting the *Roman* Intereſt in *Britain*; his Son, afterwards Emperor, was ſent over with a high Command: as he adored his Father, he form'd all his Meaſures according to his Advice; and the Heart of *Britain* being with him, he was every where ſucceſsful. His Father, as ſoon as he was well ſettled in his Employment, returned to *Rome*: all *Britain* flock'd to the Sea Coaſt with him to return their laſt Acknowledgments; and pray for his future Proſperity.

One Thing alone this great Commander neglected, nor were his Son's Eyes, in all Things directed by his Purſuits, open to it; this was his not putting the *Britiſh* Navy in a Condition of Defence.

When we look into the Character of *Theodoſius*, we ſhall perhaps ſee a Reaſon for this Conduct: as much as he favour'd the *Britons*, he was thoroughly a *Roman*. He perhaps conſidered that if the Iſland were ſecured by her Navy, ſhe would look upon it as her own Force that ſecured her, and aim again at Independency; but that when *Roman* Arms alone ſupported her, as it had been in this late Inſtance, that then ſhe would ſee the Neceſſity of the *Roman* Arm for her Protection.

The *Britiſh* Navy was undoubtedly its moſt natural Defence; but *Rome* ſcarce wiſh'd to ſee it too powerful, even when under her own Command. The Spirit of Independency had often ſtarted up here: *Britain* had been the Seat of many a bold Attempt upon the *Roman* Purple; and it appear'd dangerous to truſt in any Hand a Power which could never fail to have the Sovereignty of the Seas.

This is ſearching deeper than is the Cuſtom of others into the *Roman* Policy, but there do not want good Grounds for the Conjecture.

Theodoſius was too wiſe not to ſee that a powerful Navy would defend this Iſland at all Times, againſt ſuch Invaſions as had been lately terrible; yet he ſuffered it to rot in the neglected Harbours. This might be good Policy in a *Roman*; but it was very unhappy for *Britain*: and the Event ſhew'd it ſuch: If the *Roman* Arms ſpread Terror at the Time, that wore gradually off: the Hopes of Plunder revived in thoſe whoſe Fathers had periſh'd in the ſame Attempt, and *Britain* ſuffered greatly in after Years for this Neglect.

'Twas in the End of the Summer 368, that *Theodoſius* left *Britain*: Matters remained in quiet five Years after his Departure, and at the End of that Time, in the Year 373, *Freamarius*, King of the *Almans*, was ſent over in the *Roman* Service: little characterized his Government, but the continued Neglect of a Naval Power; ſo that by this Time ſcarce any Thing remain'd of that Navy which in the Days of *Carauſius* and *Alectus*, had been ſo great a Glory to this Iſland.

Gratian ſucceeded in the Weſtern Empire, and in his Reign, *Maximus*, a Native of *Spain*, then Commander here, aſſumed the Purple. He had ſome Succeſs againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, and with the Flower of the *Britiſh* Youth, to whom theſe ſlight Succeſſes had endeared him, he went over into *Gaul*. There he fought *Gratian*, and in 383 conquering and killing him, ſettled himſelf in *Bretagny*: and when he went thence, he left it in Poſſeſſion of the *Britons* who had followed him.

This was another heavy Stroke to our Iſland. Its beſt Provinces were drain'd of their choiceſt Men, who now ſettled in a fruitful Country, and happy in great Privileges, and inſtead of returning, invited over many others to them. Few ſaw the Conſequences of this new Settlement; but they proved very fatal to *Britain*.

Notwithſtanding the ill Succeſs of the laſt *Saxon* Expedition into this Iſland, that People ſtill look'd on it as a Place of rich Plunder; and with this View kept a continual Eye upon its Condition, in reſpect of its own Strength, and of the *Roman* Forces.

This peopling of *Bretagny* was an Event too favourable to their Deſigns to be look'd on with Indifference. They knew the Naval Power of *Britain* was utterly neglected; there was nothing to prevent their landing; and they ſaw ſo many Provinces ſince ſtrip'd of their Youth by this Incident, that if the *Roman* Power ſhould be called off, as ſometimes in a great Meaſure happen'd, to other Service, there would be nothing to oppoſe them.

In this Manner were the Eyes of *Saxons*, *Scots*, and many of the neighbouring Nations, kept on *Britain*. It was not long before their Expectations, regarding the *Romans*, were too fully anſwer'd; and they made their Uſe of the Event in ſuch a Manner, as ſhew'd they were now Revengers of their ſlaughter'd Fathers, as well as Robbers.

CHAP. VII.

The Britons, *for want of a Naval Power, are again plunder'd by Pirates of various Countries.*

THE Exigencies of the *Roman* State elſewhere, called over the greater Part of that Force they had in *Britain* in the Year 388. This was the Hope of all the Pirate Nations in the Neighbourhood; they had kept ready for the Event whenever it ſhould happen; and all, as if actuated by one Soul, put to Sea, in a manner together.

In the Summer of the Year 389, the Seas about the Southern Coaſts of *Britain* were cover'd with a motly Armament of *Scots*, *Saxons*, *Picts*, and many other ſtrange People.

The *Britons* ſaw their Fate, and knew they were left defenceleſs. They were ſtrip'd of their Soldiery, and the very *Romans* had in a manner deſerted them: at leaſt they were abſent in this utmoſt Exigence. Thoſe neareſt the Sea fled farther into the Country: thoſe to whom they retreated were ſtruck with the ſame Pannick, and fled farther.

The Swarms of Robbers who had landed without Reſiſtance, ſpread themſelves every where without Oppoſition, and plunder'd and burnt all before them.

When they had waſted the Sea Coaſt they advanced farther, and took different Routs, murthering every one they found, and marking their Paths with the moſt perfect Devaſtation. This was a ſecond Time a foreign Force ſhook the *Roman* Power in *Britain*.

The Inhabitants who had felt the want of a Navy, in that they could not oppoſe theſe Robbers landing, now felt the greater and more immediate Want of a *Theodoſius* to deſtroy them: the *Romans* wanted alſo ſuch a Commander to aſſert their own Right, and eſtabliſh their Intereſt: but Men of that Stamp do not riſe in every Age.

Chrepanthus was ſent againſt them firſt, and would have had Succeſs, but that the *Scots* at home, to favour the Attempts of thoſe in the South of *Britain*, had made Head vigorouſly upon the Confines.

This divided the *Roman* Power, too weak when entire; and therefore thoſe who wiſh to ſpeak moſt favourably of the Tranſaction, ſay little in its Praiſe.

Stilicho the ſame Year ſucceeded *Chrepanthus*. The *Saxons* were too ſucceſsful in their Plunderings; but *Stilicho* did ſome notable Things againſt the *Scots* upon the Confines. He drove them back to their Mountains; frighted them from any new Attempt for ſome Time, and repair'd the Wall which they had in many Parts demoliſh'd.

Though many of the *Scottiſh* and *Saxon* Plunderers got off the Iſland ſafe, and with a great Booty in 389; yet the Succeſs of *Stilicho*, and the Courage the *Britons* exerted in Conjunction with his Forces in the South ſo awed them, that there was no Attempt of any Kind made in the two ſucceeding Years.

Theſe Events tended greatly to perpetuate the Doctrine ſo ſtrongly inculcated into the *Britons* by *Theodoſius*, and ſo firmly believ'd by theſe neighbouring Nations: they were not afraid to face the *Britons*, but the Terror of a *Roman* Legion was never to be overcome.

Britain would have continu'd in Security, had *Stilicho*, or his Power remain'd here; for though leſs rapid in his Meaſures, and leſs fortunate in his Exploits than *Theodoſius*, yet he ſucceeded not ill.

In the Year 402, *Alarick* the *Goth* fluſh'd with ſome ſignal Succeſſes againſt the *Romans*, block'd up and beſieg'd *Honorius* in *Aſta*, of *Piedmont*.

This was an Event that called for all the neighbouring *Roman* Powers. Thoſe in *Britain* flew to his Aſſiſtance, and the Iſland was now left more open, more defenceleſs than ever to its Enemies; who never fail'd to obſerve, or to improve their Opportunities.

The *Roman* Legions were no ſooner drawn off, than the *Scots* made new and deſperate Inroads into the Northern Provinces; and in a few Months, the Sea was again cover'd with Pirate Veſſels ſteering to the South.

Unhappy Country, left deſtitute of its natural Support by the Policy of the *Romans*, who now withdrew their Office of Protection.

The Outrages and Deſtruction made by theſe wild People are not to be deſcrib'd, the *Britons* could only fly before them; and they continu'd their ſavage Depredations till, the Fear of *Alarick* being over, *Roman* Legions were again ſettled in the Iſland; and the Robbers, though not puniſh'd as under *Theodoſius*, were kept from farther Attempts for ſome few Years.

THE
NAVAL HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.

BOOK V.
During the fifth Century.

SECTION I.
To the Romans *quitting their Juriſdiction in this Iſland.*

CHAP. I.
Great Diſturbances happen in BRITAIN, *and new Emperors are choſen one after another.*

WHatever Cauſe diſturbed the *Roman* Power, *Britain* was ſure to feel the Effect of it: a fertile and rich Iſland within eaſy Reach of ſo many ſtarved Nations, and without Defence, was certain to be over-run and plundered, as ſoon as the foreign Protection was out of the Way. This the *Britons* felt repeatedly; and this was their Condition at the preſent Juncture.

In the Year 407, the *Vandals* burſt into *Belgia*, and over-run that Country. They ſpared nothing, and there was no doubt but the Locuſts would be on the Wing again, as ſoon as they had conſumed all where they were.

The *Roman* Forces in that Part of *Britain* neareſt the *Belgick* Coaſt expected to be invaded next. They had ſeen in the miſerable Fortune of the *Britons*, when left defenceleſs, what was to be expected from ſuch Enemies as theſe; and they knew themſelves unable to oppoſe them.

The *Britons* were no leſs terrify'd, for they had found by an Experience of many Ages, that if there muſt be a ſtrange Power among them, the *Roman* was by much the moſt tolerable. All was Terror and Confuſion; and at length the *Roman* Soldiers, knowing a proper Head and Leader was of the utmoſt Conſequence in ſuch a Situation, choſe *Marcus* Emperor.

It was in the Year 407 *Marcus* was proclaimed Emperor in *Britain*: he was at that Time the *Roman* Deputy here, and had contrived to have the imperial Purple forced upon him by the Soldiers, who had the higheſt Notions of his Prudence and his Courage. Times of Danger ſhew great Men properly, but there is Hazard in ſuch diſturbed and unconſidered Promotion. The Soldiers who had made him Emperor, aſſaſſinated him before they had brought into Action any of thoſe Virtues which they had ſuppos'd he poſſeſs'd, and for which they had rais'd him to the Dignity.

Marcus was no ſooner diſpatched, than a new Emperor was proclaimed: this was *Gratian*, a Perſon firſt rais'd without Reaſon, and in a few Months deſtroy'd without any Cauſe.

After him they ſet up a Perſon of the meaneſt Rank, a common Soldier, remarkable for nothing but that his Name was *Conſtantine*. This was the third of the Soldiers Emperors in the Courſe of a few Months, and they preſag'd great Things from him.

They were not altogether diſappointed: great Expectations often are the Parents of great Actions; and in this Inſtance ſomething like it happened. The Man, who had he continued a Soldier wou'd never have thought farther than obeying Commands, now began to give them, and with an Authority that became his Title: the Applauſes of the Soldiers gave him new Spirit: he ſummoned all the *Roman* Force together; he invited as many of the *Britiſh* Youth as he cou'd to join them; and he went over to *France*, claiming an equal Share with *Honorius* in the Empire.

The Soldiers, who had expected nothing but to be butchered by the *Vandals*, were pleas'd with the Change of the Scene, and the Change of their Fortunes. In 408 their Emperor over-ran the greateſt Part of *Gaul*, and calling his Son *Conſtans Cæſar*, and committing him to the Care of *Gerentius*, a Man of Parts, who alſo from this Time regulated his Councils, he reduc'd all *Spain* to his Obedience.

Ingratitude was the Deſtruction of this Emperor. His Son quarrelling with *Gerentius*, obtained his Father's Leave to diſplace him; and he, reſenting an Indignity from thoſe whom he had eſtabliſhed in ſuch a Height of Fortune, turned againſt them: they deſpis'd him; but they found their Error. Their Puniſhment quickly followed their Offence: for *Gerentius* inſtantly ſet up *Maximus* againſt them in *Spain*; and himſelf march'd with a large Force into *Gaul*.

Conſtans was in *Vienne* in *Dauphine*: thither *Gerentius* haſted; and he beſieg'd, and took the Town, and ſlew *Conſtans* with his own Hand in the Action.

This Perſon had taught *Conſtantine* to repel the *Vandals*, and by that gain'd him the Affection of the *Roman* Soldiery: he now took a different Courſe: he call'd them in againſt an ungrateful Tyrant, and with them over-run all *Gaul* in a few Months.

Gerentius was in the Height of his Succeſs, when a General of Policy, as well as of Courage, came from *Italy* with a large *Roman* Force into *Gaul*; *Conſtantius* was this Commander. He found Means to alienate the Affections of the Soldiers from *Gerentius*; who, in Conſequence, when he was about to make a glorious Oppoſition, found himſelf deſerted.

In this Extremity he retired to *Spain*: he was purſued thither, and, with his Wife and a Boſom Friend *Alanus*, periſhed after a great Slaughter of the Enemy, not by their Darts, but by his own Hand. Thus fell *Gerentius*, celebrated for many of leſs Virtues: the Reader here is intereſted in his Hiſtory, for he was a *Briton*. He was long celebrated in the Druids Songs.

Gerentius being defeated, little remain'd for the *Roman* Powers to accompliſh, for *Conſtantine* was reduc'd before to the moſt deſperate Fortune. He endeavoured to evade his Fate by turning Prieſt, but that avail'd him nothing; he was carried to *Rome* and executed.

CHAP. II.

Of the Neglect of the Naval Power of the Iſland in the Beginning of this Century; and its fatal Conſequences.

CONſTANTINE was Emperor in his own Opinion four Years. In all this Time the *Britiſh* Navy was reduced to a ſmall Number of Tranſports; incapable of any thing in the Country's Defence againſt the meaneſt Invaders.

It had been happy had there not been at that Time one Veſſel in her Ports: for what there were, tho' not enough for her Support, aſſiſted greatly in her Deſtruction. *Britain* unable to oppoſe the Landing of the weakeſt Enemy for want of Ships, and deſtitute of the *Roman* Protection, for their Forces were all withdrawn to *Gaul*; was ſtripp'd alſo of her own Youth by repeated Expeditions.

Numbers had followed *Maximus* to *Bretany* in *Gaul*, and there fell, or there were ſettled; Multitudes had gone alſo with *Conſtantine* to *Gaul* dreading the *Vandals*; and the ſame Reaſon that induced them to go kept them from returning: thus was the Iſland left an eaſy Prey to any Enemy; and there were always many ready to take Advantages of its weak Condition. It was a People of aged Men, of Infants, and of Women, who were now its Inhabitants; and theſe incapable to do or to prepare any thing for their own Safety, were attacked preſently on all Sides; on the Northern Borders by the *Scots* and *Picts*, and on the Southern Coaſt by Pyrates; Mongrels of all Nations; capable to attempt any thing againſt a defenceleſs People, and bloody in Wantonneſs.

What could be more terrible than the Condition of our Country at this Period? nothing remain'd but Deputations to *Honorius*: the *Roman* Power was the only Refuge; and what could be expected thence, when *Alaric* was now at the Gates of *Rome*.

'Twas an ill Time for the *Romans* to ſpare any of their Forces; however *Honorius*, mov'd with the Repreſentation of their miſerable Condition, order'd *Ætius*, Commander of the Forces in *Gaul*, to ſend over a Legion. This Aſſiſtance ſaved the *Britons* in ſome Meaſure from their Northern Neighbours; and alſo from the Pirates: they were ſo frighted at the firſt Notice of their Approach, that burning all in their Way, they retreated with what Plunder they could carry off.

This happen'd in the Year 410.

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CHAP. III.

The Romans *quit their Claim to* BRITAIN.

THE *Roman* Forces were recalled to *Gaul* after they had performed this Service for the *Britons*: and no ſooner were they on board their Tranſports, than the old Invaders began their Inroads. *Britain* was along its Coaſts, and on its Northern Borders, a Scene of Blood: and ſuch it continued till another Legion came over under *Gallio*. This, as well as the former, were ſent in Compaſſion to the *Britons*, rather than from any intereſted View of the *Romans*; for they were in a thouſand Diſtreſſes. That World which was not too much for *Julius* to conquer, was too great for all the ſucceeding *Cæſars* to preſerve.

Honorius was ſtill Emperor. He ordered the Legion under *Gallio* to perform all poſſible Service that Year in *Britain*: and having learn'd that they had clear'd the Coaſt of Robbers, repell'd the Northern Invaders, and mended the great Wall; he called them back, and acquitted the Iſland of the *Roman* Juriſdiction.

This happened in the Year 411, a Period of great Importance in the *Britiſh* Annals; from which if we look back to the Beginning of known Hiſtory, we ſhall find the Inhabitants of this Iſland greatly injur'd by the *Romans*; and *Rome* little benefited by its pretended Subjection.

The *Romans* properly and truly never conquered *Britain*. They ſubjected many Provinces by Arms, and they engag'd many others by Treaty; but there were ſtill to the laſt Hour of their Juriſdiction large Parties of the Iſland who rebell'd.

The Conqueſt Northward was limited by their own Wall, beyond which they never claim'd Power or Right of Victory; that Part of *Britain* was therefore, according to their own Accounts, never conquer'd.

They loſt much Blood, and employ'd a vaſt Expence, to keep the Title of Sovereignty over this Iſland; but the worſt Part of the Hiſtory is, that even in the Times of their fulleſt Power here, it never was more ſecure from Invaſion than it had been while in the Hands of its own Inhabitants; and that when they left it, 'twas defenceleſs. We diſpute whether the *Romans* conquer'd *Britain*: we own they civiliz'd its People; but we ſee alſo that they betray'd them into the Power of every cruel Neighbour.

The *Roman* Empire laſted in this Iſland from the Time of *Cæſar*'s Invaſion, 473 Years: that People firſt knew *Britain* powerful, and even terrible to themſelves at Sea, for their Aſſiſtance ſtrengthen'd the Hands of the *Veneti*, ſo that they were able to ſhake their Poſſeſſions.

The Loſs of the Fleet, ſent on this important Errand, was never reſtor'd: *Cæſar* fell upon the *Britons* before they were able to fit out another Navy, capable of oppoſing him at Sea, and in the Time of his Succeſſors it was long neglected.

We have ſeen a Period under *Carauſius* when it was at a glorious Height, but 'twas not long preſerved in that Condition, becauſe a *Britiſh* Navy of that Force was terrible to *Rome* itſelf.

Policy made it decay, and from that Time, tho' often wanted, it never was under them reſtored to any Degree of Strength.

We ſee its laſt Condition under the *Roman* Power was that of being juſt able to tranſport their Forces; and had it been more and better, there were ſcarce any left upon the Iſland to man it.

Britain after 473 Years Subjection as it is call'd, but rather of Diſpute with *Rome*, was now left free, but deſtitute of all Defence or Succour.

SECTION II.

From the End of the Roman *Juriſdiction to the Cloſe of the Fifth Century.*

CHAP. IV.

The Britons *cultivate the Friendſhip of their Relations in* Bretany *in* France.

IN the Year of our Lord 411, the *Britons* were freed from the *Roman* Juriſdiction, and left to govern themſelves by their own Councils. Many of their People had deſerted the Iſland; and all the *Romans* were retired: even the *Gauls*, who had from time to time ſettled upon the Coaſt, for the moſt Part quitted it, returning to their Mother Country. The Iſland was therefore left in the Poſſeſſion of its proper Inhabitants, and thoſe in the Poſſeſſion of their Liberty; but from the Treatment of their *Roman* Maſters, and Variety of other Accidents, they were not in a Condition to defend the one, or to preſerve the other.

The ſame Fate that attended the *Britons* on their native Iſland, was theirs who had been removed to *Bretagne* in *France*. They were *Britons*, and they had the Country given them by the Leader whom they followed: their Title to it was not diſputed, and they were in all Reſpects conſider'd as *Britons* ſettled by Grant there.

The natural Alliance between the Inhabitants of this Iſland and thoſe of *Bretagne*, was cultivated and improved by an Intercourſe of good Offices. They were mutual Friends, and the only Friends of each other: all about the *Britons* at home were Enemies, and all the Viſitants of thoſe upon the Iſland Robbers.

Neither of theſe People were what their Anceſtors had been: for the *Britons* were no longer a brave, rough, free People. They had been for many Generations ſubjected to a foreign Maſter, and they were become, according to their Condition, indolent and remiſs, and if not cowardly, yet dull and ſlow in the Offices of Valour.

The common Voice, though not very well acquainted with the Nature of Liberty, yet extoll'd, and as it were ador'd the Name of it; and there were not wanting ſome, who having Ambition to make themſelves Sovereigns, laid Plans and Schemes for a new Form of Government; but all was confus'd and unequal. The only Step reſolv'd unanimouſly, and that not till after ſome Time, was to build a powerful Navy.

This like all other great Meaſures among a

People unaccuſtomed to Buſineſs, was ſet about with wonderful Spirit; but the Warmth too violent at firſt, ſoon cool'd. The Northern People, *Scots* and *Picts*, who from hating the *Romans*, had now grown to a Hatred of the other *Britons* as their Slaves, making terrible Incurſions, they were called off from their Naval Preparations, and oblig'd to take Arms.

The undertaking of a powerful Navy was a Reſolution that did Honour to the *Æra* of *Britiſh* Freedom; but it wanted Men of Genius, Skill, and Power to conduct it; 'twas too great a Deſign for ſo unſettled a People. The Reſolution was paſs'd in the Year 413, and the next Year brought their Northern Enemies ſo forward, that it was drop'd entirely.

The *Britons* finding themſelves unequal to the Taſk of reſiſting thoſe Enemies, who now reſumed the old Cuſtom of fighting at Land upon the Borders, and plundering in large Parties upon the Coaſts, ſent Embaſſies to their Brethren ſettled in *Bretagne*. A large Aid was ſent over: the Leader's Name was *Conſtantine*; and it is ſaid he was choſen King: but this is a Piece of Hiſtory not ſufficiently determin'd.

The Accounts we have of the Iſland upon the Removal of the *Romans*, and ſo long after as till the Year 443, are very imperfect.

The Aid received from *Bretagne* being inſufficient; *Rome* was ſollicited, and ſome Forces in Compaſſion were ſent over: this was a Supply little expected by the Enemy, and therefore the more fatal to them. It was repeated twice, and at each Time the *Romans* falling upon the ſcatter'd Plunderers, cut all to Pieces without Reſiſtance.

After the *ſecond* Expedition the *Romans* told them they could come no more: they encourag'd them againſt an Enemy not worth their *fearing*, if properly oppos'd; and took their Leave.

This was a Leſſon becoming the *Romans* to give, but impoſſible for the *Britons* to obſerve: the Enemy were young Men and vigorous, they in a manner all too old to bear Arms, or too young to be able to wield them.

Things grew continually worſe and worſe, the *Picts* and *Scots* paſs'd the Wall erected againſt them, and ſettled themſelves where they thought proper. Their Cruelties and Butcheries had an ill Effect upon themſelves, for there not being People enough left to till the Ground, and theſe Strangers not underſtanding the Manner of doing it, a Famine follow'd, which drove them back, and gave the Natives their Country again, in which the Enemy could not live.

The Famine was felt by the *Britons* as well as their Enemies, and they were reduced, after robbing one another while any body had any Thing left, at laſt, to retreat to the Woods, and live by hunting.

The Enemy not approaching where there was nothing to ſpoil, the *Britons* took Heart and ſettled themſelves again in their Towns; they cultivated the Land, and their Labours brought again their Enemies; or in better Words, the Robbers.

They were no ſooner attack'd by theſe deſperate Enemies, than they thought again of their Woods. To ſuch Extremities had the *Roman* Policy reduced them, that they were in a manner brought to give up Society, and from a well regulated People, to take up the Life of Savages, who never knew the Sweets of human Government.

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CHAP. V.

Germanus, *a Biſhop, leads the* Britons *againſt their Enemies.*

IT happen'd that at this Time there were violent Diviſions in the Church; and had not their Enemies found other Employment for their Weapons, to ſuch a Height were theſe carry'd, they would have been turn'd on one another: Arms being called to other Purpoſes, they invite from *France* Biſhops to decide their Controverſies; and one of theſe, *Germanus*, born as it ſhould ſeem to have been, a Soldier rather than a Churchman, led them againſt the Enemy, and obtain'd a perfect Victory.

This Action is ſaid to have been in *Flintſhire*: it was fought in the Autumn of the Year 431.

This Biſhop was not leſs a Stateſman than a General: he not only led them to the Field, but having reſtor'd them to the Truth in Point of Religion, he ſettled for them a better Plan of Civil Policy. He propoſed to them to build Ships, as they were now principally annoy'd by Invaders, and told them, it was better to fight at Sea in Defence of their Fields and Treaſures, than to beat an Enemy who had already over-run and deſtroy'd the greater Part of them.

The building and fitting out a Navy, was now a ſecond Time ſince their Deliverance from the *Roman* Subjection, ſet on foot by the *Britons*, and with earneſt Haſte.

Whether it were to this *Germanus* they ow'd their better Government, or to whatever other Cauſe, it ſeems that they would now have exerted themſelves very ſucceſsfully, could they have been ſupported againſt thoſe Enemies they were to oppoſe, while they were preparing to oppoſe them.

'Twas now they wanted moſt eſſentially the Aid of *Roman* Troops; but tho' they had twice ſince the Abdication of the Iſland aſk'd it, they at length entertain'd higher Notions of their own Importance. They underſtood an Application to *Rome* as a Requeſt to take them again into Subjection, and they would not do it, though they ſaw the Occaſion in all its Force.

Their common Enemies ſaw the Preparation, and join'd to prevent it. They fell upon many Parts of the Iſland at once; the Work was interrupted while in a manner in its Infancy: what Veſſels were got ready, were juſt enough in ſome Places to receive thoſe who fled from the Enemy at Land; and not enough to defend them againſt thoſe who follow'd them on the Seas.

Thus diſtreſs'd, they were oblig'd to take the Meaſure they had ſo carefully avoided: *Rome* was their only Source of Relief, and they repreſented their Story mournfully; that the Barbarians drove them out to Sea, and their Veſſels were not in a Condition to weather out the leaſt Storm: that their Choice was to periſh by the Hands of Robbers, or by Tempeſts, even if they eſcap'd the Veſſels of the Enemy.

The Requeſt was made to the *Romans* in the Year 446; and what the *Britons* had found it ſo difficult to condeſcend to aſk, the *Romans* were under a Neceſſity to refuſe. Their Affairs at Home permitted not Troops to be ſpar'd for other Service.

Thus left utterly abandon'd; the *Britons* herded in Parties, choſe Governors at their Pleaſure, and liv'd a miſerable and irregular Life; ſometimes beating back the Enemy who conſtantly fell upon them wherever any Thing was to be got; but oftener beat out of their little Poſſeſſions by them.

The *Scots* and *Picts* in 448, form'd a Deſign to enter the Southern Provinces in a Body, and deſtroying all who claim'd Poſſeſſion, to ſettle themſelves in the beſt Parts of them. They found themſelves the ſtronger Party, and they repented they had ſo long left the better Part of the Iſland to the weaker.

While theſe Enemies were preparing for this important Action, a Plague broke out in *Britain*: this kept off the Invaders; but it carry'd away a great Part of the People.

CHAP. VI.

Vortigern *is made King of* BRITAIN, *and the* Saxons *are called in.*

THE Iſland thus becoming more and more diſtreſs'd, a Perſon of Courage and Wiſdom was needful as a Leader; and the poor Remains of the Inhabitants join'd with one Voice to fix the Crown on *Vortigern*.

'Tis ſaid the *Conſtantine* who is recorded to have come from *Britanny*, and here to have been choſen King, left three Sons, *Conſtans*, *Aurelius Ambroſius*, and *Uter*, whom the Hiſtorians call *Pendragon*.

That *Conſtans*, too weak for Government, was deſtin'd to the Church; and that *Vortigern*, entruſteſt with the Care of the other two, got from them the Crown.

However this be, for it is not eſtabliſh'd perfectly in Hiſtory, that *Vortigern* was made King is no Queſtion, or that the general Voice of the People eſtabliſh'd him upon the Throne; a Seat then not to be envy'd.

They were not miſtaken in the good Qualities they attributed to their Sovereign; but they ſaw nothing of his Faults. Courage he had, and he underſtood the Art of War at leaſt better than any of their former Leaders, or than their Enemies: therefore he was ſucceſsful againſt them, and by that he won the People's Hearts. But with this he was unjuſt, tyrannical, cuel, and inconſtant in his Favour.

Some Hiſtorians ſay he had no one good Quality, but in this they contradict thoſe who afford them the only Grounds of Information. Theſe Men think they execute their Taſk amiſs if they fail to give Characters; and in delineating them, they think one Virtue implies all the reſt, and one Vice the whole Legion. Few Characters are perfectly abandon'd, or entirely faultleſs: the good and ill are naturally mix'd in Men, and Kings are no other.

Their Virtues generally are ſuch, as though foreign to the Nature of their Vices, are not incompatible with them; and ſuch was the Mixture in *Vortigern*: a ſavage Fierceneſs, which did not ill become a Leader who had ſuch barbarous Forces to encounter, led the Way to Cruelty in his Diſpoſition in general; and the Dread of popular Inconſtancy, for he had ſeen ſome, and heard of many Heads being ſtruck off by the ſame Hands that crown'd them, taught him Fickleneſs in his own Likings.

The Succeſſes of the Northern Enemies in their former Expeditions, gave them Courage to oppoſe ill Fortune; and Patience againſt ſome leſs ſucceſsful Encounters.

Vortigern could not repulſe them faſter than they return'd; nor could he deſtroy ſo many, though in every Action he was the Conqueror, and an unforgiving one, but that more immediately ſupply'd the Place. Even Succeſs was not ſufficient to keep up the Spirits of the *Britons* againſt ſuch an Enemy; and none of their Victories but coſt them many Men, which they could not recruit as their Invaders did.

Drain'd by ſo many Chances by the Sword and Famine, beſide the voluntary Abſence of more than half their Youth, they now ſaw that they were fighting Battles in which they muſt at laſt be vanquiſh'd; and in conſequence, in the End utterly deſtroy'd.

Vortigern was not the laſt to ſee this, though he knew not how to propoſe a Remedy: the State was in Confuſion, and their Terrors grew double on hearing that the Enemy, who continually made Incurſions upon their Territories by Land, were preparing now a more powerful Armament than ever at Sea: it was either true at this Juncture, or the *Britons* were wrought to believe it ſo, that their united Enemies were about to put in Practice with greater Violence and greater Force, that Plan for reducing the whole Iſland from which they had been driven when before propoſed, by the breaking out of the Peſtilence.

This was every Man's Concern, for the Knife was now, or ſeem'd to be at every Throat: the Multitude gather'd about the Palace, and *Vortigern* came out to them. He ſummon'd a general Council the next Day; and then repreſented to them, "That they were unable themſelves to oppoſe a deſperate Enemy that was about to attack them in many Parts at once; that the Succours they could obtain from *Britanny* were not ſufficient for any Defence, and that from *Rome* they were deny'd Aſſiſtance. This, ſaid he, is our Condition; let him who has Wiſdom to diſcover a Remedy propoſe it freely."

We are not told the Name of him who propos'd the fatal Aſſiſtance of the *Saxons*, perhaps the Occaſion juſtify'd the Advice; moſt probably 'twas *Vortigern*'s Contrivance. Of two Fates, Death, or a

State of Servitude even to bad Maſters, the Love of Life would teach Men to prefer the latter; and if the Situation of the *Britons* were at that Time, as it ſtands repreſented, this was their Caſe.

However, the calling in the *Saxons*, though it might be a needful Meaſure, was ſuch a one as *Vortigern* might very well fear to propoſe. He therefore whoſe cautious Politicks firſt laid the Scheme, might naturally break it to the People in this Manner; propoſing their Condition to them in the moſt dreadful Terms, and planting ſome Creature of his own to give the Advice he intended upon the Exigency.

However it were, no ſooner *Vortigern* had ended his Speech, than it was propos'd, as the *Romans* would not, and their Friends in *Britanny* could not give them Aſſiſtance, to ſollicit it from the *Saxons*.

Theſe had been often terrible to *Britain* in her happy Times; but they were now her Reſource. They were eſteem'd leſs bloody than the Northern Enemies, and they were called over in Terms of Friendſhip.

CHAP. VII.

Of the State of the British *Navy at the coming of the* Saxons.

AT the Time when the Reſolution was taken in general Council of the *Britons* to invite the *Saxons* over as their Protectors, the *Britiſh* Fleet, if we may in ſuch Times preſerve the Term, was reduced ſo low, that 'twas not eaſy, though very neceſſary, to convey their Embaſſadors in Safety to the Coaſt.

The new Preparation had been ſuſpended by the Inroads of the *Picts*: of the Veſſels then in Hand, few had been finiſh'd; and even thoſe having been ſince that Time left unregarded, were now hardly fit for Service.

This was the deplorable Condition of our Country, negligent to make a Naval Preparation while in its Power; that happy Time once let ſlip, there occurred no other Opportunity.

With Difficulty they got together ſuch a Force as might reſiſt the Attacks of thoſe little Bodies of Pirates ſo frequent about the Coaſts; and the Embaſſadors were landed ſafe among the *Saxons*.

The Purport of their Embaſſy was, "That the *Britons*, oppreſs'd by a powerful and cruel Enemy, hearing the Fame of the *Saxon* Courage and Skill in War, implor'd their Aid: that they requeſted them to come and ſettle among them as Friends; to be the Defenders of their Country, and to ſhare with them its Bleſſings of Fertility."

The *Saxons* did not long heſitate about their Anſwer: they return'd, that they would be ſpeedy in their Aſſiſtance, and that thenceforth the *Britons* might depend upon them as Friends in their worſt as well as in their beſt Fortune.

The Embaſſadors returned, and were received with Acclamations; and the firſt Body of the *Saxons* quickly followed.

It may not be unpleaſing to the Reader in this Place, to enter into an Enquiry who theſe *Saxons* were; a People not heard of till the Time of *Britain*'s Misfortunes, not of theſe extream Miſeries which called them in, but of thoſe Diſtreſſes which in better Years, under the more quiet Government of the *Romans*, they brought upon this Country by their occaſional Depredations.

Their Piracies upon the *Britiſh* Seas at that Time when the *Romans* kept the Navy of this Iſland low, and their Deſcents upon the remote Parts of the Coaſt, and Devaſtations committed there, firſt brought the *Saxons* to the Notice of the World. The beſt Traces we can obtain of their Original, place them before in the North of *Aſia*: The Point has been diſputed with much dull Deliberation, but this ſeems the Reſult of the moſt authentick Accounts.

Theſe People, too numerous to find Food in their own Country, left it, towards the Decline of the *Roman* Empire, to take the Neceſſaries of Life elſewhere: many of them fell with a Multitude of other Northern Nations upon the *Roman* Empire; and others leſs inclin'd to ſuch deſperate Adventures paſs'd on to the *Daniſh* Seas, and there they liv'd on Piracy. Theſe making frequent Deſcents upon the Places where they thought moſt Plunder might be had, by Degrees ſettled along all that Coaſt of *Germany* and the *Netherlands* call'd *Old Saxony*.

Their firſt Exploits upon theſe Shores were to attack defenceleſs Towns, where they murder'd all they found, ſet the Places on Fire, and retired to their Veſſels with the Booty.

No People were ever more unciviliz'd, more ignorant, more brutal, or more barbarous, than the *Saxons* of thoſe Times; but by Degrees they learn'd more Policy: they began to ſpare the Towns whoſe Inhabitants they deſtroy'd; and weary of living altogether at Sea, poſſeſs'd them one after another, and ſettled that long Extent of Coaſt.

Here it was they grew powerful; as the Affairs of *Britain* declin'd. They kept up a large Navy, and plunder'd all that were not able to oppoſe them. Our Iſland might have defended itſelf by Means of a Navy; but we have ſhewn upon what Grounds the *Romans*, Maſters here at that Time, did not chuſe to ſuffer it. They defended the *Britons* againſt all other Enemies, and of theſe the *Saxons* were the moſt terrible. Yet ſuch was the Change of Affairs now the *Roman* Protection was withdrawn, that theſe dreadful Enemies were invited hither: thoſe at whoſe Approach the *Britons* had uſed to fly, they now took into their Boſoms; whether it were that Variety in ill Fortune appear'd deſirable, or that they thought it a Refuge from one Miſery to fly to another.

The *Saxon* Aid ſoon reach'd the Shore: fifteen hundred pick'd Soldiers came under the Conduct of two Brothers, famous by their Deſcent, and more by their Exploits.

Woden, the great Chief of the *Saxons*, and in after Ages their Divinity, was the Anceſtor of theſe two Warriors: they had ſignaliz'd themſelves in many deſperate Enterprizes, and were not more remarked for Valour than Succeſs.

The State of the *Saxon* Navy with reſpect to the Bulk of their Veſſels, may be known from a Circumſtance of this Hiſtory, and we find it very conſiderable for ſo early Time. Three Veſſels brought over theſe Soldiers; each therefore carry'd five hundred Men.

From this we may learn the Condition alſo of the *Britiſh* Veſſels under *Carauſius* and *Alectus*, for we frequently find they oppoſed them ſingly; and rarely without Succeſs, even in thoſe equal Encounters: the Veſſels of *Britain* therefore were, in the Time when the *Romans* encourag'd its Naval Power, no leſs than theſe of the *Saxons*, capable of carrying five hundred Men; and they were at that Time very numerous.

After theſe firſt *Saxon* Troops, the Way was open for more: but this is a Part of our Hiſtory ſo extremely important, that it demands a ſeparate Conſideration.

The Arrival of the firſt *Saxons* is by *Nennius* and ſome others attributed to Chance; and the Story reſembling in ſome Meaſure that of the *Trojans*, when beſt ſtated, ſays they were received and cheriſhed for their Services: but in the ſtricter Reſearch into the Authorities, this appears erroneous. Certainty is not to be had always when we treat of Times ſo imperfectly recorded; but Diligence will often find it.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Eſtabliſhment of the Saxons *in* BRITAIN, *and the Naval Power they brought hither.*

IT was in the Year of Chriſt 450, early in the Spring, that *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, with their fifteen hundred Followers ſet Foot in *Britain*; the firſt who had come hither otherwiſe than as Plunderers.

Their Service was needed, for the *Scots* and *Picts* were indeed united into a Body, and had ſo far purſued their great Deſign of ſubduing the Iſland, that inſtead of contenting themſelves with Inroads on the Borders, they were in the Beginning of Summer advanc'd as far as *Stamford* in *Lincolnſhire*. They came aſſur'd of Succeſs from their repeated Victories in their Skirmiſhes over the *Britons*, and they little thought of a foreign Army to conteſt with.

Vortigern harangued the *Saxon* Troops: "You ſee it was no falſe Alarm that occaſion'd our ſending for you; nor any ſmall Aſſiſtance we expect from your ſucceſsful Arms. Reſtore to us our Country, ſeiz'd by theſe Barbarians, and accept a Settlement in its beſt Provinces, and ſuch Acknowledgments as beſit ſuch Services."

The *Britons* did not intend to be idle Spectators of the Conteſt; they join'd the *Saxon* Forces, whoſe Leaders, to ſhew their Scorn of Danger, placed themſelves and their Legions in the Front; and march'd to meet the Enemy.

Intelligence was not ſo quick in thoſe Times as in theſe; but ſuch a Preparation could not be made in ſecret. The *Scots* and *Picts* drew out to receive thoſe they thought themſelves ſure to conquer: but they were aſtoniſh'd to ſee more Order than was uſual among the *Britons*; and as they came nearer, other Faces and other Habits than of that Country. They ſaw more Danger than they had conceived, and they prepared to welcome it with more Courage. The Fight was deſperate: it laſted from early Morning till Night put a Stop to it. The *Scots* and *Picts* gave Ground, but they retreated ſullenly. *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* appear'd the Guardian Geniuſes of the *Britons*: they fought in every Quarter; wherever there was a Stand on the Part of the Enemy, they puſh'd with their full Violence, and they were not to be reſiſted; many of the *Saxons* fell, but of the *Scots* and *Picts* four Times the Number. The *Britons* loſt few: for as the *Saxons* had taken, they maintain'd the Front during the whole Conflict. Thoſe of the *Britons*, who were loſt fell principally in following too far a flying but a furious Enemy.

The Victory was abſolute; for the Invaders retired to their Mountains. The *Britons* were ready to adore the *Saxons* as Divinities: they gave them the Iſle of *Thanet* whereon they had landed; and a large Diſtrict on the Field where they had fought ſo bravely. *Thongcaſter* in the County of *Lincoln* ſtands upon a Part of this Spot, and idle Stories are related of it: but while we throw by theſe Circumſtances, we are to receive the Fact.

The *Saxon* Brothers loaded with the Applauſes and Favours of the *Britons* ſeated themſelves as alloted; but they were too enterprizing to confine their Thoughts to the narrow Limits allotted for their preſent Poſſeſſions.

Hengiſt repreſented after a little Time to *Vortigern*, and he to his People, that ſo many of the *Saxons* had fallen in their Defence, that the Remainder were too few to do them any eſſential Services. They propos'd, as the Land allotted them was too much for their Number, to ſend for more, and promis'd they would be at all Times ready to ſerve them againſt their Enemies, domeſtick or foreign, as they had done on the late Occaſion.

The *Britons* conſcious of their Obligation, and of the Diſtreſs and Danger from which they had been reſcued, which the Slaughter whereof themſelves had been Witneſſes, ſet before them in a ten-fold Light of Terror, readily grant the Requeſt. They were open, and undeſigning, and they were terrified.

The *Saxon* Leaders were more cautious, artful, and deſperate. They ſaw themſelves ſeated in a Country much richer and more agreeable than their own, and they reſolv'd never to quit Poſſeſſion. They undertook it by a double Procedure; by getting over Numbers of their own People, and by making Alliances with the *Britons*.

In the latter End of the ſame Year 450, the Repreſentations of *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* ſent over to their Country took ſo good Effect, that there came to *Britain* a very large Body, conſiſting of People of different Parts of the *Saxon* Coaſt; and others join'd with them from *Jutland* and *Anglen*, a Province and a City ſo named, and then called *Jutes* and *Angles*.

The three Ships in which the firſt Body of *Saxons* had come over were carefully laid up, and the *Britons* in ſeveral Ports were employ'd in fitting up more of their own: no leſs than ſeventeen Ships were employ'd in bringing theſe latter Forces over; and they being the Property of thoſe who came were kept here, and by theſe, and what the *Britons* had in this Time fitted out, the Iſland once again ſaw itſelf poſſeſs'd of a conſiderable Naval Force.

The *Saxons*, who had been before too few for their allotted Land, were now too many: they came as Friends by Invitation, and to do the moſt important Services, the *Britons* therefore freely gave them more of the Iſland. They had engag'd to face all the Attempts of the Enemies of *Britain*, and they were therefore poſted where thoſe Attempts had of late Years been made; they had the Coaſt of *Kent* which they were to defend againſt Invaſions; and a great Tract of Land North, which lay between the Poſſeſſions of the *Britons*, and the *Picts* and *Scots*.

Hengiſt ſaw his Countrymen well eſtabliſh'd, but conſcious of the Effect of Diſputes, which the wiſeſt cannot always avoid, he determin'd to ſtrengthen their Reception by an Alliance. None was worth his Conſideration on this Account but *Vortigern*, and he was already marry'd. However the *Saxon*, who was not of very ſcrupulous Morals, diſregarded that. He ſaw *Vortigern* in the Affection of his People too firm, as appear'd, to be unſeated; and he concluded, that a Deſcendant on the Mother's Side of his Family, and on the other of *Vortigern*, would be a half *Saxon* King, and one who would have eſtabliſh'd his People there for ever.

Here the Policy of *Hengiſt* ſpun his Thread too fine; he did not deceive himſelf in the Plan, but in the Conſequences, which he expected from its Succeſs. None was ſo fit for this Purpoſe as a Daughter of his own: he had one of celebrated Beauty whom he ſent for on this Occaſion. *Vortigern* was invited to him, and the Lady appear'd as if by Accident.

Vortigern was taken with the Bait; he declared his Paſſion; and parting from his Wife, marry'd this Lady, whoſe Name was *Rowena*.

The Conſequence of this Match was the inviting over a great Number more of *Saxons*: as many now came as forty of their beſt Ships could carry, and the Sons of *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, *Octa* and *Ediſſa*, were ſeated with theſe Forces on the Northern Borders, as a continual Safeguard againſt thoſe Enemies.

The *Britons* now found themſelves very powerful both at Sea and Land, but having got rid of the Fear of their Enemies, their Eyes were open to the Danger to which they were expos'd from their Friends: 'tis true, that all was yet quiet; but the *Saxons*, who had driven out the *Scots*, were too many ever to be diſpoſſeſs'd by them in caſe of Diſagreement. They hated *Vortigern* for his ill Behaviour to his Queen, and they now began to look upon him as a Traitor to his Country: as one connected by Marriage to theſe *Saxons*, as favouring them more than *Britons*, and as intending to give them the Poſſeſſion of the Iſland.

Theſe were Apprehenſions but too well grounded; however, the Care of the common Safety kept them for ſome Time quiet.

In the Year 451 the whole *Saxon* and *Britiſh* Fleet joining, coaſted to the North among their Enemies in their Turn. They even went as far as the *Orkneys*, and ſpread ſuch a Terror by their Force and Number, that no Veſſel from the Enemy's Ports dared put out to Sea.

The ſame Precaution they uſed alſo at Land: the Son and Nephew of *Hengiſt* ſeated themſelves in *Northumberland*, and in the ſame Manner frighted the Northern People into Peace. There they propoſed to remain with their Force as a continual Safeguard to the *Britons*; and to ſhew their Confidence in them, they ſent away their Veſſels after this Service againſt the *Scots*, to the Southern Part of *Britain* with the others.

The Iſland now was at reſt from foreign Enemies, and the Attention of all were fix'd on the Strangers whom they had at home. The *Saxons* behaved with perfect Moderation: they had taken Advantage of every Opportunity; but they had made none: more had come than were invited, but they had never come except when invited; and though they had no Land but what was given them, yet they had obtain'd more from the Liberality of *Vortigern*, than they ever could have receiv'd from the free Will of the *Britons*. This was ſeen, and the Cauſe was not leſs evident: and now Miſchief began to brood. Each Side look'd upon the other with unfriendly Eyes, and the Storm gather'd faſt.

CHAP. IX.

Of the State of the British *Naval Power in the Reign of* Vortigern.

THE *Saxons* were now ſo numerous, poſſeſs'd of ſo much Land, and ſo well ſtrengthen'd, that they found themſelves in a Condition to diſpute the Iſland with its natural Maſters. If they had preſer'd to be ſeated in it quietly that Chance was over, for they muſt have ow'd it to *Vortigern*, whom his People now curs'd, and deteſted univerſally. Thus began the Diſputes, which ſoon grew terrible.

When the firſt *Saxons* had came over, the *Britons* allow'd them a certain Stipend monthly, beſide the Advantage of the Land they had deliver'd into their Poſſeſſion: this had been drop'd when freſh Numbers came over. Their Reward was an Eſtabliſhment in the Kingdom; and a Part of the Land on the Produce of which they were to live like the *Britons*: but the *Saxons* called for the full Pay for their whole Numbers, and the Arrears to the Day of the Demand.

The *Britons* now ſaw what they had to truſt to. They made a Shew of preparing to pay it; but they employ'd themſelves to reſiſt the Enemy who demanded it. They in full Council dethroned *Vortigern*, and placed the Crown upon *Vortimer* his Son, by his firſt Queen, now grown a Man, and full of an implacable Hate againſt the *Saxons* on account of his Mother.

The *Saxons* upon this declare open War, *Vortimer* ſeparates the *Britiſh* Veſſels from theirs, in which he offers them Leave to return undiſturb'd: in the mean time placing a large Body to defend his own Navy, and poſting himſelf advantageouſly with the reſt of the Army.

The *Saxons* ſaw the *Britons* more reſolute than they had expected, but they determin'd to diſpute the Poſſeſſion of the Iſland with them. The Armies were increas'd from all Parts, and the Sea cover'd with two very conſiderable Fleets; ſuch was at that Time the Naval Force of *Britain*, that from in a Manner nothing a few Years before, it was now in a Condition to ſtand againſt that which had brought the *Saxons* over. Together they were an over-match for any Power, nothing could have deſtroy'd or endanger'd them but one another.

Vortimer, who ſaw his Army continually increaſeing, was not in haſte to hazard a Battle; and the *Saxons* who ſaw this alſo with Fear, ſent to the *Picts* and *Scots*, whom they had ſo late repulſed, inviting them to join as Friends againſt the *Britons*. They accepted the Terms; which *Vortimer* no ſooner knew, than he march'd againſt the Forces of the *Saxons* that were in *Kent*; fought them upon their own Ground, and in a pitch'd Battle, and among a great Slaughter of the *Saxon* Forces, *Horſa*, the Brother of *Hengiſt*, fell.

The Event of this Battle is variouſly recorded: we have but few Hiſtorians of that Time, and thoſe not only indifferently qualify'd for the Office, but in general partial. Certain it is the *Britons* had Succeſs againſt the *Saxons*: certain that they in this, and the ſucceeding Year, fought them ſeveral Times, and even drove them from the Iſland; but the Accounts of this, and every other Action, differ according to the Intereſts, Partiality or Prejudice of their Relaters.

We have *Saxon*, and we have *Britiſh* Records of this Tranſaction, the Struggle of the *Britons* againſt their *Saxon* Enemies; but they are various.

The *Saxon* Story never acknowledges Succeſs to the *Britons*; and the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, palpably partial in many Parts, probably repreſents thoſe Actions more favourably than is conſiſtent with Truth. However it be, this Battle in which *Horſa* fell is a certain Fact. The *Britiſh* Hiſtorians glory in it; and the *Saxons*, though they do not acknowledge their Forces to have been beaten, own the Death of *Horſa*.

Two other Actions at Land are ſaid to have follow'd this; not with the Party of *Hengiſt*, but with the joint Forces of *Octa* and *Ediſſa* from the North, and their Allies the *Picts*. In all theſe the Victory is given by the *Britiſh* Writers to *Vortimer*; and though the *Saxon* Annals deny, the Conſequences ſeem to confirm it.

The *Saxons* weary'd with their Loſs at Land, carry'd the War to Sea. The divided Fleets were kept out; and the *Saxons* now filled theirs with their beſt Men, and made up to the *Britiſh*.

The Accounts are here again defective on the *Saxon* Part, and too partial on the *Britiſh*. What can be collected with moſt Shew of Truth is, that the *Saxons* were ſuperior both in the Number and Size of their Ships; of which the three that brought over *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* with the firſt fifteen Hundred, being a kind of long Gallies, and man'd with pick'd Soldiers, made great Havock.

The *Britons* had recover'd ſomething of their wonted Courage from the Succeſſes of *Vortimer*; and they knew they were now fighting for every Thing, and on their proper Element.

The Succeſs ſeems to have been on their Side, a Multitude of the *Saxon* Soldiers were killed in the Action; ſome of their Veſſels taken, and the reſt ſaved by retreating in the Night.

Vortimer, thus ſay the beſt remaining Records, landing his Men, purſued his Succeſs by ſeveral Attacks at Land, in which he drove the Enemy at laſt into the Iſle of *Thanet*, their antient Inheritance; and thence into their Ships, which ſerv'd to carry them home.

Variouſly as the Matter is recorded, this Truth is certain; the *Saxons* who had join'd with them the *Picts* and *Scots* in the North, with the Hope of Plunder; and who had thence made great Progreſs into the Southern Parts of the Kingdom; depending upon its total Reduction when they ſhould join *Hengiſt*, did inſtead of ſubduing, quit this Iſland.

They may report the Tranſaction as they pleaſe, but certainly had they not been driven out, they never would have gone. Under *Vortigern*, who favour'd them, they were powerful and terrible to the *Britons*: under *Vortimer*, who made it his ſole Point to drive them from the Iſland, they were driven from it.

Britain was now left to its own Inhabitants, and *Vortimer* refitted his Navy ſhatter'd in the general Action; and ſo encouraged the People by his Conduct and Courage, and what was more than both, his Succeſs, that they flock'd to him in Multitudes. This was another remarkable Æra to our Country.

The *Romans* had quitted their Pretence to Sovereignty, and the *Saxons* had been called in to fight, like *Swiſs* for Pay, againſt the *Picts*. Having done that Service effectually, they were turn'd out of the Iſland for their ill Behaviour.

The *Britons* were free and ſtrong. They had a Sovereign of Prudence, Courage and Virtue; they were powerful enough at Land to oppoſe thoſe Inroads from the North, or more to terrify thoſe People from attempting them; and they were poſſeſs'd of a Naval Power, that with the Strength and Credit of its Succeſs againſt the *Saxons*, would in like manner have been ſure to defeat any Attempt; and did prevent all ſuch Meaſures by its known Strength.

CHAP. X.

Of the Conceſſions made by the Britons *to the* Saxons.

THIS was the State of the Naval Power of *Britain* under *Vortimer*, who ruled unmoleſted by Enemies, and ador'd by his Subjects; while the depoſed King his Father, whom he never follow'd, lived in private, waiting a Change.

Vortigern had his good as well as his bad Qualities: his Diſtreſs made the former remember'd which had been forgotten in his ill-conducted Proſperity. He had a Party, though he kept it ſecret, among the People of Intereſt in the Iſland. It was not ſufficient to ſet him up againſt his Son, but he depended on it in caſe of his Death.

This, to the irreparable Loſs of *Britain*, happen'd ſoon after. 'Tis ſaid *Rowena* found Means to have him poiſon'd: however that were, the Agents and the Inſtruments of *Vortigern* were ready to take Advantage of the Accident; and preaching up his good Qualities, and aſſuring the People of his ſincere Repentance for his Faults, they got the Voices of a Multitude for recalling him to the Throne. This happen'd in the Year 458, an Æra fatal to this Country.

Above all Danger from Enemies, *Britain* was now betray'd by her Sovereign. *Rowena* govern'd in all the Councils of *Vortigern*, and the Effect naturally to be expected from this follow'd. Her Father *Hengiſt* now deſpairing upon the barren Coaſt, allotted his Original Portion, was with his Forces recalled to *Britain*.

The *Saxons* return'd with ten fold Reſolution to poſſeſs the Iſland. Their Number was very great; the fruitful Fields of *Britain* were dear to them, and dearer even than thoſe was their vow'd Revenge: they thought their Honour concern'd now to root out the *Britons*; and the Sons of thoſe who had fallen in the ſeveral Actions againſt *Vortimer*, held it Virtue to cut *Britiſh* Throats.

All this was in the *Saxon* Hearts; but it was kept ſecret there. All on their Face was Smiles; and nothing paſs'd but mutual Embraces: Condolements of the late Diſaſters, and Vows of everlaſting Friendſhip.

Hengiſt, who had brought over more than were invited, conſcious of the Diſquiet this would cauſe in many; before he advanced, ſent Meſſengers in peaceful and friendly Terms to the People. He deſired they might meet him and his principal Perſons, and all the great Men of the *Britons*, to ſeal an inviolable Treaty of Faith, Friendſhip, and perfect Union: that no Umbrage might be taken at his Numbers, he allotted only a certain Aſſembly on each Side to meet; and 'twas his Deſire that both Parties might come unarm'd.

The Place was fix'd, the Time appointed, and the Flower of the *Britiſh* Youth attended: every Perſon diſtinguiſh'd in the Council or the Field was there; and the *Britons* of that Time, like thoſe of the preſent, too honeſt for Suſpicion, went unarm'd as was propoſ'd.

The *Saxons* were order'd by their Leader to carry every one a Dagger concealed under his Garment, and to watch the Eyes of *Hengiſt*. On a Signal given, every Man of them in an inſtant drew his Weapon, and ſtab'd his Left Hand Man.

The *Britons* and the *Saxons* had been diſpos'd one and one for this Purpoſe by the Conduct of *Hengiſt*; and at one Blow three hundred *Britons*, all that had Power to do their Country Service, fell.

Vortigern was ſpar'd, but detain'd in their Hands.

They pleaded ſome imaginary Inſult; but what Plea was there for their coming arm'd! The Treachery is beyond Palliation, and 'tis not improbable that the implacable and cunning *Rowena* was the Contriver; and *Vortigern* perhaps not ignorant of their Purpoſe.

Hengiſt demanded for the King's Ranſom, that part of the Kingdom now divided into the Counties of *Eſſex*, *Suſſex* and *Middleſex*, for an eternal Poſſeſſion. This was granted; and *Vortigern* content with the Remainder of his Kingdom, and devoted to his Queen, retired to *Wales*.

Thus a barbarous People, full of Hatred to the *Britons*, and purpoſing to take the Iſland from them, were by their own Conſent ſeated in the Heart of it.

The *Britons* were now no more able to oppoſe their Deſigns. Their Leaders all deſtroy'd; themſelves terrify'd, and as it were diſarm'd by the Stratagem, and their King their Enemy.

Vortigern was indeed no longer conſider'd as a Sovereign by the *Britons*, he had in a manner given his Dominions to the *Saxon Hengiſt*; for though only a Part was ceded to them by Compact, he was neither able nor inclin'd to protect the reſt. He abdicated what he did not yield up; and *Britain* was ſuppos'd the Property and Poſſeſſion of the *Saxons*.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Neglect of the Britiſh *Navy under the Struggles of the* Saxons.

THE *Saxon* Hiſtory here leaves us in the dark. A Year is paſs'd over unnoticed in their Annals, which yet muſt have been a very buſy one; it was the firſt of their Eſtabliſhment in *Britain*, and 'twas remarkable for the Death of their great Leader *Hengiſt*. How he dy'd, or what he undertook from his ſettling in the Province allotted to him, till his Death, and what immediately follow'd it, we are to ſeek in other, and thoſe confeſſedly uncertain Hiſtories.

Ambroſius Aurelianus, as ſome write it; or as others, *Aurelius Ambroſius*, is at this Time placed at the Head of the *Britons*. We are told, they attack'd the *Saxons* in their allotted Province, which they with Reaſon called an extorted one; and were ſo ſucceſsful, that *Hengiſt* was in one of the Engagements made their Priſoner; and in that Condition dy'd.

Thoſe who write this Leader's Name *Aurelius Ambroſius*, make him the ſecond Son of that *Conſtantine* who came from *Britanny*; but we have better Authority for rejecting that Account.

Gildas and *Bede* ſpeak otherwiſe expreſly; and *Nennius* makes him the Son of a *Roman*.

Powell traces the Story of theſe dark Times carefully, and makes *Ambroſius* twenty Years Commander of the *Britons* in their Wars with the *Saxons*, who often difficultly maintain'd their Ground; and ſays, he was afterwards choſen King.

What appears certain is, that he was the Perſon who led the *Britons* againſt *Hengiſt*, and that he ſucceeded *Vortigern*.

As to the *Saxons*, they appear to have been diſhearten'd; but yet obſtinate to keep Poſſeſſion.

Oeric Oiſk, Son of *Hengiſt*, ſucceeded in that Part of the Iſland which had been granted by *Vortigern*; and he found too much Employment in defending, to think of extending his Dominions.

During all this Period, the *Britiſh* Naval Force appears to have been declining; nor do the *Saxons* appear to have taken any Meaſures for being powerful on the Seas; indeed 'twas not now needful on either Part.

The *Britiſh* Fleet might have prevented *Hengiſt*'s landing as an Enemy, but he came by Invitation. When eſtabliſh'd here it could be of no Uſe: therefore it appears that once the *Britons* were excuſable in neglecting their Naval Force. The worſt Enemy they could fear were now in their Boſoms, and the Terror of their Names was ſufficient to prevent all other Attempts.

On this Principle the *Saxons* alſo neglected their Shipping. They fear'd no foreign Power; and their whole Buſineſs was to defend themſelves at Land againſt the *Britons*.

Nothing but Reſolution, ſupported by Deſpair, could have kept up their Title. Every Way ſurrounded; they ſtill defended themſelves; and thus eſtabliſhing their People in the Part allotted them, they afterwards became able to extend them farther.

During the Reign of *Oiſk*, the ſole Purpoſe of the *Saxons* had been this Eſtabliſhment of themſelves in their own Territories, as they called them; but in the ſucceeding Reign of *Ella*, the Remiſſneſs of the *Britons*, more than any Advantages of their own, encourag'd them to puſh their Conqueſts farther.

The firſt Exploit of Note was the beſieging a ſtrong Town called in thoſe Records *Andred Cheſter*. Antiquaries have been, according to their Cuſtom, poſitive on different Opinions as to this Place. *Cambden* ſuppoſes it to be *Newenden* in *Kent*; but Mr. *Somner* thinks it was *Pemſey*, or *Haſtings*: and he ſeems to have more Grounds for the Conjecture.

All we know with Certainty is, that it was a ſtrong Place held by the *Britons*, upon the Verge of the *Saxon* Settlement: that the Siege was undertaken by *Ella* and his Son *Ciſſa*, at the Head of a great Force; and that 'twas carry'd after a deſperate Reſiſtance.

The *Saxons* kept alive their old Hatred to the *Britons*, and the *Britons* now knew it. They were not ignorant what they had to expect from ſuch an Enemy, if they ſhould prove ſucceſsful. They therefore ſent away their Women, and all who were incapable of Service, by a Gate at that Time open to their own Provinces; and themſelves who undertook the Defence fought vigorouſly. The *Saxons* prevailed at length, and the Way out being block'd up in the Night, none could eſcape, nor was any Quarter given: all were put to the Sword.

This Succeſs was the Prelude to more; it terrify'd the *Britons*, and gave Spirit to the *Saxons*. *Ella* puſh'd his Conqueſts farther; and founded what is called the Kingdom of the South *Saxons*.

He ſoon enlarg'd his Territories, and ſenſible that a larger Frontier requir'd more Hands for its Defence, he ſent for other Forces from *Old Saxony*.

'Twas in the Year 492 theſe came over; they found the Buſineſs of the War done, and that they had nothing to do but poſſeſs and defend the Territories given them of *Ella*'s Conqueſt.

The News ſpread throughout *Old Saxony*. *Britain*, unhappily for its Inhabitants, was repreſented in the fineſt Colours; and more *Saxons* came over without being called or invited.

In 495, *Kerdic*, a famous Leader among theſe People, brought over a large Body of his Followers. He landed at a Place thence long called *Kerdick* Shore, and thought now to be *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*.

Five Ships brought over this General and his Followers; who, the Inſtant he ſet his Foot on Shore, became a Sovereign.

The *Britons* who ſaw hoſtile Veſſels approaching, aſſembled with Haſte, and faced the landing Enemy with Reſolution; but the ſame Fate attended them now as in the Time of *Cæſar*: thoſe whom they might have oppoſ'd at Sea, they could not drive from Land.

The Misfortune of this Period was a total Neglect of Naval Preparations. They were ſo employ'd with the *Saxons* ſettled here, that they had no Opportunity for preparing againſt thoſe who might follow. The Conflict was very bloody; and many of the *Saxons* fell, but enough remain'd to take Poſſeſſion. They eſtabliſh'd themſelves upon the Coaſt, and from time to time made Excurſions, driving the Parties of *Britons* farther and farther from them, till they had obtain'd a very large Tract.

THE
NAVAL HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

During the ſixth Century.

This is one of thoſe Centuries which affording little Matter for our Naval Hiſtory, we ſhall paſs over with only a Detail of ſuch Tranſactions as may preſerve the Chain of Hiſtory.

CHAP. I.

The Saxons *eſtabliſh themſelves in* BRITAIN, *and take the Title of Kings in their ſeveral Provinces.*

FROM this Time every Year or two brought over ſome new Party of *Saxons*, under ſome new Leader. *Porta* in 501 landed at *Portſmouth* with two Ships, and fought his Way like the reſt into Poſſeſſion of a Territory; and others follow'd. Theſe ſtrengthened the Hands of one another, and the ſeparate Bodies were common Friends againſt the *Britons*.

The Neglect of a Navy was now irreparable; the *Saxons* were in Poſſeſſion of ſo many Parts of the Coaſt, that nothing could be attempted in that Way; but at Land the *Britons* were not idle, they had been drawn into the admitting of the *Saxons*; and they made many Attempts, and ſome very bloody ones, to drive them out again.

In 508 they join'd from all Quarters under the Conduct of a Prince renowned for his Knowledge and his Valour: his Name is differently written, *Nazaleod*, and *Nantanleod*.

We read in idle Hiſtories, and the unguarded Collectors and Compilers from them, of a *Britiſh* Prince called *Uter Pendragon*. He is placed in different Periods by various Writers; but what appears very probable on all Accounts is, that this *Nazaleod* was the Perſon, called *Uther* from his Valour, the Meaning of the Word being *fierce*.

This Conjecture is ſupported by many good Reaſons; and Bp. *Uſher* and other eminent Writers adopt it.

The Body being form'd, a Council was called to know on what Party of the *Saxons*, they ſhould fall. *Kerdick*'s Territories were determin'd to be the Seat of the War; and he hearing it, met them with a large Force upon his Frontier. A terrible Engagement follow'd, in which *Kerdick* was victorious, and five thouſand *Britons* fell.

The Conſequence was, adding new Power to *Kerdick*, and new Territories; he extended his Frontier, and called in Numbers of his Countrymen to poſſeſs and to defend it.

After ſome Years more *Uter* erected the Kingdom of the *Eaſt Angles*; and *Heda* that of the *Eaſt Saxons*, as moſt agree in 519, but ſome make it in 530.

A Fondneſs for ſetting up Titles, and becoming Royal, hurry'd theſe *Saxons* into making many independent Kingdoms; and when they were at any Time at Peace with the *Britons*, they were quarrelling with one another.

Kerdick, though as powerful and as abſolute, and Lord of as large a Territory as any, forbore this Pageantry a long Time. He had been four and twenty Years in *Britain* when he found Things ripe for his great Deſigns, which he brought to full Maturity: he then called himſelf King of the

Weſt Saxons, and conducted his Scheme ſo well, that partly by Diſputes, and partly by Treaty, he brought all the reſt under the *Weſt Saxon* Rule; and this became the general, or ſole Monarchy of *Britain*.

At this Time the famous King *Arthur* is ſaid to have lived, of whoſe Atchievements and Victories a certain Claſs of Hiſtories are full. There is too much Abſurdity in the Accounts of his Conqueſts, which he is ſaid to have extended even to *Ruſſia*, to ſuffer the Recital to be credited. A King of *Britain* muſt have had enough to do at Home.

But though we reject the Fables related of this Prince, there is no Reaſon we ſhould carry the Cenſure of his Story ſo far as to deny the Exiſtence of ſuch a Perſon.

It is certain, that *Kerdick* who had ſet himſelf at the Head of the *Saxons* in general, and aimed at eſtabliſhing a ſingle Monarchy in *Britain*, was croſs'd in that Purpoſe; that he, and the again disjoin'd *Saxon* Provinces, were oppos'd, ſtop'd in their Progreſs, and ſometimes beaten; and that in Conſequence of one great Engagement, fought, as 'tis ſaid, at *Baden Hill*, the *Saxons* were ſo quiet, that the *Britons* had Time and Folly for falling into Diſſenſions among themſelves.

Kerdick retired to the *Iſle of Wight*, and the other *Saxon* Parties under their different Kings, kept within their own Bounds. All this was the Conſequence of Victories obtain'd by the *Britons*: theſe the *Saxons* have not recorded, as they are not fond of telling Stories to their own Diſhonour; and this *Arthur* is ſaid to have been the ſucceſsful Leader.

Cambden ſo far countenances the Reality of the Perſon, as to give the Place of his Birth and Burial, and ſome very particular Circumſtances. He ſays he was born at *Camelford*, and dy'd at *Tindagel*, both in *Cornwall*. The Place of his Burial is recorded to have been *Glaſſenbury*; where, by order of *Henry* the IId. 'tis recorded, his Coffin was dug up, and aſcertain'd by an Inſcription.

The Date of this Battle at *Baden Hill* is not well eſtabliſh'd; but according to the moſt authentick *Britiſh* Manuſcripts, it appears to have been in the Year 520; and ſuch was the Terror of it to the *Saxons*, that no Attempt of Hoſtility was made on their Part till the Year 547; this makes the Period of Quiet twenty ſeven Years: others call it much longer.

In this Time the *Saxons* ſeem to have been in little Hope of extending their Conqueſts farther than their preſent Territories; and the *Britons* to have hem'd them in, and waited for their Extinction.

The one Thing eſſential was omitted; and the Iſland which might now have been preſerved a ſecond Time, fell as it did at firſt, by the Neglect of its Navy.

Here is a Period of at leaſt twenty ſeven Years, perhaps of thirty or more, in which the *Britons* were powerful, and had been ſucceſsful.

The *Saxons* had Difficulty enough to preſerve themſelves in their Poſſeſſions, and never attempted to annoy the Inhabitants. What then prevented the building in this Time a powerful *Britiſh* Navy? This would have ſecured the Kingdom, and nothing elſe could, but it was totally overlook'd.

The leaſt Foreſight muſt have ſhewn, that while the Sea was open, and the *Saxons* could receive Recruits from their own Country, 'twas in vain to deſtroy thoſe here; but if the *Britons* had ſo ſtrengthened themſelves at Sea, that no Veſſels could without their Permiſſion come near their Coaſts, then Deſpair of Succeſs, or even of Eſcape, would have render'd the Enemy among them an eaſy Prey; or they would have been thankful for Permiſſion to return. This was not regarded, and the Ruin follow'd: the *Saxons*, whoſe Employment at Home had kept them from freſh Landings here, in the Year 547 turn'd their Thoughts and their Arms this Way again, and with a fatal Conſequence.

CHAP. II.

Of the Naval Power of BRITAIN *at the Time of the Eſtabliſhment of the* Saxons.

THE Deſcendants of *Hengiſt* kept Poſſeſſion of his *Kentiſh* Territory as Sovereigns; and the Sons of *Octa* and *Ediſſa*, who were firſt ſeated in the North, kept themſelves ſecurely there; but without aſſuming Royalty: they called themſelves the younger Family, and were ſubject to the Sovereigns of the elder Line; but the Period was now arrived for the erecting that Part like the reſt, into a Sovereignty.

Ida, their Chief, began in 547, the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, in *Northumberland*: he was ſucceſsful and ador'd by his People; and having perfectly eſtabliſh'd this new Kingdom of the *Saxons*, he reign'd twelve Years.

In this Time the *Britons* made many Attempts upon their Enemies in different Quarters. *Ida* ſtood his Share of them; and *Kenrick*, who ſucceeded *Kerdick* as King of the *Weſt Saxons*, fought two Battles in 552 and 556, againſt them with great Advantage.

In 560 the Kingdom of *Northumberland* was divided into two Monarchies; *Alla*, who like the reſt, traced up his Pedigree to *Woden*, had ſet up a new Province in the South of that Department. This he ruled thirty Years, while the Deſcendants of *Ida* govern'd the Kingdom of *Bernicia* in the North.

In 561 *Ethelbert*, a Name famous in the Annals of this Time, began his long Reign. He attempted upon more reaſonable Grounds, what *Kerdick* had endeavour'd before, to reduce the Sovereignty of the *Saxons* in *Britain* under one Head.

This he claim'd from *Hengiſt*, whoſe Succeſſor he was, in favour of himſelf; that Warrior having firſt landed, and this Principality having been firſt founded.

Here began the Civil Wars among the *Saxons*. *Ethelbert* ſupported his Claim, and the reſt too fond of Independency, refuſ'd to ſubmit.

Ethelbert, who had made Incurſions upon their Territories, was driven back into his own, and beaten in ſeveral Battles with great Loſs.

Theſe inteſtine Commotions of the Enemies, might have given Means to the *Britons* to have attempted their Liberty, and full Poſſeſſion of the Iſland, but the Accounts we have of them at this Period are very unfavourable; they neglected all publick Buſineſs, and all private Virtue: between their own Succeſſes at *Baden Hill*, and theſe Conflicts of the *Saxons* one with another, they enjoy'd a State of Reſt four and forty Years: but in all this Time they took no Step either to aſſemble for Operations at Land, or to build a Fleet.

They, like the *Saxons*, had divided Intereſts; a *Conſtantine* was King in *Cornwall*; *Aurelius Conanus* Eaſt of him; *Vortipor* in *South Wales*; and in other Parts, *Cuneglas* and *Maglocune*. Theſe *Gildas* recites by Names, and he was then cotemporary. He reproves them for their Crimes, being in *Bretagne* when he wrote; and from his Account of them, who were all debauch'd, abandon'd, vitious Perſons, bury'd in Senſuality and Sloth, there appears no Reaſon to have expected better from them than the utter Neglect of their common Country. Theſe and the *Saxons* contented themſelves mutually in enjoying what was before them; and when they were on tolerable Terms with one another, thought no farther.

In 571, to which Time the Peace, as it may be called, between the *Saxons* and the *Britons* continued, *Cutbulf*, a Deſcendant of the great *Kerdick*, ſet his Countrymen the Example of turning their Arms from one another againſt the *Britons*; and from this Time may be dated the next general Attempt of the ſettled *Saxons* to ſubdue the whole Iſland.

Cutbulf having obtain'd Succours from *Old Saxony*, fought a large Body of the *Britons* about *Bedford*; and after a Victory in the Field took four Towns.

In 577 *Keaulin*, a Deſcendant from the ſame Stock, obtain'd a Victory over another Party of the *Britons* in *Glouceſterſhire*. In this Engagement three of our petty Sovereigns fell, and three more Towns were taken from the *Britiſh* and added to the *Saxon* Juriſdiction.

The Spirit of the *Britons* was at length rous'd by theſe Deſigns of their Enemies; and forming a large Body, they follow'd the Conqueror into his own Territories; fought him there, and won the Field, but had not his Succeſs in taking Towns, for theſe the *Saxons* always guarded ſtrongly.

Keaulin in his Retreat provided for his Revenge. His Numbers had been inferior to thoſe of the *Britons* in that Engagement, but he ſollicited Aid from all Quarters; ſoon got a large Force together, and fought them again with Succeſs, after which he took many more of their Towns.

About this Time *Crida* ſet up another *Saxon* Kingdom in *Britain*; the *Mercian*; and this compleated the Number.

Keaulin, who was at this Time ſole King of the *Saxons* on this Side the *Humber*, loſt by ſome unpopular Acts about the Year 592, the good Will of a great Part of his People.

The *Britons* ſaw this; join'd the Male-contents, and drove him from his Kingdom which he never after ſaw: but no Advantage was taken of this Accident. The Sovereign ſtill was a *Saxon*, and in the ſame Manner they ſucceeded one another in their ſeveral Provinces, which by Degrees they eſtabliſh'd into ſeven abſolute Kingdoms.

This was the State of the *Britons* in the Year 593: in Poſſeſſion of very little of their Native Iſland, on which a barbarous Enemy were every where ſettled and eſtabliſh'd now by hereditary Claims from Father to Son in every Kingdom. Many of the *Britons* fled to *Wales*; and *Ethelbert* now became a Favourite with his People, and capable of perſuading them to undertake any Thing, carry'd on his Original Scheme of reducing the *Saxons* all to one Kingdom with more Succeſs.

This Prince, to his Strength at Home, added Intereſt Abroad; he found Means, tho' a Pagan, to marry a Daughter of the King of *France*, a Chriſtian, to whom he allow'd the free Exerciſe of her Religion, and her own Prieſts.

The *Saxons* for that Time kept their old Religion; but Chriſtianity becoming ſpoken of, from a few Years after, was embraced by the Generality of them. Strange and wonderful Stories are told relating to the *Saxon* Converſion; but to this Event of *Ethelbert*'s marrying a Chriſtian Princeſs, it is moſt naturally to be attributed; for it follow'd a very few Years after.

The Chriſtian Teachers came over in 597, in 598 the King was baptized, and the reſt ſoon follow'd the Royal Example; and Chriſtianity was now eſtabliſh'd again in *Britain*.

THE
NAVAL HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.

BOOK VII.

During the ſeventh Century.

This alſo is a Century in which little remarkable occurs concerning our Naval Affairs, and which will therefore be here treated with Brevity.

CHAP. I.

The Introduction of Chriſtianity among the Saxons.

THE Precepts of Chriſtianity were ſo oppoſite to the *Saxon* Practice, that it got the better of their ſavage Fierceneſs, and their *Britiſh* Neighbours liv'd more peaceably about the Borders of *Ethelred*; but in the North, *Etherfrid*, King of *Northumberland* purſu'd his Conqueſts. He beat *Edan* King of the *Scots*, who had come into *Britain* againſt him, with ſo terrible a Slaughter, that it kept the *Scots* within their own Borders for a Century.

But while Chriſtianity gave the *Britons* Safety in one Part of the Kingdom, it prepared for their Deſtruction in another.

The Pope's Chief Prieſt here demanding more Homage than they choſe to pay him, ſtir'd up the *Saxons* in Revenge againſt them, and *Ethelfrid* was the Leader. The *Britons* diſputed the Field ſtoutly, but they were overcome, though after a greater Slaughter on the *Saxon* Part than on their own. This was in the Year 607, and continual Hoſtilities follow'd for many Years, in which the *Britons* were generally worſted, though not without great Loſs on the Enemy's Side.

In 616 *Ethelbert* dy'd, and Chriſtianity among the *Saxons* ſeem'd in danger to die with him.

The *Kentiſh Saxons* gave up their new Faith, and the ſame Year the *Eaſt Saxons* did the ſame. *Sebert* their King, who had embraced Chriſtianity, could not convert his Sons; who, on his Death, ſet up again their Pagan Religion.

Others grew faint in their Obſervance; and one of their Kings, *Redwald*, not convinced which Courſe was beſt, after the Defeat of *Ethelfrid*, whom he ſlew upon the Borders of the *Mercian* Kingdom, ſet up in Token of his Gratitude to Heaven, two Altars, one to Chriſt, and the other to *Woden*.

Diſputes on this Head now kept the *Saxons* in frequent Quarrels, but the *Britons* were too weak to take Advantage of them: when it happen'd that one Party were abſolutely bent upon the Deſtruction of another, they indeed never failed in that Deſign.

Thus in 633 they took Part with *Pinda*, who had rebelled againſt *Edwin*, one of the beſt of all the *Saxon* Kings, and by their joint Forces routed and killed him.

In the Year 653 the *Mercians* were converted.

In 663, after many Diſputes, ſome of them very bloody ones among themſelves; the *Saxons* firſt civilized by Chriſtianity, began to admit the liberal Arts, and cultivate the Sciences.

Theodore, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, promoted the Study of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue; and others under his Auſpices taught Aſtronomy, and many of the Sciences.

This look'd more than any preceding Æra the Time of the *Saxons* poſſeſſing *Britain*. Many of the Natives were retired to *Wales*, where they remain'd unconquer'd, but in a State of miſerable Oeconomy: in the mean Time theſe *Saxons* who became Pagans and Barbarians, were ſeated at their Eaſe in the ſeveral fertile Parts of the Iſland, and became poliſh'd and civiliz'd.

In 668 the South *Saxons* were converted to Chriſtianity. In the ten ſucceeding Years many Battles were fought between their ſeveral Kings, but the *Britons* profited nothing from them.

In 687 *Elfrid* ſent a very conſiderable Power to attempt the Conqueſt of *Ireland*. This is a Tranſaction of no ſmall Importance in the Naval Hiſtory of this Iſland. We write of the Naval Hiſtory of *Britain* not ſolely of the *Britons*; and muſt not omit any Thing relating to the Force kept in its Ports in whatſoever Hands.

CHAP. II.

Of the State of the Britiſh *Navy under the* Saxon *Eſtabliſhment.*

THE *Britons* had at firſt neglected to fit out a Navy, and afterwards they were incapable of doing it; their Strength declined ſo faſt, and the *Saxons* were Maſters of ſo much of the Iſland: but theſe Strangers ſaw the Error of the Natives too plainly, to fall into it themſelves.

The ſeveral Veſſels in which their different Parties had come over were kept in Repair, and replaced with new ones when that was needful; and during the Period of their Sovereignty here, tho' they do not appear hitherto to have had at any Time a very powerful Navy, they never wanted ſuch a one as was ſufficient for their Protection againſt foreign Invaders. They had got here too rich Poſſeſſions at Land to need to rob and plunder at Sea; and they therefore kept no more Ships on Foot than might be a Security to thoſe Poſſeſſions: but they never kept up leſs.

The firſt Inſtance we meet with of their uſing a Navy offenſively, was in this Expedition againſt *Ireland*; and this, while it ſhews they were prepared for an Exploit at Sea, yet does not ſpeak of a great Force.

Bertus had the Command of this Enterprize, which he found eaſy of Succeſs. The Quarrel againſt the *Iriſh* was, that they were friendly to the *Britons*.

Theſe People were unus'd to Arms; and full of Terror at the *Saxon* Name, they attempted no Oppoſition. They fled into the inland Parts: the *Saxon* Leader contented himſelf with burning and deſtroying ſo far as he proceeded; and return'd with the Name of a Conqueſt of the Iſland.

The *Saxons* were now at the Height of their Power in *Britain*, and they grew a different People. They were no longer the rough Barbarians who had firſt ſettled themſelves here; but as they were a more civiliz'd, they were alſo a leſs valiant Nation. They grew luxurious and effeminate.

The *Picts* on one Hand, and the *Britons* on the other, taking Advantage of this Change in their Diſpoſition, attempted to regain their Liberty and their Country.

Many Battles were fought with different Succeſs in the ſucceeding Years; but, in general, the *Saxons* did not fight like their Anceſtors.

In 699 *Bertred*, a *Northumbrian* General, was killed with a great Rout of his Forces by the *Picts*, and the *Britons* were after this ſucceſsful in many of their Expeditions.

THE NAVAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK VIII.

During the eighth Century.

CHAP. I.

Of the Naval Power of BRITAIN *in the Beginning of the eighth Century.*

WHatever had been the Difficulty of perſuading the *Saxon* Kings of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, in the Time of its firſt Introduction among them in this Iſland; they embraced it very warmly, and even enthuſiaſtically afterwards. The beginning of the eighth Century gave pregnant Inſtances of this.

Ethelred in the Year 704 became a Monk, reſigning his Kingdom to his Nephew *Wulfer*; and in 709, *Kenred*, the Father of this *Wulfer*, and King of the *Mercians*, became alſo a Monk, reſigning his Kingdom to *Kelred:* and with *Kenred*, another Perſon celebrated in the *Saxon* Annals, *Offa*, Son of *Siger*, King of the *Eaſt Saxons*, took the ſame Reſolution.

Ethelred remain'd in *Britain* at *Barding Abbey*, then eſtabliſh'd in *Lincolnſhire*; the two others went to *Rome*.

While theſe peaceful Sovereigns ſought a heavenly Crown, there were among the *Saxon* Kings others of different Temper.

The firſt ten Years of this Century were indeed tolerably quiet; but in 711, *Ina* fought againſt *Gerent*, a Sovereign of *Wales*; and the *Weſt Saxons*, whom he commanded, after a deſperate Struggle and great Loſs, were Maſters of the Field. The ſame Year *Bertfrid*, King of *Northumbria*, fought alſo a deſperate Battle with the *Picts*, in which he was victorious.

In the ſucceeding Years, the Wars of the *Saxons* were againſt one another. In 715 *Ina* had a bloody Engagement with *Kelred*, King of the *Mercians*; and this was follow'd by other Actions of the like Kind in other of their Kingdoms.

In the Year 728, *Oſric* falling in *Northumberland*, *Kelwulf*, the Brother of *Kenred*, his Succeſſor by Adoption, mounted the Throne. This is the Prince to whom *Bede* inſcribes his Hiſtory, which he wrote about this Time; and we read in him farther Teſtimony of their inteſtine Diviſions: for he ſpeaks of Commotions in the Beginning of this Reign; the Event of which none could gueſs.

At this Time *Ina* becomes great in Story. After deſtroying ſeveral of the Royal Blood, and vanquiſhing the *Eaſt Angles* in many ſucceſſive Engagements, great Expectations were form'd; but he diſappointed all the Eyes that were upon him: for inſtead of purſuing his Conqueſts, or reaping that Advantage from them at which it was ſuppos'd he aim'd, he follow'd *Kenred* and *Offa* to *Rome*, and there became a Monk.

He had juſt receiv'd the Sovereignty of *Wales*, and with that he had Power over the *Saxon* Princes: the latter he obtain'd by Conqueſt; the other by his Wife, a Deſcendant of *Cadwallader*. A Man of ſo enterprizing a Spirit, with ſuch a Power, was ſuppos'd likely to puſh his Succeſs to the Extream; but in a Fit of Repentance for the Blood he had ſpilt, he retir'd from the World, leaving *Ethelbald* his Son his Succeſſor.

For ſome Time after his Acceſſion Things went peaceably. The *Saxons* and *Picts* became Friends; and the *Britons*, who kept themſelves detach'd from both, enjoy'd ſome Repoſe in the ſmall Remnants of the Iſland yet in their Poſſeſſion: Numbers of the *Saxons*, and moſt of 'em of the principal People among them, flock'd to *Rome*, and retired there from the World; and to this Chriſtian Spirit now ſpread farther in the Iſland, the *Britons* ow'd their preſent Reſt.

From this Time in purſuing the Hiſtory of the *Saxons* in *Britain*, we find the Loſs of *Bede* very difficult to be ſupply'd. In the Place of his Hiſtory we have only Relations of very inferior Note: he added many Things, but theſe alter more, and 'tis no eaſy Taſk to follow the Clue of Truth through their ſeveral Meanders. Indifferent as theſe Writers are, they have ſupply'd all the Compilers ſince, and are gravely quoted as Authorities; what we can find with Certainty is this.

In 733 *Ethelbald* committed many Acts of Violence. In 738 *Kelwulf* reſign'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, and took to the Cloiſter; and in 740 the *Picts* made War upon *Eadbert* his Succeſſor; but not with any great Fortune.

In 743 the *Britons* who had retired to *Wales*, were attack'd by two of the *Saxon* Kings, *Cutherd* and *Ethelbald*, againſt whom they defended themſelves with great Courage.

The *Saxons* had utterly neglected all Naval Preparations at this Time; but the *Britons* were not without ſome Shipping in *Wales*. This they kept on Foot, but dared not to augment greatly for fear of theſe Enemies.

The Hiſtory of the Times we now record is very dark; and the Cauſe of the War carry'd on by two of the *Saxon* Sovereigns jointly againſt this Remain of the *Britiſh* Power, is not clearly related; but there are Paſſages in ſome of the Hiſtorians which ſeem to aſſign as the Occaſion of it, this little Naval Power kept up by the *Britons*: poſſibly they might be at this Time 743, increaſing it, there might be Hopes of ſome Day's better Fortune from the preſent Conduct of their *Saxon* Tyrants, ſome of whom were retreating from the World, and others engag'd in Civil Broils to their mutual Deſtruction.

It is probable the *Britons* who ſaw this might entertain Hopes of ſome Succeſs, and make ſome Preparations for Sea Service. It is highly probable the *Saxons* would be alarmed at this, becauſe their own State muſt give them the ſame Preſages as it gave the *Britons*; and they would naturally be alarm'd at any Naval Preparation of an Enemy who had no Naval Power of their own.

This, however, is rather Conjecture from many concurrent Circumſtances than recorded Truth; as ſuch therefore we deliver it; a Thing favour'd, but not vouch'd by Hiſtory. All we know of Certainty is, that the Naval Force of *Britain* now lay in the Ports of *Wales*; and that for many Years, though not wholly neglected, it had been very ſmall.

CHAP. II.

Revolutions among the Saxon *Kingdoms.*

IN 746 *Selred*, Son of *Sigebert*, and his Succeſſor in the Kingdom of the *Eaſt Saxons*, was murther'd after a Reign of thirty-eight Years, and that Kingdom declin'd. *Switherd*, who ſucceeded him, was its laſt King, he was conquer'd and driven out by *Ecbert* the *Weſt Saxon*.

In the ſucceeding Years many Battles were fought by the *Saxons* againſt one another; and in 753 one againſt the *Welch*, in which neither Side had much to boaſt.

In 755 *Sigebert*, who had ſucceeded *Cutherd*, was ſolemnly depos'd; the firſt Inſtance of that Proceſs in *Britain*; and wandering afterwards in Diſtreſs, he was at length killed by a Man Servant of one whom he had murther'd.

In the Year 756 *Eadbert* took *Dunbarton* from the *Britons*.

In 758 *Oſmund* turn'd Monk, and his Son *Oſwulf* who ſucceeded him, was the next Year 759 murther'd.

In 762, 765, and 769, the *Saxons* from their different Kingdoms invaded one another, and deſperate Battles were fought among them, but all theſe by Land. The *Saxons* had neglected their Navy, and what there was of Force in that Reſpect, though little, remain'd among the unconquer'd *Britons*.

The *Picts* all this Time held their Independency, as did the unconquer'd *Britons*. They naturally hated both; but ſometimes they would join the *Britons* againſt the *Saxons*, ſometimes the *Saxons* againſt the *Britons*, where the Hope of Plunder, or but of Slaughter led them.

Theſe Leagues ſubſiſted no longer than the Occaſions of them laſted; for the *Picts* withdrawing from the Side they had join'd, became their Enemies as bitterly as ever.

Theſe People had no Naval Power at this Time, but they were ſtrong enough to afford an Aſylum to a *Saxon* King in 774, *Kinat* at that Time being their Sovereign.

The *Saxon* who fled to them was *Alcred*, who in 765 had ſucceeded by Treachery and Murther. The *Saxons* purſued him with Vengeance, when they had driven him from his Kingdom, but the *Picts* recover'd and defended him. We ſee by this they were not void of Policy. They entertain'd and cheriſh'd one they hated, thinking that in return to their Kindneſſes, and Revenge againſt his Enemies, he would betray his Country.

The *Saxons* were now familiariz'd to the depoſing of their Kings.

Ethelred in 778, was depos'd for his Cruelty to his Nobles; and this, and the ſucceeding Years, the *Britons* had the Satisfaction of looking on upon the *Saxon* Battles, and ſeeing their Enemies laviſhly waſte their Blood againſt one another.

Some Actions between them and the *Welch* are recorded about this Time, but none ſo ſucceſsful on the *Saxon* Side, as to make any great Progreſs toward the ſubduing that ſtubborn People.

In 786, *Kenwulf*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, was murther'd, and his Death follow'd by that of *Kineard*, who killed him, a Nobleman he had baniſh'd.

In *Northumberland*, *Elſwald* was in 788, murder'd by *Siggan*, one of his Nobles, who ſome Years after laid violent Hands upon himſelf.

Thus were the *Saxons* in their ſeveral Kingdoms butchering themſelves and one another; in Poſſeſſion of a Country which they had obtain'd by Fraud and Violence, and which they had not Virtue to enjoy, when the Fate the *Britons* had met from them hung over their own Heads, ready to burſt upon them, though unſeen.

CHAP. III.

Of the Decline of the Saxon *Power.*

WE arrive now at an Æra very remarkable in the Hiſtory of our Country. We are upon the laſt Verge of the *Saxon* Power; let us caſt back an Eye before we leave it, and review its Riſe and its Declenſion. We ſhall find there requires more to preſerve than to win a Kingdom: Courage and a ſavage Reſolution may do the one, but there needs Wiſdom, and there muſt be Virtue to preſerve the Acquiſition.

We have ſeen the *Saxons*, a barbarous People, overrun this Iſland by their Numbers; and we have ſeen they were qualify'd for nothing more. They wanted Policy to eſtabliſh themſelves in the Land they had ſubdued, and 'twas in vain they attempted to become civilized: it was againſt their Nature, and above their Reaſon.

They came Pagans, and they were converted to Chriſtianity: but they embraced it with a mad Enthuſiaſm, or they diſgraced the Name by their Crimes. When the former Cuſtom prevailed, Kings one after another gave up their Crowns, and retired to Monaſteries; when they a little departed from this Enthuſiaſm, Bloodſhed and Murther follow'd: the *Britons* never allow'd them to be properly Chriſtians; and though they ſpoke like Enemies, they were not without Reaſon.

As the *Saxons* had not Virtue to receive Religion, neither had they Wiſdom to eſtabliſh a right Policy. Their ſeven Kingdoms might have been continu'd, had they taken the plaineſt and the eaſieſt Meaſures for ſupporting them; but they were Savages in their Hearts, though reclaim'd in Name, and were incapable of ſocial Life in large Communities.

We have ſeen them eſtabliſh themſelves by Fraud; and extend their Territories by Violence: they were born for Rapine and War, and they could never quit them. While the *Britons* poſſeſs'd any conſiderable Parts of their Native Iſland, theſe were the Object of their Fury; but when they had deſtroy'd a great Part of theſe, and driven the reſt into inacceſſible Retreats; having no longer an Enemy to fight, they turn'd their Arms on one another. They would thus have extinguiſh'd their whole Pretenſions, and the *Britons* would have found it eaſy to poſſeſs their Iſland again, had not another People taken the Advantage.

Such was the Neglect of all Civil Policy among theſe Conquerors, that while they were in the ſeveral Provinces making War upon one another, and each purſuing his Ambition or Revenge by Parricides and private Murthers, they had taken no Precaution againſt a foreign Enemy.

A Naval Power alone could give them Security in their Poſſeſſion of the Iſland, and this they had ſo utterly neglected, that they were not in a Condition to oppoſe the meaneſt Attempt in any Quarter; nor enough united among themſelves to diſpute the Poſſeſſion with an Enemy of any Power.

This was their Condition at the Time whereof we now write, which was toward the Cloſe of the eighth Century. Heaven ſeem'd to threaten them with the Puniſhment of their Crimes, by a People barbarous as themſelves.

Kinwulf, whoſe unhappy End we have recorded in the laſt Chapter, was ſucceeded by *Brithrick* in the Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*.

In his third Year, which was in the Year 789, three foreign Veſſels put into a *Britiſh* Port, ſuppos'd by *Cambden* and our Antiquaries, to have been *Tinmouth* in *Devonſhire*.

Three Ships gave no Alarm upon a Coaſt at that Time ſo populous; no Notice was ſent of it to the King, but the Perſons employ'd in collecting Duties among the trading People, ſuppoſing theſe were Veſſels come from ſome near Coaſt to traffick with the *Saxons*, went out to meet them and trade with them. The Strangers receiv'd them into their Body, and cut their Throats.

They proceeded to the Town and ſack'd it; to the next, and committed the ſame barbarous Hoſtilities; deſtroying all whom they found, and taking every Thing they could lay their Hands upon: at length loaded with Spoil, and ſeeing a Body of the *Saxons* approaching, they retreated with little Loſs to their Ships, and immediately put to Sea.

The *Saxons* aſtoniſh'd and terrify'd at this Incident, could only follow the Murtherers with their Eyes.

Brithrick now ſaw the wretched Policy of his Anceſtors in ſuffering the *Britiſh* Navy to decline; not all the Ports in his Dominion could at that Time furniſh out a ſingle Veſſel to watch the Motions of this Enemy, much leſs a Force to attack and recover the Plunder with which they were laden, almoſt to ſinking.

He order'd Ships to be built, but the Art was ſo unknown by long Neglect, that the Preparation was very ſlow, confus'd, and uncertain.

Theſe Ships were *Daniſh*, the firſt that had ever appear'd in the *Saxon* Times upon the *Britiſh* Coaſt. They were not appointed by publick Commiſſion againſt *Britain*, their Number and Force were too ſmall for that; and *Sigifrid*, then King of *Denmark*, was one of the moſt peaceful Monarchs that ever held a Sceptre.

Theſe were no more than a Gang of Banditti; Pirates, who roving every where for Prey, had fallen upon this Coaſt in a Place where they ſaw it without Defence.

What the *Danes* would never have thought practicable, theſe Adventurers told them and ſhew'd them was eaſy. They told their Story, and they ſhew'd their Plunder: they were introduced to *Sigifrid*, who was waken'd by their Succeſſes from his peaceful Lethargy, and form'd the vaſt Project of conquering *Britain*.

He had heard traditionally, how theſe *Saxon* Strangers had wreſted the Iſland from its Native Inhabitants; and he ſaw by the Succeſs of this little Expedition of a few Robbers, at once how eaſy the Conqueſt appear'd, and how advantageous.

Schemes were immediately laid, and the *Daniſh* Navy then not contemptible, though not great, was order'd to be put in perfect Order: every Officer of Note was ſelected for the intended Expedition, and the common People were preſs'd by Intreaties, and the Offer of Rewards and Plunder to enter in vaſt Bodies for the Enterprize.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Saxon *Diſputes in the ſucceeding Years.*

WHILE this Preparation was making in *Denmark*, *Britbric* was the only *Saxon* King in *Britain* who thought of Danger; but he being ignorant whence it ſhould come, purſu'd his Preparations cooly.

Inſtead of that univerſal Spirit of Unanimity and Peace, which this Incident ſhould have raiſ'd among theſe divided Kingdoms; the Year ſucceeding, *Oſred*, King of *Northumberland*, was depos'd and forced into a Cloiſter; and the Year ſucceeding that 791, *Oelf* and *Oelfwin*, ſeduced by friendly Invitation into the Power of *Ethelred*, were killed.

In the ſucceeding Year 792, *Oſred* who had eſcap'd the Convent, and gather'd Forces in the *Iſle of Man*, was deluded over by the feign'd Friendſhip of ſome Nobles who promiſ'd to aſſiſt him againſt *Ethelred*; but deliver'd him into his Hands, who put him inſtantly to Death.

In this ſame Year *Offa* invited *Ethelbrite*, King of another Province, to marry his Daughter; and under that Pretence of Friendſhip getting him under his Roof, murther'd him, and ſeiz'd his Kingdom.

In the ſucceeding Year 793, while the *Saxons* were thus betraying and murthering one another, the *Danes* in a larger Body made their ſecond Deſcent upon the *Britiſh* Coaſt: the firſt by publick Authority. If the *Saxons* had been unable to oppoſe the former Attempt, much leſs could they do any Thing againſt this. They had made no Preparation; and this was a regular and well conducted Enterprize.

The *Saxons* had been Pagans, but they now embraced in Name Chriſtianity; the *Danes* were profeſs'd Pagans, and Haters of all Chriſtians. They made a great Incurſion unoppos'd at firſt, and very faintly in Preparation rather than Action at laſt: they deſtroy'd ſeveral Towns, ſack'd Monaſteries, carry'd off all the Treaſures heap'd up there; and ſpar'd none of any Age, Sex, or Degree. This Expedition ſucceeded for the *Danes* juſt as the laſt, and they in the ſame Manner retired loaded with Spoil.

This Year the Race of *Hengiſt* ended in the Death of *Alric*, King of *Kent*; and with the Lineage of that firſt Founder of the *Saxon* Power, their Rule in a manner fell.

From this Time all was Confuſion. No Preparation againſt the *Danes*, whom they now knew, and whoſe Deſigns they ſaw; no regular Policy but Rapine, Murther, and Sedition; he who was ſtrongeſt ſucceeded the weaker in his Kingdoms.

Offa, a bad Man, but one of the moſt politick of the *Saxon* Kings, dy'd in 794; and in him the *Saxons* ſeem to have loſt the laſt remaining General capable to have headed them againſt the Enemy they had now ſo much Cauſe to fear.

The Project of ſubduing *Britain* was kept carefully up among the *Danes*, but they proceeded ſlowly in the great Deſign. They might have ſubdu'd the Iſland when they pleaſ'd, but they could not believe the *Saxons* ſo negligent of their Defence as they really were.

They continu'd to ſend out ſtrong Parties, who murther'd, and deſtroy'd wherever they came, commonly without Oppoſition, for the *Saxons* fled at their Approach, and return'd always with Plunder in Abundance.

In 794 they made a Deſcent upon the Coaſt of *Northumberland*, they ſack'd another Convent, and they return'd to Sea loaded with Spoil.

The *Saxons* who had look'd tamely on, ſaw them driven back upon the Coaſt by a Tempeſt, and they had the Courage to cut the Throats of ſome who were diſperſ'd from the reſt.

The Monkiſh Writers make this Loſs of the *Danes* greater than it was, and attribute it to the Anger of Saint *Cutbert*, whoſe Monaſtery they had ſpoil'd. The *Danes* return'd rich; and attributed the Loſs they had ſuſtain'd neither to the *Saxons*, nor their Saint, but to the Storm.

The *Saxons* inſtead of preparing to defend themſelves againſt Enemies who were now attacking them on every Quarter, ſpent their Blood in Broils with one another. In 796 *Ethelred* was killed by his own Subjects; and after him *Oſbald* was in one Month's Courſe raiſ'd unexpectedly to the Throne and driven out of the Kingdom. He ſaved his Life by Flight, and ended it in a Monaſtery.

The ſame Year *Kenulf*, the *Mercian*, took *Eadbright* the *Kentiſh* King in Battle, and order'd his Eyes to be put out, and his Hands cut off. What the *Britons* had before felt from theſe bloody *Saxons*, they now exerciſ'd on one another. The meaneſt Peaſant was ſafer than his Sovereign.

In the Year 800, *Ecbert*, a Name famous in their Story, aſcended the Throne of the *Weſt Saxons*. *London*, a very large and flouriſhing City at that Time, was this Year conſumed by Fire.

Thus cloſed upon the *Saxon* Tyrants in our Country the eighth Century: diſtreſs'd by Accidents, and by inteſtine Diviſions; alarm'd by a bloody and powerful Enemy, and helpleſs againſt every Chance and every Attempt.

The *Britons* ſaw their Reign declining. They dreaded the *Danes*; but they both dreaded and hated the *Saxons*. Their whole Caution was to keep out of the Way of thoſe Diſtreſſes which they ſaw threaten the Uſurpers; and to keep up, and in ſome Degree enlarge the Number and Strength of their ſmall Naval Power.

This they had always wiſh'd, but always fear'd to do till now; but the *Saxons* were at this Time too buſy among themſelves to regard what they in a remote Quarter of the Iſle were doing. 'Twas in *Wales* they made this Preparation; aſſiduouſly, though as ſecretly as they could; providing in the preſent perilous Time for their Safety from a leſſer Enemy, and their Flight into ſome other Country if driven out of this laſt Receſs of their own by a greater.

The Naval Affairs of our Country therefore make but a poor Figure during this Century, but we have the Satisfaction to find them toward the End of it mending: they were very little yet, but greater than they had been.

THE NAVAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK IX.

During the ninth Century.

CHAP. I.

Of the Diſputes between Ecbert *and* Bernulf.

TO underſtand the Tranſactions reſpecting *Britain* for this Century, we muſt keep in our Eye three diſtinct People. The *Saxons* eſtabliſh'd here, the *Danes* meditating their Expulſion, and the *Britons* miſerable Spectators, for they were a little more of a Fray, in which the Fate of their Country was to be decided.

The Century ſet out with ſomething favourable to the *Saxons*; for *Ecbert*, who now began his Reign, was a Prince of much more Wiſdom, and much better qualify'd to conduct them, than any of their late ſhort liv'd Tyrants: he alſo began by a great and rational Step, not more conducive to their Welfare than his own Glory; this was the uniting them in one Body; for it was this Prince who reduced the *Saxon* Heptarchy, and united her ſeven Kingdoms into one.

This was a favourable Alteration, but the *Saxons* were devoted, bloody, and mercileſs Deſtroyers of the innocent *Britons:* they were to fall by a bloody and mercileſs Enemy.

Ecbert had been expos'd to many Dangers in his Youth, and he had found the School of Affliction excellent to nurſe up Virtue.

Birthrick fearing his juſter Title to the Crown, had even ſent Emiſſaries to deſtroy him when a Youth. Compaſſion of ſome in the Secret gave him Notice, and he eſcap'd by Flight to *Offa* the *Mercian*. *Offa* liſten'd to the Embaſſadors ſent by *Birthrick* to demand him; but he eſcap'd to *France*. There in a three Years Exile he learn'd the more Civil Policy of *Charles the Great*; and while a Fugitive form'd himſelf for a King.

On the Death of *Birthrick*, in the laſt Year of the preceding Century, the publick Voice called him home, and placed upon his Head the *Weſt Saxon* Crown.

Many bloody Battles of the *Saxons* againſt one another are recorded in this Year, and in the ſucceeding. In the Year 809 is placed an Action of great Importance, with the Names of *Achaius*, King of the *Scots*; *Hungus*, Sovereign of the *Picts*; and *Athelſtan*, a *Saxon*, who had invaded the *Pictiſh* Borders: but tho' ſome reſpectable Names eſpouſe this Story, true Hiſtory rejects it utterly. The Names have been us'd in a wrong Period; and a Story hereafter to be recorded, for it happen'd near a hundred Years afterward, has been diſtorted into this Narration.

This it is proper we ſhould obſerve, that on the like Occaſions we may not ſeem in this Abſtract of the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, to have omitted through Negligence, what others have indeed too raſhly inſerted in their Works.

Ecbert, who had form'd the great Deſign of reducing *Britain* into a ſingle Monarchy, beſtow'd his firſt Years, in which his neighbouring Sovereigns were butchering one another by continual Quarrels, in eſtabliſhing a better Policy in his own Kingdom, and rooting a Sovereignty in the Hearts of his Subjects. In this he ſucceeded happily; and in the Year 813, the fourteenth of his Reign, he began to prepare for Action.

In all theſe Years the *Danes* had continu'd their Depredations on the *Britiſh* Coaſts, but they had not yet thought it ſafe to make their great Deſcent upon the Country.

The *Britons*, in whatever other Parts of the Iſland they were ſettled, had follow'd the Example of thoſe in *Wales*, in beſtowing their whole Attention upon putting their Naval Power in a better Condition.

Others of the *Saxon* Monarchs had ſeen this with Indifference, but *Ecbert* look'd upon it with a jealous Eye: at leaſt he made it an Occaſion of ingratiating himſelf with his People: by ſetting them againſt thoſe they naturally hated. He repreſented the permitting the Remains of the *Britons* to have any Naval Power, as the worſt Policy the *Saxons* could adopt; and cenſured their Preparations in this Way, trifling as they were, as the intended Means of attempting to recover the Iſland.

When he had influenced his Soldiers by theſe Speeches, he march'd againſt the *Britons*, who were too few to oppoſe him; he ſlaughter'd many, diſpers'd the reſt, and ſeiz'd upon what little Naval Force they had wherever he came.

In the Year 819 *Kenulf* dy'd, leaving *Mercia*'s Crown to *Kenelm*, an Infant, who being committed to the Care of a Female Relation, was by her Order murther'd.

In 820 *Bernulf*, an Uſurper, drove *Keolwolf*, who had ſucceeded *Kenulf*, from the Throne, and main-tain'd his Place thereon three Years.

In 823, *Ecbert*, who had got the Confidence of his Soldiers by his Succeſs againſt the *Britons*, whom he had follow'd to their poor Eſtabliſhments in *Cornwall*, and on the other Side the *Severn*; prepared for new Exploits: the Plan of his ſingle Monarchy was deep in his Heart, and he turn'd his Arms firſt againſt *Bernulf*, who was hated as an Uſurper and a cruel Prince.

He led his victorious Troops to *Bernulf*'s Borders; and he was made to expect many of his own Subjects in Hatred to him, and in Favour of his Character, would have join'd his Arms againſt their Sovereign; but in this he was wholly diſappointed: None join'd him; and *Bernulf* haſted to oppoſe him.

The Uſurper, tho' a cruel Maſter, was a brave and an experienced Soldier: he fought with deſperate Fury, and the Loſs on both Sides was very great; but in the End *Ecbert* was victorious.

CHAP. II.

Of the State of the Northumbrian *Kingdoms.*

Bernulf retiring to the *Eaſt Angles*, the Sovereignty over whom he claimed in Right of his Seizure of *Offa*, found them averſe to own him: fear had hither kept them quiet, but they now met him with a formidable Body, and deſtroy'd him.

Their Terror accompany'd them after they had done this; and took a very happy Effect. For dreading the *Mercians*, they threw themſelves and their Country into the Protection of *Ecbert*.

This Sovereign now Fortune favour'd, puſh'd his Victories without Remiſſion: thus far ſucceſsful, he ſent off his Son *Ethelwolf* with a powerful Army into *Kent*.

Baldred was their King: he had reign'd eighteen Years, but unprepared againſt this ſudden Expedition, after the beſt Defence he could make, he was driven out of his Kingdom, and forced to take Refuge on the other Side the *Thames*.

With *Kent*, *Surry*, *Suſſex*, and *Eſſex*, ſubmitted to *Ecbert*: *Switherd* was then King of the laſt Province, but he was unable to defend it.

Theſe were the Succeſſes of *Ecbert* in his firſt Year of the avow'd Attempt: nor were theſe all, the others were leſs, but they tended the ſame Way; to endear him to his Subjects, and render him terrible to his Enemies.

After this Year of Action he gave his People Reſt; that they might enjoy their Plunder, and he ſtrengthen himſelf in his new Acquiſitions.

In 825, *Ludiken*, who ſucceeded *Bernulf*, was cut off by the *Eaſt Angles*, whom he attack'd to revenge the Death of *Bernulf*; and *Withulf*, who ſucceeded *Ludiken*, after trying unſucceſsfully to defend *Mercia*, ſubmitted to *Ecbert*.

The *Northumbrians* had been in a State of Anarchy now ſome Years. The frequent Murthers of their Kings made all fear to take the Scepter. The beſt of the Nobility had alſo fled; and the Province was without any regular Policy. This was the principal Kingdom that now remain'd unſubdu'd by *Ecbert*. He had left it for one of his laſt Exploits, knowing it would be at any Time in his Power: and he had heard without Emotion, of the bloody and frequent Ravages of the *Danes* committed there, becauſe he knew they would reduce the People to a more ready Obedience.

In 827, having ſubdu'd all the South, he bent his victorious March thither; the *Northumbrians* ſubmitted, nay, courted his Protection; and in the Cloſe of the Summer this Year, he found himſelf Maſter of the whole Iſland.

The Year 828 he was employ'd in perfecting the Subjection of thoſe who ſeem'd uneaſy in their preſent Condition; and extending his Conqueſts farther into *North Wales*. This finiſh'd, *Ecbert* ſeated himſelf upon the Throne of *Britain* ſole Sovereign of the Iſland. His People, who ador'd him, promiſ'd themſelves long Happineſs: but they flatter'd their Imaginations with a falſe Hope. They look'd upon it as an Æra of happy Import. It ſtands in Hiſtory as a Diſtinction of the Government of *Britain*, but as an Introduction not to Peace but Blood.

CHAP. III.

Of the Daniſh *Invaſion in the Time of* Ecbert.

THE Revolution which had ſubmitted *Britain* to one Maſter, was an Event not look'd on with indifferent Eyes by the *Danes*. They ſaw this as an Obſtacle to their intended Conqueſt; and they knew that more Power would be neceſſary to accompliſh their Purpoſes, now the whole Iſland was united, than when it was divided into many Provinces.

This did not deter them from the Attempt, but made them prepare for it with greater Force. They had taſted enough of the Sweets of the Iſland to know it worth any Preparation, and they determin'd to ſend their whole Power to ſubdue it.

Their Preparation, which was both of a Naval and Land Force, took up ſome Years. And the *Saxons* keeping little Intelligence out of the Iſland, thought them terrify'd from their former Expeditions; and *Ecbert* ſettled in Peace now ſome Years on the Throne, ador'd by his Subjects, and blind to the impending Danger, diſbanded his Army, and entertain'd no Thought of that much more eſſential Preparation, a Fleet.

He had not conceived that the *Danes* form'd ſuch bold and great Deſigns, nor ſuppos'd any foreign Enemy could be worth his Conſideration.

He was in the Height of Security, and had ſeven Years enjoy'd the Conqueſt of his neighbour Provinces; when theſe People, finding themſelves ready for an Attempt of this Importance, embark'd for *Britain*.

They had a Navy, and 'twas a powerful one: the *Saxons* had none. 'Twas in the Year 832 they appear'd upon the Coaſt in five and thirty ſtout Ships; and they landed on the *Iſle of Shepey*.

Ecbert, who heard with Aſtoniſhment of the Number and Size of their Veſſels, called together what Force he could to attack them. 'Twas on the Seas he ſhould have met them; but this being neglected, he found they puſh'd their Marches forward with an aſtoniſhing Rapidity. They plunder'd, murther'd, and burnt wherever they came; and before he was in a Condition to oppoſe them, were in *Dorſetſhire*.

Here *Ecbert* attack'd them, near *Charmouth*; and after a bloody Conteſt he was beaten. The *Danes* encamp'd upon the Field; but though they were Conquerors, they found themſelves unable to puſh their Succeſſes farther with their preſent Force. They determin'd to return; and to make a more powerful Invaſion the next Year.

Ecbert was no more in a Condition to diſturb them in their Retreat, than they to puſh their Succeſſes farther. He ſaw them go back to their Ships, and carry off the Treaſure of all the Towns they had deſtroy'd.

The *Saxons* now felt an Earneſt of their future State. Their Cruelties to the *Britons* were return'd upon them; Invaſion for Invaſion, Spoil for Spoil, Deſtruction for Deſtruction.

Ecbert for the firſt Time being unſucceſsful in the Field, retir'd with great Concern. He expected that ſo favourable an Expedition as the *Danes* had now made, would bring them again with more Force: he found the Numbers they had loſt were the only Occaſion of their Departure; and he knew the Sight of ſo much Spoil would ſoon recruit them.

He prepared with more Diligence for their Reception than they for the Attack. *Britain* had been then invaded in a Time of peaceful Security; now ſhe was on her Guard; and the *Danes* were expected without Fear.

One Thing is aſtoniſhing, that in this Preparation no Care was taken of a Naval Force; the *Saxons* eſtabliſh'd in *Britain* expected the *Danes* at Land, whom they might have deſtroy'd at Sea. The Wonder is the greater, becauſe we ſee this was a Period wherein Naval Affairs were not neglected in other Kingdoms: we find *Denmark* ſtrong at Sea while *Britain* was defenceleſs; and we ſhall ſee the Conſequences: ſo terrible, that they ſhould ſtand as a Leſſon to all Generations.

The *Danes* took two Years inſtead of the one they had intended for this Preparation, and in 835 landed with a vaſt Force in *Cornwall*.

The King had not his Subjects Hearts ſo perfectly, but that ſome here join'd them againſt him. They plunder'd, murther'd, and deſtroy'd every Thing as in their former Expeditions; but ſo ſpeedy was *Ecbert* in his Marches, that he was upon them with his Army before they thought it poſſible. They were now caught in ſome Degree unprepar'd; and the Glory *Ecbert* loſt at *Charmouth*, was recover'd here, by one of the bloodyeſt Days that have ſtain'd the *Daniſh* Annals.

The *Danes* were beaten with a terrible Slaughter, and the Remains of them got with Difficulty to their Ships, and without their Plunder.

Thus *Ecbert* recover'd his Glory, and ſpread the Terror of his Name farther than the Limits of the Iſland he commanded.

The *Saxons* flatter'd themſelves they had driven off their Enemies for ever, but vainly; *Ecbert*, however, never ſaw their Error, for he dy'd the next Year. He was ſucceeded in the Sovereignty of *Britain* by his Son *Ethelwolf*, who ſat down as he imagin'd to a peaceful Reign.

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CHAP. IV.

Of the Invaſions of the Danes *in the Reign of* Ethelwolf.

THOUGH the Succeſſor of *Ecbert* found no inteſtine Troubles, nor fear'd any foreign Diſputes, he felt them when he ſo little expected, that he was leſs prepared for them.

The *Danes* we have ſeen in their firſt Expeditions were ſlow in all their Motions, but not the leſs reſolute in their Purpoſe. It was two Years before they return'd after their Defeat in *Cornwall*, under *Ecbert*; but in 837 they made a new Attempt.

Ethelwolf, a Prince of little Ambition, had been perſuaded toward the latter End of his firſt Year, to divide that Power his Father had ſo difficultly united: he ſet up his Brother *Ethelſtan* an independent Sovereign in the Iſland, and gave him *Kent*, *Eſſex*, and *Suſſex* for his Dominions.

There are ſome who ſuppoſe *Ecbert* made this Diviſion of the Kingdom by his Will; but that not only contradicts the beſt Hiſtories, but Reaſon.

It had been the Labour of many Years for that Sovereign to reduce the *Britiſh* Iſland under one Head, and 'twas his Wiſh to continue it ſo. 'Twas the ſoft Temper of his Succeſſor that gave up ſo conſiderable a Part; and undid by one Act of Favour, the Labour of ſo much Time, and Purchaſe of ſo much Blood.

'Tis not improbable that *Ethelwolf* thought in this he acted with great Wiſdom; giving up a Part to ſecure the Remainder. He was in fear of the *Danes*, and he knew himſelf no Warrior: the Courage and the Conduct of his Brother *Ethelſtan* were known, and he propos'd this Beneficence as the Means to make him earneſt in the Defence of the Iſland, now partly his own.

Ethelſtan ſeems to have entertain'd Expectations of the *Danes* Attempts. 'Tis ſtrange therefore that neither the one in his Wiſdom, or the other in his Fear, ſhould think of the only proper Preparation againſt them by a Navy: but ſo it happen'd, that the ſame Miſconduct reigning, which had in the preceding Years, no Ships were built: and *Britain* which has no Defence but her Seas, left them vacant.

In 837 the *Danes* indeed came: no leſs than three and thirty Ships appear'd upon the Coaſt; and they landed without Oppoſition. The Forces that were neareſt were under the Command of *Wulfburd*, one of *Ecbert*'s old experienced Officers; and he attack'd and beat them with a terrible Slaughter.

The *Danes* who were moved but ſlowly by their Succeſſes, were not to be diſhearten'd by any Loſſes. They return'd the next Year with a larger Force, and fought the *Saxons* under *Ethelhelm*, near *Portland*.

The *Saxons* ſtood their Fury for a Time, but were beaten, and forced to retreat with great Loſs; and in a ſecond Attempt againſt them, under the Earl of *Hereford*, who took the Advantage of ſome marſhy Grounds, and thought himſelf ſecure of Victory, they were utterly routed by the *Danes*; and the Earl himſelf, with the far greater Part of them ſlain.

The *Danes* this Year went off with a great deal of Plunder, and having now ſpread the Terror of their Arms throughout the Kingdom, they prepared for greater Things.

In the ſucceeding Year 839, they came with a larger Force, landing in *Kent*, and carrying off a great Booty after a terrible Slaughter.

The following Year 840, they came as far as *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, and up to *London*, deſtroying Multitudes.

The Year ſucceeding this they made great Havock: fought the beſt Army *Ethelwolf* was able to raiſe againſt them; and remain'd Maſters of the Field.

The three ſucceeding Years they had alſo great Succeſſes, and were guilty of the moſt horrid Cruelties. They had all this Time gone on in a manner unoppos'd, but the next Year after this they met with an unexpected Stop in their Victories. They were traverſing *Somerſetſhire* with a large Force, murdering and burning wherever they came; when they were oppos'd by *Earnwulf*, a *Saxon* General, who had join'd with him ſome other Commanders, and rais'd a very conſiderable Force.

Earnwulf repreſented to his Soldiers the deſperate Condition to which they were reduced by theſe Barbarians; and leading them to the Charge, taught them by his Example to fight like deſperate Men.

The *Danes* ſtood their Ground a long Time, but were at length beaten; and no Quarter being given, they were almoſt all deſtroy'd.

This was a ſignal Victory; and it had great Conſequences: The *Danes* came no more to *England* for ſix Years.

What an Opportunity was here for the building a Navy! but it was neglected. Time and Neceſſity pleaded in vain with *Ethelwolf*.

CHAP. V.

Of the continu'd Invaſions of the Danes.

THE *Danes* who had taken ſome Years to recover their Spirits after the Overthrow in *Somerſetſhire*, in 851 came with a large Power, in no leſs than fifty Ships. They had advanced as far as *Wenburg* in *Devonſhire*, plundering and deſtroying; when they were met by a Body of the *Saxons* under *Keorle*, who fought them, and beat them with great Slaughter.

They retired to their Ships, but did not give up their Enterprize; for that Year they landed again in *Kent*.

Ethelſtan who had firſt found it difficult to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Provinces given him by his Brother, was at length happy in his People's general Eſteem, and he now ſhew'd himſelf a General. He drew out his Forces, and faced the *Danes* at *Sandwich*.

Hitherto the Succeſſes of the *Saxons* had gone no farther than beating theſe Robbers back with Slaughter to their Ships, but *Ethelſtan* projected a larger Plan. He engag'd their Army in the Field, and when he ſaw the Event was in his Favour, he left the Conduct of the Fight to *Ealker*, a General, in whom he placed a juſt Confidence. He, with a large Body wheel'd about; and intercepting the *Danes* in their Retreat, ſlew many of them, and took nine of their Ships.

This was not only a greater Succeſs than any had boaſted before, but it was ſo fortunate that it weakened the Enemy and ſtrengthen'd the *Saxons* there, where they moſt wanted it, at Sea.

Hoveden, and ſome who follow him, call this Engagement under *Ethelſtan* a Sea Fight with the *Danes*; but the Origin of that Error is plain. The *Saxons* had no Navy at this Period; but the Succeſs of *Ethelſtan* in taking ſome of their Ships, induced this Hiſtorian to imagine it muſt have been a Sea Engagement.

The *Danes* who had come with a great Power this Year, were not to be repulſed by all theſe Diſadvantages, they winter'd with the Remainder of their Fleet off the *Iſle of Shepey*; and made Excurſions up the Mouth of the *Thames*, waſting and deſtroying all the Country.

Ethelwerd ſays, they this Year deſtroy'd *Canterbury* and *London*; but *Aſſer* is more moderate in his Expreſſion: that they did come to *London* is certain, but he ſays they pillag'd it, and carry'd off their Plunder with great Haſte, and as little Buſtle as might be; this is more probable, and by theſe Succeſſes they were encourag'd to hold at nothing their former Diſadvantages.

In another Expedition the ſame Year, the *Danes* were oppos'd with a large Force by *Bertulf*, the deputed and tributary Sovereign of the *Mercians*, but this was an unſucceſsful Attempt; *Bertulf* was beaten, and with the Remains of his Army eſcap'd by Flight.

The *Danes* purſuing their Succeſſes croſs'd the *Thames*, and fell upon the *Weſt Saxons* with terrible Havock.

Here *Ethelwolf* oppos'd them. The Applauſe of *Ethelſtan* rous'd him from his ſleepy Diſpoſition: he thought his Throne in Danger, and he headed a large Army with his Son *Ethelbald* againſt theſe murderous Invaders. They fought at *Ockley* in *Surrey*, and *Ethelwolf* was ſucceſsful. From this Action he acquir'd the Reputation of a Soldier.

In 853 *Britain* was quiet from the *Danes*, but the Natives who had retir'd to *Wales*, ſeeing the *Saxons* diſpirited by their Slaughters ſo frequently repeated, attack'd their remote Towns, and were at firſt ſucceſsful: but *Ethelwolf*, the new Soldier, march'd to the Confines, and drove them back with ſo much Loſs, that they were long after quiet.

The *Danes* this Year landed with a great Force in *Thanet*; but they were oppos'd by *Ealker* and *Huda*, with the Forces of *Kent* and *Surrey*. The Battle was fought upon the Shore, and many on both Sides were killed and drown'd. In the End, the *Danes* were driven to their Ships, and the Loſs was ſuppos'd to be about equal.

This Year *Ethelwolf* ſent *Alfred* his Son, a Youth of five Years old, to *Rome*, there to be educated, and conſecrated his Succeſſor.

The ſucceeding Year 854, the *Danes* winter'd at *Shepey* Iſland, and prepar'd to make great Incurſions. *Ethelwolf* fainted under their repeated Attacks. 'Twas evident his Courage had been a Force put upon his Nature: he now ſeem'd to deſpair, and addreſs'd himſelf to the Protection of Heaven; giving up all Hope from human Power, againſt an Enemy whom no Loſſes weaken'd, and no Repulſes tam'd.

This Year he dedicated to God the tenth Part of all his Lands, and order'd their Produce free of all Deductions, to be paid into the Church for Prayers and Pſalms to the Succeſs of his Arms. *William* of *Malmſbury* regiſters this Patent: 'tis impoſſible to doubt the hiſtorical Truth of the Fact.

In 855 the *Danes* winter'd on the Iſland; and *Ethelwolf*, inſtead of arming all he could raiſe, and leading them in Perſon againſt them, went to *Rome* to recommend himſelf to the Pope.

In his Abſence the Nobility conſpired againſt him, and ſet at their Head his eldeſt Son *Ethelbald*, againſt whom he favour'd his younger *Alfred*. He was content to ſhare the Kingdom with *Ethelbald*, and to take the worſer half for himſelf.

In 857 the *Saxons* took the Part of the *Picts* againſt the *Scots*, and extended the Limits of the *Britiſh* Monarchy: *Donald*, the *Scotch* King, was taken Priſoner, and afterwards releaſed on Terms of Accommodation.

The next Year 858 *Ethelwolf* dy'd.

CHAP. VI.

The Reigns of Ethelbald *and* Ethelbert.

BRITAIN was, on the Death of *Ethelwolf*, divided between his two Sons *Ethelbald*, who already held the beſt Part of it, and *Ethelbert* his next Brother.

The Elder render'd himſelf infamous by taking his Father's Widow to his Bed; and after an inglorious Reign of three Years dy'd, and left all under the Rule of *Ethelbert*. In his Reign the *Danes* fell again upon *Britain*, with a great Preparation: 'twas in the Year 860.

In their great Expedition this Year they landed in the Weſt, plunder'd and burnt many Towns, and committed all Cruelties human Malice could deviſe againſt thoſe who fell into their Hands.

This was not only in the Nature of a Pagan People unus'd to civil Life, but they thought it Policy. Plunder was their Buſineſs, and they ſuppos'd their Treatment of all who fell into their Hands, would make others wherever they came, leave every thing without Oppoſition. Loaded with Spoil, they were purſuing their Courſe through the Country, when they were met by *Oſwick* Earl of *Southampton*; who, with a great Force falling on them, deſtroy'd many, ſent the reſt back to their Ships, and recover'd all the Booty.

Five Years they were quiet after this Diſaſter; but in 865 they came again with a great Force, and landed on the Coaſt of *Kent*.

The *Saxons* who inhabited this Part of the Kingdom were terrify'd at their Approach; and being unable to reſiſt them, ſent Offers of purchaſing their Lives for a vaſt Sum of Money.

The *Danes* return'd their Conſent, but while the

Terms were ſettling, they took the Advantage of a dark Night to fall upon the next Towns; and plunder'd and deſtroy'd all in their uſual Way, without Regard to Faith or Treaties.

CHAP. VII.

The Reign of Ethelred.

THE Death of *Ethelbert* who gave *Ethelred* the Crown of *Britain*, leads us to a Period of great Importance.

The *Danes* began their Expeditions into the Iſland with a ſettled Reſolution to attempt its total Reduction: they were often repuls'd, but they ſtill return'd; and in the very Beginning of this Reign, in the Year 866, they took the fatal Step which perfected their Plan.

Hitherto they had, after ravaging wherever they came, retired to their Ships, and commonly returned to their Country. They had no Place of Reſt in *Britain*, for all were Enemies: but in this fatal Year they enter'd into an Alliance with a Part of the Inhabitants to compleat the Reduction of the Whole.

Hinguar and *Hubba*, Brothers and Collegues in Office, had led the *Danes* that ravag'd *Kent* in their laſt Expedition. They recollected with Concern their not accepting the Terms of Accommodation; and they now propos'd the ſame or better to the *Eaſt Angles*.

On promiſe of ſparing theſe People, they were received into their Territories; and to the Aſtoniſhment and Terror of the reſt of the Iſland, paſſed the Winter in the Heart of the Kingdom. Here they prepared for an early Expedition in Spring: they purchaſed Horſes, and mounted a Part of their Force, a Thing till that Time impracticable among them. Thus prepared for greater Enterprizes, they bent their Courſe over Land to *York*.

Hinguar had made this the Scene of Action, becauſe he had learn'd that the *Northumbrians* were divided; one King having been depoſed, and another juſt ſeated on the Throne. Both join'd however to oppoſe the common Enemy, and in the Month of *Auguſt* 867, was fought a Battle, on which the Fate of *Britain* in a great Meaſure depended.

The *Danes* were at firſt diſorder'd, and Succeſs appear'd plainly on the Side of the *Saxons*. But purſuing their Victory too far, the Enemy rally'd when within the City of *York*, and ſlew Multitudes; and thoſe without following their Example, cut down all before them.

The Army that had beat the *Danes* together was thus cut to Pieces when divided, and in this Action both the Kings fell. The reſt ſaved themſelves as well as they could by Flight, and appointed *Ecbert* their Sovereign, tributary to, and dependent on *Ethelred*.

In 868 the *Danes* enter'd *Mercia*, and after many Succeſſes winter'd near *Nottingham*.

Ethelred, with his Brother the young *Alfred*, early taught to hate the *Danes*, marched thither, and offer'd Battle: but the *Danes* declined it, and the *Saxons* did not puſh it vehemently.

The *Danes* were now eſtabliſh'd in a great Part of *Britain*. This was what they ſought; and the Purpoſe of their Leaders was to extend their Conqueſt without coming to an Engagement, if it could be avoided.

The *Mercians* follow'd the Example of the *Eaſt Angles*, and made Terms with the *Danes*; and *Hinguar* and *Hubba* having ſettled the Alliance, went back to *York*, where they remain'd the whole Year following, enlarging their Limits by frequent Excurſions, and treating all like ſavage Victors with unheard of Cruelty.

In 869 they enter'd *Lincolnſhire*, and made great Havock; and the Year following they return'd in order to reduce that Part of the Kingdom wholly: but they were oppos'd with Reſolution.

It now became the Duty of every Man to arm; his Duty to himſelf as well as his Country, and 'twas obſerv'd: a regular Body was form'd here of the principal Perſons and their Domeſticks, and they aſſaulted the whole Power ſent thither by the *Danes*. They fought with Fury, and not without Succeſs; many of the *Danes* fell, and among them three of their chief Leaders, and the reſt were driven into their Camp.

Algar Earl of *Holland* diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in this Action. The *Danes* were reinforced from all Parts, and the *Saxons* fled by Night privately, except this *Algar* and the Corps that was under his Command. He ſtood their Aſſault the next Day, and fell bravely; not a Man of his Party but had firſt killed many of the Enemy.

Thus all the Territories thereabout fell into the *Daniſh* Power. The Conquerors obſerv'd no Faith; being now able to ſupport themſelves in the Iſland without any Aſſiſtance, they fell upon the *Eaſt Angles*, their firſt Allies, defeated their Armies, took their King *Edmund* Priſoner, and tying him to a Stake, the Brothers *Henguar* and *Hubba* ſhot him to Death with Arrows.

The Terror of this Execution had its Effect. None dared oppoſe the *Danes*, and they poſſeſs'd themſelves of every leſſer Province about the Counties where they ſtaid. In all this Time they continued their Cruelties: nothing but Murther and Rapine was heard of; nor had the People any Thoughts of ſaving themſelves in all this Territory except by Flight.

This was the Condition of *Britain* in the Year 870. The Leaders repreſented their Succeſſes in high Colours, in the Meſſages they ſent home to *Denmark*; and they invited over all who choſe to ſhare their Victories.

Thus reinforced, for Numbers came upon the Invitation, they in 871 prepared to attack in the moſt reſolute Manner, the *Weſt Saxon* Kingdom, the only one whoſe Power they had not deſtroy'd.

Theſe ſaw the Fate of *Britain* abſolutely depended on their Courage, and they determin'd to act as became them. A vaſt Force was raiſed: they choſe the moſt advantageous Ground; and they waited the Attack of the *Danes* in their Camp.

The Enemy approach'd, and ſeeing their Force, did not march up immediately to the Aſſault, but encamp'd near them.

Three Days paſs'd, the Armies in Sight of one another, and no Hoſtilities were committed. At the End of this Time the *Danes* wanted Proviſion: they knew what Strength a foraging Party muſt have, or it would be deſtroy'd; and they accordingly ſent out a great Body of Horſe in two Diviſions, under two Earls, then principal Commanders under their Chiefs.

The *Saxons* follow'd them, the Action fell to *Ethelwulf*, Earl of *Berkſhire*; who, with about an equal Body, attack'd and beat them. The Conflict was obſtinate; both Armies ſaw it, but the two Corps were left to their own Fortune. A great Number of the *Danes*, with one of their two Leaders, were ſlain, and the reſt retreated to their Camp.

Britain now made a Stand againſt the *Danes*, but it was in vain. The fourth Day after there was a general Engagement; the King, his Brother, and the fortunate *Ethelwulf*, a Name now terrible to the *Danes*, commanded the *Saxon* Force.

The Fight was bloody, and continued till Night. Many fell on both Sides, but the *Danes* kept the Field, as was their uſual Cuſtom, againſt all Oppoſition. *Ethelwulf* fell in this Action: a great Loſs to *Britain*.

Four Days after this, the *Danes* engag'd the *Saxons* again in a general Action, near *Aſton* in *Berkſhire*. *Alfred* commanded one Part of the *Saxon* Forces, and began the Attack with Succeſs; *Ethelred* fell in ſoon after with the main Body, and the *Danes* were beaten. The *Saxons* this Time kept the Field; and the Enemy was purſued till dark with great Slaughter.

Two other Battles were fought this Year with doubtful Events: Numbers fell on both Sides, and both claimed the Victory.

This Year *Ethelred* dy'd, as is recorded on his Tomb in *Winbourn* Church, by the Hands of the *Danes*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the firſt Years of the Reign of Alfred.

THE Death of *Ethelred* placed *Alfred* in the Year 871, upon the Throne of *Britain*.

The *Danes* took Advantage of the late King's Death; and purſued their Ravages with ſuch Rapidity and Fury, that *Alfred* was oblig'd to go out againſt them before his Brother was well bury'd, or himſelf had paſſed through the Solemnity of his Coronation.

The Force on Foot had been terribly reduced by the *Daniſh* Sword, but 'twas neceſſary to lead them to the Charge; the Choice was only this poor Hope, or certain Ruin.

Alfred manag'd his little Strength ſo well, that he drove the whole Force of the *Danes* before him, and was Maſter of the Field; but his Soldiers, preſſed by Revenge and Hatred, purſued the flying Foot too far, ſome Part of the *Danes* rally'd, and they now became Maſters of the Ground.

In the Courſe of this Year *Alfred* fought them nine ſeveral Times with various Succeſs; and at the End of it, he was obliged to ſign a Treaty with them.

In the ſucceeding Year they ſhew'd how much they valued Treaties by falling on the *Mercians*. They conquer'd them; drove their King into Exile, where he dy'd, and gave the Sovereignty to a Domeſtick, condition'd that it ſhould be render'd to them on their Demand.

This ſettled, they march'd to the North, waſting and deſtroying all before them; and having ſubdued the *Saxons* all the Way, they fell upon the *Picts* and thoſe *Britons* who had retired Northward.

Theſe they conſider'd as another Race of Enemies, and they treated with the utmoſt Rigour all they could find with Torture; but the greater Part of that poor Remnant of the antient *Britons* eſcaped the *Danes*, as they had eſcaped the *Saxons* deſtroying them, by flying farther North, than thoſe Enemies had Patience or Means to follow them.

While *Hafden* was doing this Execution with the greater Part of the *Daniſh* Forces, *Cutbrun* and his aſſociate Leaders with a ſmaller Body, poſted himſelf at *Cambridge*, and thence made frequent and terrible Excurſions among the *Saxons*, who were unable to reſiſt him; as did alſo *Hafden* in the North.

Britain was now given up by the Generality of the *Saxons* as loſt; and accounted by the *Danes* as in a Manner won: thus ſtood it in the Year 874; the moſt diſtreſs'd, and the moſt ruin'd Country that ever ſhock'd the Heart of Man by the Sufferings of its Inhabitants.

CHAP. IX.

The firſt Naval Engagement of the Danes *and* Saxons.

MANY were aſtoniſh'd, and all griev'd when *Alfred* made his League with the *Danes*: himſelf then only knew what he intended.

Great Expectations were form'd upon his aſcending the Throne, and more upon his ſeveral Succeſſes; but when at the End of the Summer he agreed to a Treaty with the Enemy, all was given up as loſt.

Alfred was wiſer than all who had gone before him of the *Saxon* Race: he ſaw their Errors, and he ſaw the Ruin wherein thoſe Errors had involved the Iſland. He perceived that the great Fault in all their Policy had been the neglecting a Naval Power. He found the *Danes* unconquerable at Land, and the Reaſon evident; that as faſt as they were thin'd by the Sword, their Numbers were repleniſh'd from Home; the *Saxons* having no Power to prevent it.

On this he built his Scheme of Oppoſition, by a Truce, which his Succeſſes had given him Power to gain upon Terms not very diſadvantageous. He obtain'd Time for Preparation, and this Time he employ'd in building Ships: there lay the whole Streſs of his Deſign. This, however, he cover'd by keeping up a conſiderable Force, and with the frequent Marches of theſe Troops he amuſed the Enemy, and kept them in too much Apprehenſion of his Strength to break the Conditions.

By every Art he contrived to cut off all Communication between himſelf and the *Danes*, and by every poſſible Artifice to keep them out of the Secret of his Deſigns.

His firſt Care was to provide Numbers for the Work, and ſome who could direct them. All Naval Preparation had been ſo long neglected by the *Saxons*, that he ſaw his Subjects vaſtly ignorant: not diſcourag'd by this, he found Means to invite from *Wales* the *Britons* to aſſiſt him. He repreſented to them that the Preparation he was making was againſt a common Enemy, theirs and his: he did not extenuate the Faults of his Countrymen, but he repreſented the *Danes* as ſtill worſe Maſters: he conjured the *Britons* to aſſiſt him, at leaſt againſt theſe Enemies, and promiſed them large Recompence in Privileges and Immunities.

The Name of *Alfred* was reſpected even among his Enemies: the *Danes* feared and hated; the *Britons* feared and admired him; and his own Subjects idolized him.

The *Britons* in conſiderable Numbers were prevailed upon to come to him. With theſe as Overſeers of the Work, and his own People to bear the Toil and Drudgery, with Promiſe of Rewards; and his own Eye and Inſpection over every Thing, he in three Years ſaw himſelf poſſeſs'd of a powerful Naval Force.

Britain, that in 872 had not a Veſſel in all its Ports, in 875 pour'd out a Navy from her ſeveral Yards capable to ſtrike the ſtouteſt adverſe Power with Terror.

Alfred glory'd in his Succeſs, and his People join'd with him: the *Britons* who had aſſiſted in the building, were honourably employ'd in manning of the Veſſels; and the Iſland which ſo lately was given up on all Hands as a Prey to the Barbarians, now ſeem'd on the Brink of Reſcue.

The *Danes* who had ſlighted the ſeveral Notices they by Chance receiv'd of this Preparation, trembled at the Accounts of thoſe who ſaw the Veſſels: their Number, and their Bigneſs filled their Ears; and their Deſtination perplex'd all their Councils.

The Time of the Truce, for the League of *Alfred* with the *Danes* was little other, was now expired; and he took no Precaution to renew it. This doubled the Terrors of the *Danes*. They had not violated it, but 'twas not from any Regard to Faith, but from the Force *Alfred* always kept on the *Weſt Saxon* Frontiers; and they now made no Motion to attack him; nor he toward them.

Alfred ſeeing this Diſpoſition likely to continue, left his Army under the Command of truſty Officers; concealed his Abſence from the *Danes*, and repaired to his Fleet: they put out to Sea, and cruiſed in Expectation of thoſe Veſſels which yearly brought from *Denmark* a Supply, to make up the Numbers thin'd by the *Saxon* Sword.

This was in the Autumn of the Year 875. The *Daniſh* Veſſels ſoon appear'd, and ſtood aſtoniſh'd at the *Britiſh* Navy. They met off the Coaſt of *Cornwall*, and ſeeing the others were numerous they would have got away; but *Alfred* encouraged his Sailors to preſs after them, and they came up with them.

Here was the firſt Naval Action the *Saxons*, or the *Britons* of this Period had ever ſeen. The *Danes* were accuſtom'd to Sea Fights, and were better Sailors: they behaved boldly when they ſaw they muſt fight; but the Number of *Alfred*'s Ships made Amends for the imperfect Skill in managing them.

The *Daniſh* Veſſels were ſeven: the Number of the *Britiſh*, ſo we may call them, not only as equip'd in the Ports of *Britain*, but as built and man'd principally with *Britons*, we do not find recorded; but probably 'twas three or four Times that of the Enemy.

The firſt *Daniſh* Veſſel that was engag'd was taken, and the reſt after much Slaughter eſcap'd. The *Britons* chaſed them till their better Skill in Navigation gave them the Slip, or outwent them; but they return'd to *Denmark* with the News, not came to *Britain* with the Recruits.

The Joy, the Applauſes of the *Britons* and *Saxons* in this Fleet of *Alfred* was exceſſive: they look'd upon the Sea as their own, and the Iſland as recover'd.

The *Danes* heard the News, and were ſhock'd with it: they found they were beaten both in Arms and Councils.

Alfred, whom they ſuppos'd heading his Forces in their Sight, was cutting off their Reinforcements at Sea. They ſaw their own People diſpirited, and the *Saxons* full of Triumph. They had no Deſire to fight them, for *Alfred* might be there as ſoon as the News.

All was quiet till his Arrival. He diſtributed Rewards among his Sailors, *Britons* and *Saxons* equally; and he ſaw his own Veſſels and his Prize carefully laid up. Then with his numerous *Daniſh* Priſoners he enter'd the Camp, amidſt the Acclamations of his People.

The *Danes* who were poſted with a conſiderable Force at a ſmall Diſtance, underſtood the Shout. They found *Alfred* was now come indeed into the Camp. The next Day at Sun-riſe the *Daniſh* Captives were brought between the two Armies, and there executed; the Conqueror conſidering them as Robbers, not as fair Enemies.

This anſwer'd his Purpoſe; it increaſed the Terror of the *Danes*: they ſaw he did not fear them, and they began therefore to fear him. *Alfred* ſaw this with Pleaſure.

The Succeſs had animated his People, and he now explain'd to them his full Purpoſe, which was to weary out and wear out thoſe who were in *Britain*, and prevent all Recruits, by keeping the Command of the Seas.

The Succeſs of this firſt Expedition redoubled his and his People's Ardour in their Naval Armament, and Ships were built with an amazing Expedition. All enter'd readily into the Service, and in the Year 876 *Alfred* ſaw himſelf Maſter of a Navy half as great again as that of the preceding Summer: the *Daniſh* Prize was fitted up, and the People enter'd on board that with double Readineſs, to fight it againſt its Countrymen.

Theſe Veſſels cruiſed about the Coaſt; and *Alfred* ſpent his Time partly on board, and partly at the Head of his Forces.

The *Danes* early in the Summer, ſuppoſing him on the Sea, held their March to *Warham Caſtle*; but before they were aware of it, he was at their Heels by Land. He ſaw their Fears, and he took the Advantage of them. He ſent to their Commander, and propoſed a Parley: 'twas granted readily, and *Alfred* met them.

"We forgive your Hoſtilities, ſaid he, if you will depart. You are of another Kingdom, return to it. The Sea is open to your Retreat, but 'tis our Wall againſt your Countrymen, and its oaken Towers are now ſufficient for its Defence. All Supply is cut off, and I have here a Power to waſte you. I wiſh to ſpare my People; and 'tis therefore, not from any Thing I fear from you, I make this Offer."

The *Danes* conſulted, and agreed to the Terms. They anſwer'd that they had never before ſworn to any Nation, but they now confirm'd their Promiſe and Engagement of Departure, by an Oath on their moſt holy Reliques.

Alfred retired to his Camp, and they falſifying their Oath, a few Hours after it was taken, retreated in the Night: the King knew it, but 'twas enough they fear'd him; he let them go unmoleſted. They went to *Exeter*, where they winter'd; and there and in *Northumberland*, far from any Preparations of Departure, ſettled themſelves as Inhabitants, dividing and beginning to cultivate the Ground, and cantoning themſelves out in ſeveral Diſtricts according to the Diſpoſition order'd by *Haſden*.

CHAP. X.

The ſecond Naval Engagement between the Danes *and* Saxons *under* Alfred.

THE Winter of the 876 was paſs'd by the *Danes* in Deliberation; and by *Alfred* in ſtrengthening and enlarging his Navy.

This great Prince had made himſelf a Maſter of all the Knowledge the *Britons* brought with them; and from his own Genius, added and improved. He conſider'd the Shape and Structure of the *Daniſh* Prize; compared its Advantages and Diſadvantages with thoſe of his own Navy; and laid the Plan of an Improvement in the Art of Shipbuilding.

This, however, was no Time for Projects. He now made all his Effort for the increaſing the Number of his Veſſels. He told his People what they had to expect: that **Denmark** would not ſuffer their late Loſs to diſhearten them, but would unqueſtionably ſend out a larger Force the enſuing Spring; which they muſt be prepared to meet.

He was no ill Prophet: he got out his numerous Navy in excellent Condition early in the Summer 877; and nothing on Shore requiring his immediate Preſence, he went on board.

After a little cruiſing the *Daniſh* Fleet appear'd; not ſuch as the laſt Year, but numerous and terrible: no leſs than a hundred and twenty Ships bore down upon the Fleet of *Alfred*.

It was his Turn now to be attack'd, and he prepared for the Reception of his numerous Enemy. Heaven ſeem'd to favour the *Britons*; a Storm aroſe, which threw the *Daniſh* Veſſels on the Rocks upon the Coaſt of *Devonſhire*.

Alfred's Ships weather'd the Storm much better; and as it abated, falling upon the diſorder'd Enemy, obtain'd an eaſy and a glorious Victory: the Sea ſwallow'd up half the *Danes*, and the Remainder fell into the Hands of *Alfred*; ſcarce a Man eſcap'd, not a ſingle Veſſel: all that were not deſtroy'd, were taken.

This was dreadful News to the *Danes*; and matter of new Triumph to the *Saxons*. *Alfred* purſued his former Conduct: he rewarded his Men, laid up his Ships, for which he knew he ſhould have no more Occaſion till the next Year; and hang'd his Priſoners as Pirates and Robbers.

The *Danes* expected the Approach of *Alfred* now at Land; and 'twas not long before they ſaw him leading a numerous and high ſpirited Army againſt their frighted Ranks.

Britain ſeem'd on the Verge of Freedom from theſe Savages; and *Alfred* born for its Deliverance. He encamp'd near the *Danes*; and he ſent them another Meſſage.

He did not condeſcend now to treat with them in Perſon, but repreſenting their Condition from his repeated Succeſs, preſs'd them to ſave the Blood of his People and their own, and to depart the Iſland.

They again ſolemnly engag'd themſelves; and as they could not expect he to whom they had ſo lately broke their Oath would again credit them, ſent Hoſtages for the Performance.

Theſe *Alfred* accepted, and thus concluded the Summer of 877. He was tender of his People's Blood, and too ſenſible both of the Uncertainty of an Engagement, and of its Conſequences, to wiſh to riſk one.

The *Danes* did little Miſchief: they ſtood on the defenſive, occupying only the Territories they had gain'd long before. He ſaw them diſpirited, and he knew this the Temper in which they would be moſt readily prevailed upon to go. That was all he wanted, for he was ſecure now againſt any new Enemies landing; and he ſaw the Value of this Temper in them too clearly to riſk its Change, which would have immediately follow'd the leaſt Succeſs.

The Number of Hoſtages was left to *Alfred*'s Pleaſure, and he, conducted in every Thing by that wiſe Moderation, which is the Mark of true Greatneſs and true Wiſdom, claimed but few.

The *Danes* were frighted into Faith. They kept the Treaty of Peace, which was to ſubſiſt till their Departure without Violation, during the Remainder of the Year; and they retired to *Mercia*; Part of this Province they ſtill left in the Hands of their deputed King, and in the reſt they fixed themſelves.

The Peace which ſeem'd to ſubſiſt in the very Hearts of the *Danes*, lull'd the *Saxons* about them. No Suſpicion was awake but in the Breaſt of *Alfred*. He kept Spies continually upon their Actions; and he found that under Pretence of fitting out Veſſels to tranſport them back to *Denmark*, they were indeed preparing to diſpute the Sovereignty of the Sea with him; that they might know firſt whether they could obtain Reinforcements from their Mother Country.

Alfred who ſaw this, underſtood alſo the very Purport of the Armament, and the Circumſtance in which they placed their Hope: this was a peculiar Structure of their Veſſels, which were of the Galley Kind, and which they now built taller than uſual, and with more Oars.

This Structure of their Veſſels convinced him they were for fighting his, and not tranſporting their People. He repreſented it to the Workmen in his Yards, and falling upon a new Improvement in the Plan he had long before laid of a peculiar Kind of Veſſels, he now put it into Execution.

He built ſeveral Veſſels of the intended Structure, and he alter'd ſeveral of his old ones; till by the Time of putting to Sea, he had a great Number of Gallies ſuperior to the *Daniſh* in their own Way: theſe had ſixty or ſeventy Oars; they were of a Weight equal to twice that of the common Kind, and ſo built that with all this they were perfectly ſteady.

Thus prepar'd, *Alfred* put to Sea; and coaſting about, expected the Event.

CHAP. XI.

The third Naval Engagement of the Danes *with* Alfred.

EARLY in the Spring 878, the *Daniſh* Veſſels appear'd, their Shape and their Deſtination ſhew'd they were no Tranſports; they were full of Men, and they made directly to the Coaſt of the *Weſt Saxons*.

Their new built Veſſels, which were not many in Number, though large and well man'd, kept in the Van; and then follow'd all that could be got in Order of the ſeveral Ships that had from time to time come over with their Reinforcements.

Alfred had Notice of their Motions, and met them. The two Fleets came in Sight off the *Iſle of Wight*; and the *Danes*, with inexpreſſible Confuſion, ſaw the tall Gallies of the Enemy.

This was a happy Piece of Policy in all *Alfred*'s Fortune: he never failed to know what the Enemy was doing; and he always kept as ſecret as poſſible what himſelf was about.

The Sight of his Veſſels was the firſt Promiſe of his Victory. The *Danes* who had depended upon ſurprizing him by a kind of Gallies he had not, found the Surprize return'd upon themſelves. They were too near to ſeparate, and they put on a compell'd Valour.

The Night coming on ſerv'd for Preparation, and in the Morning at Sun-riſe, *Alfred* himſelf began the Attack againſt the largeſt of the *Daniſh* Gallies.

The Action ſoon became general, and nothing preſented itſelf but Fury on one Side, and a deſpairing Valour on the other. The Fight, though it began ſo early, laſted all Day: the *Danes* did Wonders; but they were every where unſucceſsful.

The Victory was abſolute on the Side of the *Britons*, but it coſt them very dear: for the Enemy knowing their Fate if taken, prefer'd Death in the Action. Toward Evening the Reſiſtance was at an End, but there was ſcarce a Captive. Some of the Veſſels had eſcaped, but not many; ſome were run upon the Shore in Deſpair, the *Danes* endeavouring, but in vain, to eſcape that Way; and the reſt, the far greater Number, fell into the Hands of the *Saxons*.

Thus ended this memorable Day. Perfectly to the Honour of *Alfred*, though an Honour purchaſed dearly.

The Fight is differently recorded, but there is no Variation as to the Succeſs; that is given by all the Hiſtorians to *Alfred*: but ſome place the Engagement in the preceding Year; and ſome confound it with the former, on the Coaſt of *Devonſhire*: we follow the plain Thread of Hiſtory, which makes them altogether diſtinct, and places them in different Years, as they undoubtedly were fought.

Thus after a vaſt Period, in which the Naval Power of *Britain* had been utterly neglected, we ſee it again revived and victorious: *Alfred* in Deſpair flew to it as his laſt Reſource; and he found it more ſucceſsful than he could have expected; in three ſucceſſive Actions always Conqueror, and that to the utter Diſtreſs and Terror of its Enemies on Land.

Ill News ſpreads quickly, the *Danes* in *Mercia* had ſpeedy Notice of the Defeat at Sea; and Deſpair furniſhing them with Fury, they made a violent Effort on Land.

Their whole Force was gather'd, and their Leaders told them they muſt now chuſe to conquer or to be executed like their Brethren.

While *Alfred* was getting home his Prizes, they were burning and deſtroying every where in his Kingdoms. The Fury and the Cruelty with which they acted terrify'd the *Saxons*, and not only Cities were deſerted, but the greater Part of the Army fled.

Alfred full of Glory from his Naval Expedition, found himſelf helpleſs at Land; to put again to Sea was to give up his People to the Enemy. He endeavour'd all that human Wiſdom or human Courage could, but in vain. The *Danes* came on, and he was in no Condition to oppoſe them. Of the ſmall Party he had many deſerted as they came nearer Danger; and at length toward the End of the Summer, he found himſelf without all poſſible Means of Reſiſtance: his Cities flaming, and his People butcher'd: none thinking of any Safety but by Flight.

Thus *Britain* a few Months before ſo near its Deliverance, was in the Autumn of 878, plung'd deeper in Diſtreſs than at any preceding Time. The *Danes* were Maſters every where; and *Alfred*, who hoped his Life might be ſerviceable on ſome more favourable Opportunity, retired alone to the Habitation of a Peaſant *Dunwulf*; whoſe Cottage was ſituated within Woods and Marſhes, in a kind of unknown Iſland; a Place the *Danes* had not heard of, or thought not worth attacking.

There *Alfred*, victorious in every Action before, waited the Fate of that Kingdom, he was no longer able to defend or help.

Many a deſperate Struggle the *Saxons* had; and the *Britons* from many Parts now join'd with them by the Invitation of *Alfred*, made Efforts to ſhake off this dreadful Yoke. Of thoſe who had fled their Country at the Approach of the Enemy, many had retir'd to a Place of Strength, *Kenwith Caſtle* in *Devonſhire*: and theſe gave afterwards a Turn to their Country's Fate.

Alfred, after a little Time, diſcover'd to his Friends where he was: he encourag'd them to hope better Fortune; and promiſed them to head the ſmalleſt Party of them that would aſſemble.

The *Danes* who had fitted up the few Ships that eſcap'd, not caring to come into the Way of *Alfred*'s Veſſels, nor knowing how he was diſtreſs'd, bent their Courſe to the Coaſt of *Wales*, where they landed, and committed all Kinds of Outrages; and returning thence, they coaſted about and came to *Devonſhire*.

Hafden, who had been told ſome *Saxons* and *Britons* were in *Kenwith Caſtle*, but little thought how many, went up with his Corps to deſtroy it.

The Garriſon, reinforced by thoſe who had fled thither, were very numerous and very powerful: they made a Sally on the *Danes*, fought them four Hours, and beat them. Twelve hundred were killed, and the reſt fled to their Ships.

This gave ſome Check to the *Daniſh* Fortune, and gave Spirit to the *Britons*. *Alfred* ſeized the Opportunity. He declared himſelf; built a Fortreſs with inexpreſſible Diligence at *Athelnee*, and invited all who would eſcape theſe Butcheries to join them.

He animated them by his Spirit, they flock'd to him from all the adjacent Counties, and he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the Head of a conſiderable Force. He was a General who knew how to ſeize his Opportunities: while this Spirit was warm in the People he led them againſt the *Danes*, who had a Caſtle at *Elindon* in *Wiltſhire*; fought them upon their own Ground, beat them, and drove thoſe that eſcaped the Sword into their Fortreſs, which he beſieged and took.

The *Danes* felt no Blow in all their Time more heavily than this. They dreaded *Alfred* as ſomething more than Man; and the *Britons*, who now join'd the *Saxons* from many Parts, invited by his Virtues, held him in Veneration. They ſaw the *Dane* an Enemy ſo much more ſavage, that they ſubmitted to the leſſer Evil; and they were ſo well treated now by the *Saxons*, whom Misfortunes had taught Compaſſion, though they never learned it from Chriſtianity, that they liv'd comfortably among them.

This was an additional Strength to the *Saxons*, and in a manner gave a Sanction to their Title. The *Danes* ſaw it with Terror: they ſaw all in Arms againſt them; their Numbers waſted, no new Supplies arrived or expected, many of their own beſt Leaders killed, and at the Head of the Enemy the dreadful *Alfred*. They felt their Condition, and they propos'd Terms. They repeated their Offer to depart the Iſland, and they confirmed it with Oaths, and ſtrengthened it by Hoſtages.

Gyſto, or as ſome write it, *Gotbrun*, their Leader, with thirty principal Perſons, became Chriſtians. Upon ſuch Terms now were they, that *Alfred* aſſiſted at the Ceremony; he received *Gotbrun* from the Font, and called him *Athelſtan*. Such were the Changes of this ſingle Year.

The *Danes* were now content to receive any Place of Habitation for ſuch as choſe to ſtay, and had Permiſſion from *Alfred*: he treated his new Chriſtians nobly, gave them many Preſents, and beſtow'd on *Gotbrun*, now *Athelſtan*, the Kingdom of the *Eaſt Angles*, dependent upon him as Sovereign of the Iſland.

The Conditions ſo often broken were now fulfilled; and *Alfred* a little before reduced to the Neceſſity of hiding from the Fury of that cruel Enemy, clear'd *Britain* of the *Danes*.

This happen'd in the Beginning of the ſucceeding Year 879, a very memorable Æra in the *Britiſh* Hiſtory.

CHAP. XII.

Of the firſt Daniſh *Sea Attempt after the Succeſs of* Alfred.

BRITAIN was more perfectly ſubject to *Alfred* than to any of the preceding *Saxon* Kings: they ruled their own People in the Iſland, the *Britons* being all at Enmity; but even theſe in great Numbers own'd his Sovereignty: thoſe whom he had invited by Promiſes, he kept among his People by a punctual Performance: they were as *Saxons*, lived among them, marry'd with them; and became one People.

This was the Condition of almoſt all who lived in the moſt inhabited Counties; but in *Wales*, and far North in *Scotland* there ſtill remain'd Multitudes unſubdu'd, and unmix'd; whoſe Deſcendants to this Day keep up the Diſtinction with great Pride.

The *Danes* who choſe to ſtay with *Gotbrun*, retired to the *Eaſt Angle* Kingdom in 879, and Multitudes of them follow'd their General's Example, and became Chriſtians. The reſt receiving Neceſſaries and Aſſiſtance for that Purpoſe, embark'd, and took their Leave of the Kingdom.

They were Robbers by Profeſſion, and had no Deſire to ſtarve in *Denmark*; they landed on the firſt Coaſts of *France* and *Flanders*, and there purſued their old Trade, plundering, burning and deſtroying: for thoſe who at that Time were too few to keep their Ground in *England*, were too many to be reſiſted there.

Britain rejoiced in her Deliverance; and look'd on *Alfred* as a God: that Sovereign did not abate his Care for the Tranquillity, he remember'd what had brought the *Danes*, and he conſider'd it might bring them again.

Britain was now becoming more peaceful, and in conſequence of that it would be more rich than ever, and that would tempt the Beggars and the Plunderers again.

He propos'd to his People "To make ſuch Uſe of the preſent favourable Time, that it ſhould be continu'd to their lateſt Poſterity: he repreſented to them the Cauſe of all their Diſtreſſes to have been that ſingle Error, the Neglect of a Naval Force: he ſhew'd them how certainly that would have prevented the *Danes* from ever ſetting Foot among them; and he reminded them that they had ow'd all their Succeſſes againſt this barbarous Enemy, to the Advantages they gain'd at Sea: that the firſt Blow which diſpirited the *Danes* was given there; and that the ſole Cauſe of their conſenting to depart was, that the *Britiſh* Navy had cut off all Poſſibility of their receiving Recruits from their Mother Country."

Having thus ſhewn the Neceſſity and the Advantages of a ſtrong Naval Power to *Britain*, he bent all his Endeavours, with the People's univerſal Approbation, to the building Ships, numerous, ſtrong, and fit for every Service.

The three ſucceeding Years, in which the Iſland had perfect Peace, he employ'd in making this great Preparation of Veſſels, and training Multitudes of his Subjects to the Sea. He had firſt, after a long Neglect, eſtabliſh'd the *Britiſh* Navy, and he now carry'd it to a Perfection and Strength unknown in any former Time.

In the Autumn of the Year 882, he took out, not his whole Force, but a very conſiderable Number of his Veſſels to Sea, to accuſtom the Men to the Service. He had no other Intent or Expectation of Adventure; but one Morning with the Daybreak, his People deſcry'd four Veſſels: he ſaw they were *Daniſh*, and that they made directly for his Coaſts.

This was a Breach of Treaty; for 'twas an unalterable Article in his Compact with the *Danes* in 879, that no more of their Country ſhould come to *Britain* on any Pretence; that if they attempted it they ſhould be puniſh'd as Invaders, and no Breach underſtood to be ſo made of the Treaty.

Alfred order'd his People to prepare for the Attack, and obſerving that two of the Veſſels were at ſome Diſtance from the other two, he, with his own Galley, follow'd by ſome others, row'd in between, cut off the Communication: while his People attack'd the others he boarded theſe; he took them after a ſlight Reſiſtance, and threw the People overboard in Sight of their Companions, not ſparing a ſingle Man.

This terrify'd and exaſperated the Crews of the other two Ships; they fought with inconceivable Fury, and *Alfred* having given the Prizes in Charge to ſome of his Veſſels, made up to the Conflict.

This was indeed no leſs than an intended Invaſion; the Veſſels, tho' but four in Number, were full of Men, and in theſe laſt there were two *Daniſh* Princes.

The Fight was deſperate, though the *Danes* had odds to combat with: much Blood was loſt on the *Britiſh* as well as on their Side, but the two Ships were taken; and *Alfred*, according to his conſtant Rule, hung up thoſe whom he found in them as Pirates.

This was News that never reached *Denmark*: for none eſcap'd to tell it. 'Twas probably thought there, that theſe, like the former Invaders of this Iſland, had ſeated themſelves on it in Plenty.

The *Saxons* and the *Britons* ſaw in this a new Inſtance of the Wiſdom and true Policy of *Alfred*. Had their Navy been neglected as in preceding Times, nothing could have prevented this new Band of Robbers from landing, and it would have coſt much Blood to diſpute their Eſtabliſhment.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the ſecond Daniſh *Attempt after the Succeſſes of* Alfred.

THE Uſe the ſucceſsful Sovereign of *Britain* made of this fortunate Event was, to recommend more and more earneſtly to the People the Care of their Naval Force: they ſaw the Reaſon; and all Hands were employ'd to increaſe the Number of their Veſſels.

The Navy of *Britain* had been at this Time formidable; but ſuch Spirit lived among the *Saxons* as well as *Britons*, that in three Years Time its Number was render'd treble.

Alfred aſſiſted on every Occaſion, preſs'd on the Work, taught his own Improvements, and frequently foretold what proved literally true, that all the Force they could prepare would be wanted; for that unqueſtionably the News of their Proſperity would reach *Denmark* ſoon, and that inexhauſtible

ble Country would ſend more and more powerful Forces.

To be prepared againſt a Danger ſo naturally expected, he kept his numerous Veſſels in order for Service; and in 885, three Years from the Time of his Action againſt the four *Daniſh* Veſſels, he led out a Navy four Times equal to what he had in that Year.

This Force was no ſooner prepar'd than wanted: for that Summer the *Danes* appear'd upon the Sea with a prodigious Preparation. Their Fleet, that cover'd the Ocean to a vaſt Extent, divided into two, little ſuppoſing any other Power could be a Match for half their Navy: the leſſer of theſe Diviſions made to *Eaſt France*, and the greater to the Coaſt of *Britain*.

Alfred with his main Force, at ſome Diſtance heard of this. He followed, with the utmoſt Expedition, what Courſe he heard they took; but before he came up with them, they had landed their numerous Armament, and a vaſt Body of *Danes* were before *Rocheſter*.

The *Britons*, though terrify'd at this unexpected Attack, defended themſelves bravely. *Alfred* hearing their Diſtreſs, left his Veſſels behind the Enemies Fleet, under thoſe Officers he cou'd beſt truſt, and landed with his Forces. The *Saxons* and *Britons* join'd him from all Quarters; and he ſaw himſelf at the Head of an Army capable to do as much by Land as his Veſſels by Sea.

With his new rais'd Force he marched ſtrait to *Rocheſter*. He gave the *Danes* Battle; beat them with a prodigious Slaughter, and drove them to their Ships.

They fled, but though not unſeen, were ſuffer'd to paſs unmoleſted by *Alfred*'s Navy, which they ſaw with Terror. He had drawn out ſo many of the Men, that 'twas not prudent to hazard an Action againſt a Force that ſeem'd yet ſo powerful as the *Danes*.

Thus *Rocheſter* was reliev'd, the *Danes* beaten, and great Spirits given to the *Britons* and *Saxons*, who doubting not but they had fled back to their Mother Country, as was uſual after ſuch Defeats, would have ſet down to their Rejoycings, and thought no more of Danger: but this Sovereign was of a more penetrating Mind. He recollected that there was another Place to which the beaten *Danes* might now fly, for that there were Countrymen of theirs eſtabliſh'd by his Permiſſion in his own Dominions.

Alfred did not join the common Opinion of their flying home, but perſuaded himſelf they would either go to thoſe who had attack'd the Coaſt of *France*, or claim an Aſylum among the *Eaſt Angles*, ſubject under his Crown to *Athelſtan*.

He diſpatched two of his ſwifteſt Veſſels to watch their Motions, and he ſoon learn'd what he ſuſpected moſt to have happen'd; the *Daniſh* Veſſels having ſteer'd their Courſe directly to the Country of the *Eaſt Angles*.

Alfred now ſhewing his People the Danger and the Neceſſity of a ſpirited Behaviour, led them to his Veſſels. He made the beſt of his Way after the Enemy, and came up with them near *Harwich*.

The Action began about Noon, and laſted with great Obſtinacy on both Sides till Night. In this Fight *Alfred* took, one by one, ſixteen of their Veſſels, and publickly in Sight of their Companions put all that were on board them to the Sword; a neceſſary Cruelty, and juſtifiable by all Laws againſt ſuch Robbers.

At Daylight no more of the *Daniſh* Ships were ſeen. *Alfred* ſteer'd ſoftly back: but in the Evening he found himſelf attack'd by a numerous Enemy. The *Daniſh* Ships that had eſcaped in the Night rallied, and with the deſperate Fury which was the Characteriſtick of that People, fell upon the Conquerors Veſſels: the Action was confuſed and deſperate, much Blood was ſpilt on both Sides, and the Succeſs was nothing to either. The Fight continued all the ſucceeding Day, but in a more ſcatter'd Manner; and in the ſucceeding Night the *Danes* went off with their Loſſes, and were ſeen no more.

Alfred, who made all Enquiry after them, found in ſome Days that they had put into the Ports of the *Eaſt Angles*, and had been there receiv'd as Friends. They boaſted the Succeſs of their late Engagement; and though they could ſhew no Proof of it they were believed: the *Danes* in this Province were ſtill *Danes*: though they had embraced Chriſtianity, they eſpous'd the Cauſe of their Countrymen againſt their Sovereign *Alfred*, and they ſet up an independent State.

'Twas too late in the Seaſon to attempt any thing new, and the Forces of *Alfred* had gone through enough Service. He gave them Rewards and Reſt; laid up his Veſſels; and ſet himſelf to reſtore the Tranquility of his Kingdom, and to repair the Damages done in all Parts by theſe bloody Enemies.

His firſt Care was to repair and ſtrengthen *London*, where the *Danes* had made dreadful Havock. He re-eſtabliſh'd the City, and invited back its former Inhabitants: the ſame Care he took in Reſpect of other Places; and he aw'd the *Danes* in the *Eaſt Angles* Country by Threats into a decent Behaviour.

Thus Peace was at length eſtabliſh'd in *Britain*, whoſe Natives now in greater Numbers joined the *Saxons*: they behaved well to them, and in all Reſpects became one People with them, under the Command of *Alfred*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the ſucceeding Attempts of the Danes *on* BRITAIN.

SEVEN Years *Britain* enjoy'd the Peace obtain'd in the Year 886, by *Alfred*'s Valour; and all this Time he employ'd in regulating the Conſtitution, eſtabliſhing uſeful Cuſtoms, making Laws, and training a People little accuſtom'd to Civil Policy, to ſocial Duties.

If any human Hand could have ſaved them from Ruin, they would have owed that Bleſſing to this Prince, but they were devoted to Deſtruction.

In all theſe virtuous Employments, the Care of a Preparation againſt the Enemy was not neglected. The Navy was kept up with Diligence and Spirit, and for the firſt Years conſtant Intelligence was kept up between one Part of the Coaſt and another; and Veſſels cruiſed about from time to time, that an Enemy might not come upon them unexpectedly.

Many Years of Peace abated ſomewhat of this Diligence, tho' nothing of the Naval Strength of the Iſland; and happy had it been for *Britain* if this conſtant Watch had been preſerved as ſtrictly as it was begun.

In the Year 893 the *Danes* were with a prodigious Power in the Iſland, before it was known there was the leaſt Danger.

They had employ'd this Time of Reſt in fitting out a prodigious Navy; they had given the Charge of it to their moſt experienced Commanders, and filled it with their beſt Men.

The Orders were to avoid, if poſſible, any Naval Engagement; for tho' they were of vaſt Force, that was not their Purpoſe. They were to land, if that could be done, without Oppoſition, and to fight the *Britons* on their own Ground.

Theſe Orders were not more prudently given than ſucceſsfully executed. A Fleet of *Daniſh* Veſſels, in number two hundred and fifty, lay off the Coaſt in the Evening; and by early Morning they were in the Ports of *Kent*.

All Hands were employ'd to draw up the Veſſels on Shore; ſuch were the Orders: and this was done with ſuch amazing Expedition, that a vaſt Body of the Enemy were on the Iſland with no Appearance of the Ships which brought them.

The News alarm'd *Alfred*, and terrify'd his People. He ſent out his Fleet in queſt of the Veſſels, but they were out of Reach; far on Shore, and defended by a large Body.

The King himſelf headed the greateſt Force he could command; and in one Day from Years of Tranquillity, *Britain* was cover'd with Arms, Terror, and Butchery.

The Ships of *Alfred* had ſcarce got back to Port, when a ſecond Fleet of *Daniſh* Veſſels, eighty in number, burſt into the *Thames*.

Theſe were under the Command of *Haeſden*: he drew them up on Shore as the others had done, ſettled his Camp, and built a Fort.

Britain never trembled ſo much as now, nor with ſo great Reaſon. A larger Number of the Enemy then had ever landed before, were enter'd, and under a plainly better Conduct.

The Fortune of *Alfred* ſeem'd alſo to have forſaken him. Two Fleets had come upon his Coaſts, and he had found no Opportunity to engage them.

The *Danes* who now came were not leſs reſolute than the former Parties; and they were better general'd. They reſted to refreſh; and ſettling a Correſpondence with one another, laid down a Plan of Operations to ſubdue the Iſland.

Alfred was griev'd that he had permitted any *Danes* to remain upon the Iſland. 'Twas an Overſight diſcover'd now, that it was too late to be prevented, or indeed remedy'd: all he could do he did: ſuſpecting they would join their Countrymen, he took Oaths and Hoſtages of their Fidelity.

The Remainder of the Year 893, was ſpent on either Side in Preparation. Nothing was done, or even attempted; but every Eye was upon the two Armies, waiting the Fate of *Britain*.

Alfred took the Field early in the Year 894, and by a bold, but happy Reſolution, poſted himſelf between the two *Daniſh* Camps, cutting off all Communication. They were now no longer two Parts of one great Body, but two ſeparate Armies, ſo much the eaſier to be conquer'd as they were perfectly divided.

The King was ſo well poſted that he waited the Attack, prepared for it from which ever Side it ſhould come; and the *Danes* trembling at his Name in either Camp, were long quiet.

No foraging Party of theirs went out, but he ſent a ſuperior Force to attack them, and always beat them back.

Neceſſity brought on an Action about *May*. The *Danes* ſent out a very large Body to plunder, and *Alfred* in Perſon headed a larger Force againſt them. He came up with them near *Farnham*, and the Action growing deſperate, Parties ſucceeded from either Camp till it was in a Manner general. *Alfred* was victorious. The *Danes* fled, and he purſued them ſo cloſe, and with ſo much Fury, that they croſs'd the *Thames* to eſcape him.

The King, content with his Succeſs, return'd to his Camp amidſt the Acclamations of his People; and the *Danes* who had found their Safety in their Flight, encamped themſelves near *Colnbrook*.

Alfred, when he had refreſh'd his Troops, follow'd them: he found their Camp ſo well defended, that he did not attempt to force it; but he ſat down before it to ſtarve 'em.

Alfred had not Power to man his Fleet, and fight the Enemy at Land at once. The *Danes* ſaw this, and they took the Advantage. Thoſe ſettled in *Northumberland*, tho' they had given Hoſtages like the reſt, put out to Sea in a Fleet of a hundred Sail; and coaſting Southward, examin'd where they could do moſt Miſchief.

They landed in *Devonſhire*, plunder'd a great deal of the Country about, and ſat themſelves down before the City of *Exeter* in a regular Siege.

CHAP. XV.

BRITAIN *is involved in different Parts, and exerts herſelf with Vigour.*

THE Struggle was now in many Parts at once: *Haefden* had built a Fort in *Eſſex*, near *Bamfleet*, and thence made his Excurſions for Plunder: there he held his proper Reſidence, there was his Family, and there he always left a ſtrong Garriſon.

Alfred, who ſaw the Danger, ſeem'd to ſlight it, while he made the moſt diligent Preparation againſt it, and devoted himſelf to the moſt fatal Oppoſition.

He called together the Heads of the People of *London*, repreſented the *Danes* at *Exeter* as Traitors, whom he muſt go to chaſtiſe; and *Haefden* as a Robber, whom they need only keep off during his ſhort Abſence, and whom he ſhould reduce to Reaſon at his Return.

"I truſt to your known Valour, ſaid he, parting "from them, and I leave with you a Squadron of "the braveſt of your own People."

Theſe were *Welch*; honeſt, and brave, according to the Character of their Country; patient of Hardſhip, and Enthuſiaſts for Liberty.

Alfred parted amidſt the Acclamations of the People, and his aſſumed Spirit gave them real Courage. They repreſented the Party of *Haefden* to themſelves, not as they were, a powerful and well diſciplin'd Body, but as a Band of Robbers; and they doubted not but the King would find it as eaſy as they believ'd he thought it, to reduce the others.

He march'd with a careful Mind, but an unclouded Countenance; and the Reſpect, nay, Adoration of his Soldiers, promis'd him Succeſs againſt all Odds.

The *Londoners*, of whom the King had expected nothing but the Care of their own Safety, conſider'd nothing more; but the Commander of the *Welch* Squadron entertain'd other Thoughts, and ſoon inſpir'd the reſt to imitate them.

This Hero, whoſe Name Hiſtory, too often treacherous to Virtue, has loſt; propos'd to them to gain themſelves immortal Glory, enrich their Families with Plunder, and ſtrike a noble Blow for their Country's Liberty, at the Expence, as he told them, of ſo little Hazard, that it would ſomething abate the Honour of the Enterprize.

He had repreſented *Haefden*'s Power to himſelf as he had ſeen it pictur'd by the King, and thought they were an Over-match for it: an Opportunity alſo courted him to attempt that now without Danger, which he thought practicable againſt the moſt open Oppoſition.

Haefden took Advantage of the Abſence of *Alfred* with his Forces, to make a great Excurſion. He called out the beſt of his People, and in his Way took the Field; that is, he march'd out with all Conveniencies to bring home the Plunder of thoſe defenceleſs Towns upon which he ſhould fall.

The *Londoners* got Intelligence of his March, and when he was at too great a Diſtance to return againſt them before they had compleated their Deſign, they return'd his own Practices upon his Head; they ſtorm'd his Fort, put all to the Sword except his Wife and two Sons, whom they brought away the only Priſoners; plunder'd and burnt the Place, deſtroy'd his Ships, and return'd loaded with Spoils and Glory.

One Poſt brought *Haefden* the Intelligence of the Attack and the Succeſs. He heard all was loſt: and he encamp'd himſelf where he was; waiting the Event of ſo ſudden and ſo utterly unexpected an Attack.

The *Londoners* own'd the *Welch* had executed as well as propos'd this great Atchievement; for their Commander eager of Glory, led them firſt to the Walls, and left the others nothing to do but enter after them: they loaded them with the Spoils, and ſent a Party of them to the King with *Haefden*'s Family Priſoners.

Alfred had now reach'd *Exeter*, before which the *Danes* lay in a very great Body. He knew the Fate of War, and he ſaw the prodigious Miſchiefs that might attend his loſing an Action; therefore, tho' at leaſt equal in Number, he encamp'd behind them, ſpreading his Force in ſuch a Manner, that they could ſend out no Parties but under his Eye: and he determin'd thus to ſtarve them.

Here he lay when the gallant *Welch* made their Appearance in his Camp. They brought their Priſoners, and made their Offerings of the Spoil. The King accepted only of the Priſoners: and when the Mob expected he would have hang'd them up between the Camps, he ſent them free to *Haefden*.

The Captain of the *Welch* had Commiſſion of this Buſineſs; and tho' the Multitude were violent at firſt for their Deſtruction, they applauded his Reaſons.

"*Haefden*, ſaid he, is criminal: but theſe are in- "nocent. Let us not exaſperate him, becauſe we "have left that Part of our Kingdom ill defended. "If friendly Offices can bind him to Acknowledg- "ment, they ſhall be try'd till we have ended this "Buſineſs, and at our Return we ſhall examine far- "ther into his Conduct."

The Priſoners were deliver'd back to *Haefden*, at a Time when they ſuppos'd them dead; and with them Preſents from *Alfred*, and Deſires of Amity. The Civility came ſo unexpected, and the Embaſſy was ſo properly deliver'd, that it took all the Effect on *Haefden*, a ſavage Heart was capable of feeling it; drew from him Tears of Gratitude, and Promiſes of a peaceful Conduct.

Alfred was pleas'd with the Succeſs of his Negotiation. Tho' he knew it was but a temporary Calm, he hop'd it might laſt till the preſent Buſineſs was diſpatch'd, and he had his Hands at Liberty.

The *Danes* before *Exeter* ſaw *Alfred*'s Deſign, and they ſaw his Power. The Force he commanded did not terrify them, but that he commanded it; againſt any other Leader they would have riſk'd all on one deſperate Effort, but they were too ſenſible of his Courage, his Conduct, and the Affection of his People, to fight him by their own Choice on equal Terms.

They were ſoon ſhorten'd for Proviſion, and the Parties they ſent out to forage were always attack'd, and rarely eſcap'd. The Siege was continu'd, but 'twas not eaſy to underſtand with what Intent on the *Daniſh* Part; for, with a good Garriſon within the Walls, and a large Army behind them, they had no great Hope.

Alfred thought they would be glad to break up the Siege, and go off quietly, and he gave them an Opportunity; opening to them a Path thro' which he knew he could purſue them with Advantage. He expected that a ſtarv'd Multitude would be glad of any Opportunity of eſcaping, but he was diſappointed; they ſtaid, as it appear'd, without Hope, and defying Hunger.

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CHAP. XVI.

Farther Attempts of the Danes, *and Conſiderations on their Succeſſes.*

THE ſecret Reaſon of the *Daniſh* Perſeverance at length appear'd: what few could have gueſs'd, and what even *Alfred* could not ſuſpect ſo early, ſhew'd itſelf.

The *Danes* one Morning at Sun-riſe ſet up an univerſal Shout, and this was the firſt Notice *Alfred* receiv'd of the Approach of *Haeſden* to their Succour: he who had ſo lately received the Lives of his Wife and Children, and had promis'd Friendſhip, led on a Force againſt the Prince to whom he ow'd the Kindneſs, and to whom he had ſworn.

His People cover'd the Face of the Country, and marched forward as if they would give *Alfred* Battle, but his Numbers encreaſed continually, and he was now able to make ſuch a Diſpoſition, as that he could wait the Attack of both without Fear.

His great Care was to prevent all Intelligence between the two Camps, which he happily effected; and the Beſiegers waiting in Famine, and Day after after Day expecting an Action which they ſhould have join'd, though they fear'd to begin, at length deſpair'd.

After they had eat their Horſes, and ſaw nothing but the Sword or Famine for their Chance, they in the Night broke through *Alfred*'s weakeſt Line, and joined the others.

They had now the Reſolution to attack the King's Forces, but unſucceſsfully. After reproaching one another, they fell on in an irregular Manner, and they were beaten back, and purſued till Night with a great Slaughter.

The King loſt many gallant Officers, who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in his Preſence; and a great Number of Men; but the Succeſs was abſolute.

Nothing was heard of the ſcatter'd *Danes* for ſome Time after; and when Notice was brought that they had again form'd a large Body, *Alfred* again attack'd them and routed them.

Thus was *Exeter* relieved; and, as it appeared, the *Daniſh* Force extremely broken; but theſe were Robbers, and their Aim was leſs to fight than to pillage without Oppoſition.

One of their beaten Leaders, who was ſuppoſed to have fled with his Party for Safety, *Laf* was his Name, made his Way for *Cheſter*. He talk'd in high Terms, as he paſſed, of the Wealth and Weakneſs of the City. Theſe were Motives not to be reſiſted by Cowards and Plunderers, and conſequently the *Danes* from all Quarters join'd him; and they took the Town.

This was an Expedition ſo hurried, that there could be no Preparation made againſt it. The City had ſome Strength, the *Danes* fortified themſelves in it, and they were too numerous to be diſlodged by any Force then at Hand. All that could be done was to render the Habitation as unquiet to them as could be, and this was effected by cutting off all Proviſions in the Neighbourhood. This the People did very ſucceſsfully; and Winter approaching they retir'd, leaving the Enemy in Poſſeſſion, but in no Way to do farther Miſchief.

With this Action cloſed the Year 894. Let us here ſtop the Reader a Moment to reflect upon the Accidents of this and the preceding Year; their Cauſes and Conſequences.

There is no Part of antient Hiſtory, from which modern Time may not learn: no Event in the former Story of this Iſland, from which thoſe who have the Care of its Concerns may not reap Admonition.

The Troubles of this Period were owing ſolely to the fatal Error of leaving the Sea open to Enemies. Thoſe who made the greateſt Havock, and threaten'd even the Eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom, came from the Northern Coaſts by Sea, and they were brought in a Fleet, though numerous, yet not for that ſo formidable to *Alfred*, but becauſe he could not oppoſe them in Time.

If we look into the State of the *Britiſh* Navy in this Year 894, we ſhall find it numerous, powerful, and in good Condition, but not mann'd; the Forces at that Time ſerv'd as Soldiers or as Sailors, according to the Exigencies of the State; and *Alfred*, who wanted them on Land againſt one Body of *Danes*, could not at the ſame Time uſe them at Sea againſt another.

Had his Veſſels been mann'd but tolerably, and could the War have been brought to Sea entirely, theſe hundred Ships would have been nothing to his Oppoſition. They would have known his Power too well to face it. Had the *Britiſh* Fleet been equip'd, this Attempt would have been prevented, which it cauſed ſo much Blood to quell. Sailors are a diſtinct Body of Men; they muſt be conſider'd as ſuch, and ſhould be invited into the Service, and engag'd to remain in it by Advantages.

In thoſe early Ages Men could not be had to ſerve; in theſe latter, and better regulated Times, proper Perſons are difficultly obtain'd; and by Meaſures at once diſagreeable to themſelves, and to thoſe whom the neceſſary Service of the Government obliges to uſe them.

Propoſals have been made for regiſtering Seamen, to be ready upon Call on all Occaſions; and whatever Difficulties have been ſtarted againſt this

Meaſure, they may certainly be remov'd at the Expence of leſs Inconvenience than attends the preſent Condition.

Proper Rewards and Favours are the beſt Means to enſure good Sailors. We have ſeen the virtuous and noble Spirit with which many of diſtinguiſh'd Rank have engag'd in the Recruiting of our Land Forces; ſuperſeding Violence by Rewards and favourable Conditions: there is no Reaſon why this ſhould not be in ſome appropriated Manner apply'd alſo to the Sea Service: for which enough would be ready to embrace thoſe Offers.

The preſent Scheme of ſupplying Boys is an Inſtance of Judgment in the Perſon who propos'd, and of the ſame wiſe and generous Spirit in thoſe who contributed to it.

The Way ſeems open'd at length to the manning a *Britiſh* Fleet by Methods becoming *Britiſh* Subjects; ſuch Perſons who would with double Spirit fight for that Country, by which they were ſupported and encourag'd.

Britain in the Days of *Alfred* did not want Men to have occupied her Fleet, but there wanted Encouragement to them to enter. The Country was then poor, but it is now rich; what was impracticable then, would be eaſy now; nor can any other Policy render us ſo terrible to thoſe Enemies, whom only Fear will keep on Terms of Quiet.

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CHAP. XVII.

Alfred protects his People againſt many Attempts of the Enemy.

THE Caution of thoſe who cut off all Proviſion in the Neighbourhood of *Cheſter* was ſucceſsful. The *Danes* who could not be driven out of the Place were ſtarv'd in it, and early in the Year 895 left it to thoſe who choſe to take Poſſeſſion. They had been famiſh'd, and they made the beſt of their Way to the Land of Plenty. They ſometimes divided into many ſmall Parties; ſometimes join'd; according to the Occaſion, and the expected Oppoſition: they ſpread themſelves wherever there was moſt Plunder, and leaſt Danger; and others from different Quarters purſuing the ſame Conduct, *Britain* was a Scene of moſt cruel Maſſacres, and Horror.

A very powerful Body of them came by Sea to the *Eſſex* Coaſt; and ſeizing *Merſey Iſland*, drew up their Veſſels into the *Thames* and *Leigh*, and made towards *London*. They propos'd a formidable Attack upon that rich and populous City, and they prepared for it by calling together all their Friends: they halted at twenty Miles Diſtance, and form'd a Camp: there built a Fortreſs, and thence ſought about the Country for Proviſions.

The *Londoners* had met no ill Fortune for ſome Time: their Succeſs againſt *Haeſden* gave them Courage; they had beat the *Danes* once, and they now determin'd not to wait the Aſſault within their own Walls. They collected a good Force, and took the Field. Their Example gave Spirit to the reſt; and the Remembrance of their late Succeſs gave them great Reſolution: many join'd them; and the King, who could not part with much of his Force to their Aſſiſtance, as he was oblig'd to watch the *Danes* in other Places, ſent them ſome Officers of Experience and Reputation.

The Fortreſs of the *Danes* was on the Banks of the *Leigh*: they had little expected to be attack'd in it, and they gather'd all their Force to meet the Aſſault.

The *Britons* were bold, but they wanted Conduct; they would not be reſtrain'd, or properly form'd, but falling in Confuſion upon a regular and reſolute Body, they ſacrificed themſelves and their Officers. A great Number of them fell on the Spot, and more in the Flight: *Alfred* loſt four excellent Commanders in this Action; and his People loſt much of their Spirit: tho' they were not engag'd in the Diſpute, they heard Wonders of the Fury of the *Danes*: Fame that magnifies every Thing, made them much more formidable than they were; and all the neighbouring People ſought their Safety in Flight: the farther from the *Danes* the farther from Danger.

Alfred fear'd *London* would be deſerted like ſeveral other Towns, and probably had it not been for his Conduct, that would have been the Conſequence. He ſent to the People there Meſſages of Comfort, and Promiſes of immediate Aſſiſtance. He told them their Forces had periſh'd by their own ungovernable Raſhneſs; and that theſe *Danes* no more than thoſe they had ſo often beaten, were Objects of Terror.

He kept them together by this Meſſage, and he made good his Promiſe by poſting himſelf between the City and the Enemy, and protecting the Inhabitants in all their Concerns abroad.

This Action between the *Londoners* and the *Daniſh* Force on the Banks of the *Lee* has been variouſly repreſented, for there are different Accounts of theſe Tranſactions, and they are often contradictory; but it is in moſt Caſes poſſible by comparing them, and conſidering the correſpondent Facts, to come at the Truth.

If our Reader ſhould have met with an Account of this Action in ſome of the modern Writers, who make it ſucceſsful to the *Britons*; this he is to know reſults from copying an Error in *Huntington*: that Author calls the Officers *Daniſh* who fell, and gives the Victory to the other Party; but he is an ill Authority in the Circumſtance. He is ſingle in giving this Event to the Action; and as he contradicts all other Writers, ſo does he all the concomitant Facts.

'Twas now Harveſt. The Fear of the *Danes* kept the Fields unreap'd till *Alfred* interpos'd, he ſent off Parties every Way, and gave his Protection to every Quarter. When it was perceived the *Danes* attempted nothing, the People's Spirit revived; and a Stratagem of *Alfred*'s ſpread an univerſal Confuſion at the ſame Time among the Enemy.

We have obſerv'd that in this Expedition the *Danes* determin'd to make good their Ground, had drawn their Veſſels on Shore. *Alfred* undertook and happily executed a Deſign on theſe, that among many others does a laſting Honour to his Name.

Unperceived by the *Danes* at firſt, and againſt their Oppoſition afterwards, he cut a new Channel for the River, that drew it off from the Place near where their Veſſels lay; and having thus while they poſſeſs'd them cut off the Poſſibility of an Eſcape, by their Means he called in new Forces, and made them ſuppoſe by every Circumſtance and Appearance, he was preparing for a general Attack. They were terrify'd becauſe they knew the Caution as well as the Reſolution of this Sovereign: what he found proper to undertake, they thought it not ſafe to abide; and they decamp'd.

Alfred let them go unmoleſted; and then called in the People of *London*, and the Neighbourhood, who plunder'd and deſtroy'd the Veſſels.

The *Danes*, whom the Terror of their Enemy's Name had driven from their firmeſt Purpoſes, went to the Neighbourhood of *Bridgenorth*, and there erected another Fortreſs. With this ended the Year 896.

CHAP. XVIII.

Naval Preparations of the Enemy in the Year 897, *and of* Alfred's *Gallies.*

ALFRED had in the preceding Year aw'd an Enemy greatly ſuperior to himſelf in Number of Forces; and reſtored Courage to his People. He laid the Plan of conſiderable Operations for this, but they were fruſtrated; partly by the Terrors in the Enemy, and partly by a Viſitation from Heaven: a peſtilential Diſorder carry'd off many of the nobleſt, and moſt ſerviceable of the People.

The *Danes* ſaw this, but they ſuffer'd with the reſt. Some of their beſt Leaders fell by the Diſeaſe, and the Diſpoſition of *Alfred*'s Force, ſurrounded as he ſtood with Calamity, was ſuch, they did not find any Encouragement to attack him.

They had kept his whole Attention now ſo many Years on Land, that they regarded his Fleet as out of Repair. They could not do any Thing conſiderable on Shore, but Robbery and Plunder were their Buſineſs, and they determin'd to attempt it by Sea.

Obſerve, *Britiſh* Reader! the Conſequence of any Neglect; wilful or neceſſary, deſign'd or caſual, in the Naval Force of this Iſland.

The *Danes*, who with their beſt Strength at Sea, before ſought only Opportunities of eluding the Eye of *Alfred*, now ventur'd out in a few Veſſels. They built Gallies of a particular Form, long and ſhallow, capable of carrying a great Number of Men, and yet drawing little Water.

About twelve of theſe Veſſels were built with great Expedition, and mann'd with the moſt deſperate of the *Danes* from *Northumbrian*, and the hardieſt among the *Eaſt Angles*. Theſe ſet out on their uſual Expedition of Murther and Plunder.

Alfred receiv'd Poſt after Poſt from the *Weſt Saxons*, upon whom they fell, and he enter'd on a double Caution. He order'd a Number of Gallies equal to what he heard the Enemy had upon the Sea, to be fitted out; and as he well underſtood the Art of Ship-building, he gave Directions for making them of a Form quite unknown till that Time. They were long like theſe Pirate Veſſels, but taller: there was Proviſion for a vaſt Number of Rowers, ſo that they could move with great Swiftneſs, and they carry'd alſo a very conſiderable Number of Men with Conveniencies, much beyond thoſe before built by others.

Theſe Gallies of *Alfred*'s are famous in Hiſtory, but tho' many have celebrated, few have at all attempted to deſcribe them. Indeed when we conſider the Perplexity that is found in the Accounts of the Gallies of the Antients, though deliver'd by great and famous Authors, we ſhall not wonder that the Structure of *Alfred*'s is not well explained by thoſe inferior Writers who have deliver'd to us the Account of theſe Times.

Not only Books but Medals deceive us with Reſpect to the *Roman* Gallies: they repreſent them with ſeveral Ranges of Rowers placed over one another; a Thing all Mathematicians in Theory have declared to be impoſſible, and all Mechanicks found utterly impracticable.

What we learn from this is, that the Hiſtorians and People of the *Roman* Mint were ignorant of Ship-building. We find the ſame in Reſpect of all who have written concerning the ſame Art in thoſe later Times of which we are here writing; but as this Subject of *Alfred*'s Gallies is ſo much ſpoken of, and of ſo great Importance in tracing the Naval Hiſtory of *Britain*, we have ſpared no Labour; and, as we hope, omitted no Means of Information in the Enquiry. The Reſult is this. That they were Veſſels of great Length; narrow, and not deep. They had thirty-eight Benches of Oars on each Side, and an occaſional Maſt; as it appears by all Accounts, only one; this fitted them for ſailing at Times as well as rowing.

To each Oar there were four Perſons, ſo that each Gally had more than three hundred; and there was a raiſed Deck, on which a conſiderable armed Force could ſtand.

This, with the Conveniencies for the People, were the Contents of the Veſſels. They had a great Benefit in their Length, and in the Number of Rowers; and more ſtill in the Height, which gave the Soldiers an Advantage in uſing their Weapons; and to keep them ſteady with all this Height, and ſo moderate a Draught, they were heavily ballaſted.

This appears to have been the Structure of the famous Gallies of King *Alfred*: an Improvement very early made in the Art of Ship-building; and ſuch as for the intended Service, very much exceeded the Gallies in uſe at this Time.

The Force was fitted out with all poſſible Expedition. *Alfred* had as well as he could defended the Coaſt by his Land Forces in the mean Time, but they were miſerably harraſs'd with Marches and Countermarches.

As ſoon as his Veſſels were ready, he pick'd the proper Number of Men for both Services of rowing and fighting, and himſelf went on board the largeſt Galley.

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CHAP. XIX.

Of the Diſputes of Alfred *and the* Danes *about the Coaſts.*

THE War was now in a manner confin'd to the Sea. *Alfred* left Perſons of Truſt with his Force at Land; and encouraging his People by the Promiſe of Plunder, and the nobler Deſign of defending their Country, he ſet out in Queſt of the Enemy.

He was about equal in Force to the whole Number of the *Danes* employ'd in this Expedition. They had ſcatter'd themſelves into different Parts as Plunder led them; but upon his Appearance with this unexpected Force, they joined and ſtood on their Defence.

The new, and not at all underſtood Form of *Alfred*'s Veſſels led them to their Deſtruction: they ſaw Gallies of a great Height; and judging, by what they knew of Ship-building, that they muſt draw a great deal of Water; they concluded they were fit only for open Sea, and could not be brought near Shore.

The Perſon to whom on this Occaſion the whole Body of *Danes* in the Expedition gave Command, ſeeing them terrify'd at the Approach of the Enemy, propos'd a new Diſpoſition. They bore as cloſe as they could ſafely to the Shore, and he gave Command for all to ſtand ready for Action: he expected *Alfred*'s Veſſels would ſtrike upon the Rocks or Sands in approaching, and that his People would have nothing to do but to kill thoſe who were attempting to eſcape.

In this Prepoſſeſſion were the *Danes* when *Alfred*'s Fleet, himſelf in the firſt Veſſel, bore down upon them with a Rapidity, that in ſo large Ships ſeem'd miraculous. Wherever the Sea could carry their ſmaller Veſſels, it was of Depth for his: this was the great Advantage of the new Method of building them. They came cloſe beſide the Enemy, and fell on with Fury.

The Conſternation and Terror of the *Danes* took away all Reſiſtance. They got away as faſt as they could, but ſo long as Day laſted, there was no Eſcape from *Alfred*'s ſwift, ſteady, and commanding Gallies. His Men fought as it were from Walls and Towers: ſix of their Veſſels were deſtroy'd, and Night ſaved ſix more from the ſame immediate Fate.

Alfred, cautious of what might happen in his Abſence, determin'd to return on Shore. He commiſſion'd the whole Force againſt thoſe which had fled, and himſelf was receiv'd with Acclamations that tore the Heavens on his landing. He was conducted by a People ready to fall down and worſhip him, to *Wincheſter*.

The Veſſels ſent in queſt of the Fugitive Gallies of the *Danes*, came in Sight of them on the Coaſt of *Hampſhire*: they were ſoon up with them, for there was no eſcaping the Purſuit of Veſſels with ſuch a Strength of Rowers.

The *Danes* too, terrify'd to think of Reſiſtance, ran moſt of their Veſſels on Shore and landed. Some of *Alfred*'s Gallies engag'd three, which they kept out at Sea, while others landed their Men to purſue thoſe on Shore.

The deſperate Situation of the *Danes* now landed, gave a double Fury to their Arms; they drew up, and engag'd the Purſuers: the Conflict was on the Shore, and many of the *Britiſh* Party fell; but the Loſs on the Enemy's Side was vaſtly greater, for few eſcap'd.

Night called back the Victors to their Veſſels; and they there found thoſe on the Sea had not been leſs ſucceſsful than themſelves; of the three Veſſels which they kept from landing, two were in their Poſſeſſion; and the other in a miſerable Condition, had eſcap'd in the Duſk of the Evening.

The News of the Succeſs was ſoon brought to *Alfred*. His Subjects met in a tumultuous Triumph; and the King, when the Gallies arriv'd with their Priſoners, appointed a publick Day of ſpeaking to the People.

The Aſſembly was beyond numbering, and Triumph and Attention appear'd mingled in every Face. *Alfred* told them they might now ſleep in Peace, and till their Lands with Safety.

"Thoſe, ſaid he, whom we have driven from Land "to Sea, we have beaten at Sea; we have ſhewn "ourſelves ſuperior to them every Way: and they "will feel it. Their Fear will keep them peaceful. "To confirm that Dread, concluded he, I will, "with your Approbation, make theſe Priſoners an "Example to thoſe who ſhall dare hereafter to diſ"turb the Peace of *Britain*."

The People anſwer'd with a Shout; and *Alfred* telling the Captives he conſider'd them not as Enemies but Pirates, order'd them all to Execution.

He was a Prophet in his Conjectures of ſucceeding Time. His Reign continu'd three Years longer, and during that Period the Iſland had perfect Tranquillity. This Time he employ'd in improving and eſtabliſhing uſeful Arts; and in the Year 900 dy'd full of Glory at the Age of fifty-one, cloſing a bloody Century with Peace and Honour.

THE NAVAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK X.

During the tenth Century.

CHAP. I.

The Succeſſion of Edward, *and the Tranſactions of the two firſt Years of the tenth Century.*

THE Reſpect the People bore to *Alfred* was continued to his Children: the *Britons* join'd the *Saxons* in a Kind of Veneration for his Name; and thought they ſhould continue ſafe while one of his Family reign'd.

Ethelwald an ambitious Youth, Nephew to *Alfred*, claim'd the Crown on his Deceaſe; but the general Voice deteſting ſuch an Uſurpation, placed it with every Mark of Joy upon the Head of *Edward*, his Son.

The Kingdom enjoy'd its Peace only while it enjoy'd *Alfred*: his Death gave Spirit to thoſe Enemies, whom only the Terror of his Name had kept in Quietneſs.

The News of his Deceaſe no ſooner reach'd the Northern Counties, than an Army of *Danes* aſſembled beyond the *Humber*.

Ethelwald threw himſelf with ſome Force into the Town of *Winburne* in *Dorſetſhire*; and the *Kentiſh* Coaſt was terrify'd with Pirate Veſſels.

Theſe were the immediate Conſequences of the Death of *Alfred*; ſo much, ſo great is the Importance of a wiſe and valiant Sovereign.

Nor were theſe all that alarm'd the young *Edward*: *Rollo* a *Dane*, though after call'd a *Norman*, had in the laſt Year of the *Britiſh* Troubles, the third before the Death of *Alfred*, attempted a Deſcent upon the Coaſt. His Deſign had been ſo little ſucceſsful, that he had given it up for the preſent; and turning his Force to *France*, there conquer'd *Normandy*.

It was not ſuppoſed that this adventurous Stranger intended to remain there, though he was at preſent ſettled in the Country; nor did any imagine his Ambition would ſtop at ſo ſmall a Prize. *Britain* had been his original Aim, and thoſe who ſaw fartheſt into his Deſigns made no Scruple of affirming, that he was but ſtrengthning himſelf there for a new and general Attack.

Under theſe Difficulties, and ſurrounded with theſe Enemies foreign and domeſtick, *Edward the Elder* began his Reign. He had ſome Portion of the Spirit of his Father; and he had the Aſſiſtance of thoſe Counſellors grown grey in his Father's Service; who now return'd to the Son what they had learn'd from him.

The foreign Enemy, as more remote, was leſs conſider'd. The Uſurper was the firſt Concern, and the next the *Daniſh* Forces. *Ethelwald* then at *Winburn* received Offers of Pardon, Promiſes of Favour, and an Invitation to join his Couſin's Fortune. His Anſwer was, "In this Place I will be acknowledged "King, or die."

'Twas with Reluctance *Edward* began his Reign with Civil War; but this could not be borne. Some Forces were order'd to inveſt the Place, and the King in Perſon propoſed to follow with a larger Body.

Thoſe who ſupported *Ethelwald* were a few diſcontented Nobles: they dreaded the Preparation they ſaw making againſt him; they perceiv'd the Hearts of the People were with *Edward*; and they made their Peace with him.

Ethelwald on this thought proper to alter his Reſolution, and decamping in the Night he join'd the *Danes*, who were beyond the *Humber*, before any knew what was become of him.

Edward hearing of *Ethelwald*'s Abſence, with no Account whither he was gone, continued his March to *Winburne*. He found there his Wife, forced ſome little Time before from a Religious Houſe; and on her complaining of the Violence, and entreating to be reſtored to that holy Life, he ſent her thither honourably. From her he firſt learn'd what was ſoon afterwards confirmed on all Hands, that he had join'd the *Danes*; ſolliciting the Enemies of his Country to place him on its Throne.

Two Enemies were now united, and the Purpoſe was to attack them. While Preparations were making for this End, the Pirates of the *Daniſh* Parts knowing there was no more an *Alfred* to oppoſe them, appear'd upon the Seas: they fell upon the Coaſt of *Kent*; and *Edward* found his Father's Gallies grown unfit for Service.

Here is one of thoſe repeated Inſtances of the fatal Conſequences of ſuffering the Fleets of this Iſland to be out of Order. The *Danes* who would have fled but at the Sight of a ſingle Galley, fortify'd by their Intelligence that none could come againſt them, brav'd the Seas, landed in ſeveral Places, and pillag'd and murther'd wherever they came.

Edward was preparing for an Expedition againſt the main Body of thoſe beyond the *Humber*, but he did not neglect this Part of his Kingdom; he exhorted the People to rouſe for their own Defence, and ſent them ſome Troops, and ſeveral Officers. The Number of Forces he ſent into *Kent* was ſmall, but the Officers were of great Service.

The ill Succeſs of the *Londoners* when they diſobey'd Command in the Attack of the *Danes*, ſome Years before on the Banks of the *Lee*, ſtood as a terrible Warning, and had now great Uſe. The People came in by Multitudes, the Officers form'd them into regular Diviſions, and they fell upon the *Danes*, who were carrying off a large Booty. The Action was ſo ſucceſsful, that all the Plunder was recover'd, and very few of the *Danes* eſcaped.

Edward march'd towards the *Humber*; but the Number of his Forces diſperſed the *Danes* without an Action. They were alarm'd at the Defeat in *Kent*, and thought themſelves no Match for the King, whoſe Strength encreaſed every Day, and whoſe Subjects hated them to Deſtruction: they ſaw little Chance of Conqueſt; and the Fate of the Pirates was before them. They deſerted *Ethelwald*, and diſperſed themſelves in the Country allow'd to them by former Treaty, promiſing to give the *Britons* no more Diſturbance.

Thus *Edward*, who aſcended the Throne amidſt many threatning Chances, ſaw himſelf in two Years well eſtabliſh'd upon it; and as he now heard nothing of the bold Competitor for his Crown, he promiſed himſelf Peace in every Quarter.

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CHAP. II.

Of the Neglect of the Naval Power in this Reign, and its Conſequences.

EDward had before him the Proſpect of a Reign of Peace: powerful, beloved, and feared; he had nothing to do more than to keep up thoſe Characters. No Blame lies upon his Conduct reſpecting his Subjects, for he continued deep rooted in their Affection; but that Neglect, ſo often fatal to his Anceſtors, the letting the Naval Force fall to Decay, in a few Years entail'd miſerable Troubles, Loſs and Slaughter on his Country.

The *Danes* confeſſed themſelves afraid of him by Land: what then remained but to keep up a Power at Sea. A great one was not required; for they would not undertake any Thing more againſt a moderate Oppoſition; but it had now been ſeen, by the Events of many Centuries, that the Naval Power of *Britain* was never neglected, but her Seas ſwarm'd with Pirates.

It happen'd ſo now, and added to the Loſs of many Subjects, and the miſerable Diſturbance of the publick Quiet, the Sovereign incur'd ſome Danger of his Crown.

In the Beginning of the Year 905, a Number of *Daniſh* Veſſels hover'd about the Coaſts. The People were terrify'd; they deſerted their Dwellings, and thoſe who had more Reſolution, fell Sacrifices to it where theſe Plunderers landed.

Ethelwald, now for three Years unheard of, commanded this Fleet, which had been furniſhed him by the *Northumbrians*. Their Depredations were terrible, but theſe appear'd only a Part of their Intent. They bore to the Coaſts of the *Eaſt Angles*; where *Ethelwald* proclaiming again his imaginary Title to the Crown, induced the People to join him.

The *Danes* there reſorted to his Banners, and he led them croſs the *Thames* into the King's Territories, where they plunder'd, maſſacred and burnt all they reach'd; and after an Excurſion of about twelve Days return'd loaded with Spoils.

The Kingdoms of the *Mercians* and *Eaſt Angles* were at that Time divided by the Dike called the *Devil's Ditch*. This was the Quarter openeſt to Attack, and thither *Edward* march'd at the Head of a conſiderable Force.

It was not his Intent to come to an Action with the Enemy, but to make Repriſals. He burnt and deſtroy'd their Towns as they had done his, and gave his Soldiers the Plunder.

Though *Edward* did not intend to attack the Enemy, they watch'd his Motions at a Diſtance: he knew it was not unlikely he ſhould be attacked; and he prepared for a general Action, if it ſhould come unſought. His great Care ſhould have been to keep his whole Force together.

The *Danes* by ſome Stratagem ſeparated his Army, and while a conſiderable Part of it was too remote to join him, fell upon the Body he commanded, in good Order, and with great Reſolution. *Edward* had expected this might happen, and every one was upon his Poſt. The *Danes* were ſuperior in Number, but the determinate Reſolution of Conqueſt or Deſtruction ſeem'd equal on either Part.

The Action laſted from Noon to Sun-ſet. In this Time *Ethelwald* fell by the Hand of *Edward*, and *Eric* the *Daniſh* King by that of Earl *Sigelm*, who alſo periſh'd in the Fight. The Loſs on either Side was great: each Party probably by Compact buried their Dead; and the Deſtruction was ſo felt on the *Daniſh* Part, that there was Peace two Years, without any other Motive than the Terror of ſuch another Action.

Edward, though he had paid dear for the Advantage, yet had got rid of a Rival; and he was in no Condition to wake the ſleeping Lion.

In the Year 907, Preparations began to be made by Sea, principally on the Part of the *Danes*, and *Edward* raiſed new Forces. What unfortunate ill Policy it was that ſway'd him to continue negligent of the Kingdom's natural Defence is not eaſy to ſay, but he neglected it: the different Preparations went on briſkly, and they ſeem'd intended rather to return Injuries with other Injuries, than to diſpute the Maſtery.

This had been the Conduct of the King in his Excurſions into the Country of the *Eaſt Angles*, and this was the Intent now: the Innocent of both Parties trembled, and ſo earneſt Mediation was made, that at length all the Preparations ſtop'd, and a Peace was concluded between King *Edward* and the *Danes*, eſtabliſh'd by former Compact in his Kingdoms.

The *Danes* kept this Treaty tolerably the firſt and ſecond Year, but in the third their old Spirit of Robbery and Plunder appear'd again: this was their Baſeneſs, and Murther their Delight. The King ſaw it: he repented the Peace he had made; he declared it broken on their Part, therefore void on his; and he enter'd their Territories beyond the *Humber* with a powerful Army, waſting and ravaging all before him.

Five Weeks were paſs'd in this bloody Buſineſs; and at the End of that Time *Edward*, thinking he had enough reveng'd their Violation of the Treaty, told them if they were now ſatisfy'd, and would make a firmer Peace, he would agree to it, becauſe he expected that when they ſaw how he return'd their Breach of the former, they would keep it.

The *Danes* return'd no Anſwer: and *Edward* willing to ſheath the Sword, and ſuppoſing he had terrified them from farther Inſolence, march'd back with Honour.

CHAP. III.

The Navy becomes the Care of Edward.

THE next Year 911 ſhew'd the Deſigns of thoſe ſullen *Danes* who had not condeſcended to anſwer *Edward*. They prepared a conſiderable Land Force to enter the neareſt Territories under his Dominion, and ſeeing how defenceleſs the Neglect of the *Britiſh* Navy had left all the Coaſt, they order'd Veſſels in great Numbers to be fitted out, and vainly and fooliſhly threaten'd thoſe they intended to attack.

Addreſſes, Petitions, Complaints, and even Remonſtrances came daily to *Edward* from the Sea-Coaſt Counties: they expected nothing but Deſtruction, and they were ready to yield themſelves to the *Danes* who threaten'd them, to eſcape ſure Deſtruction.

Edward was at length awaken'd by their earneſt and ſenſible Applications. He found that no Army could protect his ſeveral Coaſts againſt an Enemy who kept the Seas, and landed only where there was no Oppoſition. He ſent back the moſt gentle and ſatisfactory Anſwers, and he immediately ſet about preparing a Naval Force.

The Veſſels of *Alfred* were in his Poſſeſſion, and tho' by no Means in a Condition to bear the Seas as they were, 'twas a much ſhorter Work to repair the beſt of them, than it would have been to build others.

The Gallies, the laſt Naval Structures of that Sovereign, and the moſt terrible to this Enemy, were eaſieſt of Repair, they were got out firſt; and what with the vaſt Number of Hands, and the Spirit and Earneſtneſs with which they work'd, toward the Middle of the Summer in the Year 911, ſo many of the reſt were repair'd, refitted, or one Way or other got in Order, that about eighty of them put to Sea well mann'd, and led by the long Gallies.

The *Danes* who had intended an Expedition of Importance had prepared accordingly, and this had taken Time; their Fleet was ready to put to Sea: but it never did ſo; for the unexpected Force of *Edward*'s cruiſing in Sight, frighted them into Quietneſs.

Such Cowards were thoſe People, that they never faced an Oppoſition they could avoid. While *Edward*'s Fleets commanded the Seas, and protected all the Coaſts; they form'd a new Deſign on Shore. They thought all his Strength was there; and they join'd all theirs that was intended for the Sea, to that deſtin'd to the Land Expedition.

This became now a very formidable Thing. The King could not be preſent to oppoſe them, but he deputed truſty Officers and a large Force; himſelf guarding the Coaſts, leaſt this ſhould have been only a Feint to draw him off, that they might purſue what he knew to be their Original Deſign.

The *Danes* were now in *Mercia*, returning upon the Subjects of *Edward*, the Miſeries he had brought amongſt theirs the Year before.

The *Britiſh* Forces advanced to them in good Order; and the Enemy, happy that the King was not there, did not avoid them. They engag'd near *Tetnal*, in *Staffordſhire*; and after a bloody Conflict the *Danes* were beaten.

The Summer was now far gone: *Edward* had kept the Enemy from the Coaſts, and his Army had obtain'd a compleat Victory over them by Land; but they were not to be aw'd to Peace by their Loſſes, while they retain'd any where the Power or Means of doing Miſchief, or of getting Plunder. They conſider'd themſelves as Strangers eſtabliſh'd by Force among Enemies, where they were to live by

War; and in their whole Courſe of Action never deviated from that Principle.

The King's Army was no ſooner drawn away than they began Hoſtilities in many Places, and their principal Body paſs'd the *Severn* into *Edward*'s Territories. The Cries of his Subjects brought him quickly to their Aſſiſtance.

'Twas not a Seaſon now for the *Daniſh* Veſſels to come out, he left his own under good Regulation; and ſending the lighter Part of his Forces toward this Body of Plunderers, follow'd with the Remainder. He came up with them as they were returning Homeward, and falling upon them with a Force vaſtly ſuperior, ſlaughter'd rather than fought them.

This was a great Blow to the *Daniſh* Power. They loſt their Sovereign, and the Remains of their beſt Officers.

Two ſuch Advantages were not eaſily to be forgot on one Side, or recover'd on the other: the Event was an univerſal Terror among the *Danes*; and an univerſal Spirit among the *Britons*. They ſaw the Fleet of *Edward* terrible at Sea, and his Arms victorious at Land: they conceiv'd Hopes of utterly rooting out their Enemies; and the Deſpondence of the *Danes* ſeem'd to preſage it no leſs than their own Succeſſes. They remain'd in abject Quietneſs while *Edward* every where increaſed his Territories.

In the Year 912, *London* and *Oxford*, which he had given with his Daughter to a Duke of *Mercia*, devolved into his Hands again; and in 913, encamping in *Eſſex*, a great deal of the neighbouring Country before in Subjection to the *Danes*, courted his Protection.

This was the Courſe of his Succeſs; unruffled with any Attempt of the *Danes* till the Year 917: they then fell in different Parties upon *Oxfordſhire* and *Hertfordſhire*, taking the Opportunity of attacking thoſe Parts where there was leaſt Force left.

In *Oxfordſhire* they committed great Ravages with all their accuſtom'd Cruelties, and the Inhabitants only fled before them; but in *Hertfordſhire* the Country People ſeeing no other Force near, and their Enemies not very numerous, roſe upon them, and beat them in a fair Battle.

The ſame Succeſs attended every Diſpute, in which the ſmalleſt Party of the *Britons* engag'd; for the Enemy preſum'd only upon the Terror of their Name, and were overthrown by their Reſiſtance wherever they had Spirit to make any.

While the Country People were in different Places beating the Parties that came againſt them, the King's Forces were making Repriſals: they took many Towns from the Enemy, and advanced apace in the Project of their utter Extirpation.

CHAP. IV.

Succeſſes of the Britons *againſt new Bodies of the* Danes.

THE Reader who weighs the Cauſes and Events of Things, will perceive that the true Source of *Edward*'s Succeſs againſt his Enemies for theſe ſeveral ſucceeding Years, was his awing them at Sea while he beat them at Land.

The Navy of *Britain* which might have prevented the firſt landing of theſe Ruffians, now gave a Proſpect of deſtroying or utterly driving them off again: we have ſeen the Conſequences of its being kept up, and we ſhall ſee here the Effects of but a little while ſuffering it to be neglected.

Edward ſeeing the Spirit of the People, and conſidering the Succeſs his Soldiers had met with in their late Engagements, conceiv'd a ſtrong Hope of freeing himſelf entirely from theſe hateful Viſitants: to this Purpoſe he bent all his Attention to the augmenting his Land Forces, and informing the Country People in general in the Uſe of Arms.

He animated them againſt a diſhearten'd Enemy whom he ſaw afraid to undertake any Thing; and he declared his Scheme of diveſting them one by one, of all the Towns and Fortreſſes they held in *Britain*.

Neither his Funds, nor any occaſional Reſources then devis'd, cou'd vigorouſly increaſe an Army, and fit out a Fleet at the ſame Time: it had been the Misfortune of *Edward*'s Predeceſſors to loſe Ground often in the one, while they were careful of the other; and that through the Neceſſity rather than Choice.

He regarded this the leſs becauſe he ſaw the *Danes* too low to attempt any Thing even at Land, much leſs likely to be troubleſome at Sea. He conſider'd them as ſtudying their Defence and Safety only, and he therefore let his Navy lie unheeded. This was unlucky, the more becauſe ſome of the Veſſels lately in Uſe might have been kept up at a ſmall Charge.

Edward was not miſtaken in the Opinion he entertain'd, of the *Danes* in *Britain*, but he was unmindful of another great Concern, that there were others who might come upon him from Abroad. Againſt theſe a Navy was the proper Security; and *England* lies ſo naturally expos'd to ſuch, that a Naval Power ſhould always be in Readineſs.

The Year 918 commenced with every favourable Proſpect to the King. He ſaw himſelf at the Head of a very conſiderable Force, and he began by ſlow and prudent Meaſures, to poſſeſs himſelf of many of the *Daniſh* Towns; ſome by Force, and others by the free Submiſſion of the Inhabitants.

In the Courſe of theſe Succeſſes he was alarm'd with the News of a *Daniſh* Fleet upon the Seas. He eaſily conceiv'd theſe could not be Veſſels of the *Danes* in *Britain*, and he ſaw too late the Error of not being provided againſt a new Invaſion.

The News grew more alarming every Day: freſh Notices were brought from time to time of their hovering upon various Parts of the Coaſt; at length, that they were enter'd the Mouth of *Severn*. Here they landed in different Parties, deſtroying all before them. They pillag'd the *Welch* Coaſt, and

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a great Part of *Herefordſhire*; and embolden'd by their Succeſſes, were advancing daily farther.

Theſe Veſſels came under the Conduct of two *Daniſh* Chiefs, Brothers: their Names *Otta*, or as ſome write it, *Otter*, and *Roald*. The *Danes* in *Britain* had invited them, and they came determin'd to ſupport their Countrymen, and to eſtabliſh themſelves.

The King march'd his whole Force againſt them.

The Name of an Army coming to their Redreſs, gave Spirit to the People of the pillag'd Counties: they got together in a large Body; and ſeeing themſelves ſuperior in Number to their Enemies, they anticipated the Fate they would have met from *Edward*, by falling upon them themſelves. They were not to be reſiſted, tho' the *Danes* were reſolute to keep their Ground: many fell on both Sides, but at length the Fortune of the Day was wholly with the *Britons*; *Roald* was killed upon the Spot, and *Otta* led off the Remains of his Force by a careful Retreat into an adjacent Wood.

Night ſtop'd the Purſuit; but the *Britons* ſurrounded the Foreſt, and determin'd to prevent their Eſcape: their Demand was to ſurrender at Diſcretion, but this being abſolutely refuſ'd on the *Daniſh* Part, the Terms were a little moderated: they engag'd themſelves immediately to depart, and gave their beſt People Hoſtages for the Performance.

The King came up after the Engagement, and ratify'd the Conditions. The *Danes* betook them to their Ships; and 'twas ſuppos'd would return according to Compact: but they were no ſooner free than they declared their Engagement void; they hover'd upon the neighbouring Coaſt creating a continual Terror.

Edward, who ſaw ſo poor a Force at Sea keep his whole Kingdom in Awe wherever it came, repented deeply of his Error in neglecting the Means of oppoſing them, or deſtroying them there. He gave Orders for the getting Veſſels ready; but as that muſt be a Work of Time, himſelf and his Army were harraſs'd with continual Marches to keep in Sight of them, and protect the threaten'd Coaſts.

His Numbers were much too great for them to face, ſo that they never attempted landing againſt his Oppoſition; but they kept about the Coaſts during the Remainder of the Summer, taking every Opportunity of a dark Night, and any little Diſtance from the Army, which they could make by an Evening's Sail, to land and ſack ſome defenceleſs Village, carrying off the Plunder, and giving the King's Forces Notice of their Succeſs by the Flames.

Thus a few paltry Veſſels, mann'd with a poor Remainder of beaten Cowards, were able to alarm and moleſt a whole Kingdom four Months; committing the worſt Outrages, and going off with Impunity in the Face of an Army able to have beat twenty Times their Number. They were in ſo weak a Condition for Defence at Sea, that a twentieth Part of the Naval Force employ'd by the Iſland on many preceding Occaſions, would have been able to have ſunk them in a few Hours.

Toward Winter they return'd, having indeed done no Service to their Countrymen, but deſtroy'd many of the *Britons*, and carry'd off ſome Plunder from the pillag'd Towns.

The whole Tranſaction was very little to their Advantage. They were repuls'd in ſome of their Night Expeditions with Loſs; and in others where they were more ſucceſsful, they ſtill left ſome dead behind them: Part of them made an Attempt upon the Coaſt of *Ireland* before their Return, but the Seaſon was too far advanc'd; and the *Iriſh* were too poor and too deſperate to ſuffer much Loſs, or to periſh with Impunity.

CHAP. V.

The Danes *are diſhearten'd at the ill Succeſs of their Countrymen.*

THE King repeated his Orders of refitting ſome Veſſels for Service againſt the enſuing Seaſon; but his great Attention was employ'd upon ſtrengthening his Army, ſo that he might puſh with new Vigour his great Deſign of reducing the whole Iſland to his Obedience.

He went to *Buckingham* with all his Forces, built Forts there; ſtrengthen'd the Town; and by various Meaſures, without any abſolute Violence, he ſo intimidated the *Danes* in the neighbouring Country, that *Turkitel*, Commander in Chief of their Powers in the neareſt Provinces, came and offer'd his Submiſſion, with that of all thoſe who follow'd him.

The King received him favourably, and promiſed him upon Conditions, a peaceful Poſſeſſion of the Country then in his Power, provided no Outrages were committed by his People; but he told him at the ſame Time, "That he had determin'd to be "Sovereign of the whole; and that he believ'd the "Conditions he ſhould allow the *Danes* who choſe "to remain upon it, would be ſuch as would not "tempt a Man of his Spirit to ſtay."

The Words were pronounced with Reſolution, but with Temper: *Turkitel* ſaw the Chance himſelf and all the *Danes* in *Britain* ſtood; and the News ſpread among them: early in the Year 919, *Edward* took Poſſeſſion of *Bedford*, the principal Town in *Turkitel*'s Juriſdiction; and ſo convinced him, and the reſt, of his determin'd, tho' moderated Conduct, that they deſir'd Permiſſion to depart the Kingdom. They receiv'd the King's free Leave, and they went off for *France*.

The Conduct of this principal Body ſpread among the reſt; and they began to ſee their Condition. The King was too powerful for them; and they knew they were univerſally hated; they were Robbers, and they were conſider'd as ſuch; and they could not recollect their frequent Cruelties againſt the *Britons*, without deſpairing of Mercy when in their Power.

Their Deſpondence took away all Thoughts of Outrage, or of Reſiſtance: *Edward* travers'd the ſeveral Parts of his Kingdom with a powerful Army; and wherever he came ſtrengthened his Fortreſſes, and extended his Dominions.

In 921 he rebuilt *Torceſter*, fortify'd that and many other Places, and carry'd all with a high Hand before him.

The *Danes* ſaw it long with Patience, the Child of Fear; but they at length perceiv'd the Criſis of their Fate approaching; and Neceſſity giving them Courage, or gathering Reſolution from Deſpair, they began to think of ſome Oppoſition.

Torceſter ſtood in the very Confines of one of their moſt powerful Provinces: they were reduced to the Choice of diſputing it, or being aw'd by it. They reſolv'd to make an Effort againſt the common Danger; and waiting *Edward*'s Abſence, and collecting their whole Force, they ſat down before it, determin'd to take it or periſh.

The King was too far off to come Time enough to the Aſſiſtance of the beſieg'd, and on this the *Danes* depended; but they found Enemies enough without him: the whole Country roſe upon them; and their Fear reviving at the Sight, they drop'd their furious Reſolutions, and decamp'd by Night.

Their Terror gave the *Britons* more Spirit: they had only gather'd to relieve the Beſieg'd, but they now turn'd upon the Beſiegers. They follow'd them in the Morning, they came up with them between the Foreſt of *Bernwood* and *Aiſbury*, and fell upon them with Fury.

The *Danes* maintain'd a running Fight till Evening, in which they loſt many of their Men, and almoſt all their Baggage.

The ſucceeding Night they ſeparated, and got as well as they could into their own Provinces; but it is probable not a third Part of thoſe who came before *Torceſter* ever got back.

The *Danes* of *Huntington* join'd with others of deſperate Fortune, form'd next a Deſign upon *Bedford*, a Town *Edward* had newly fortify'd: they built a Fortreſs at *Temsford* as a preparatory Step; and tho' they ſet about this with more Caution and Preparation than that of *Torceſter*, they ſhared a like Fate. All the Kingdom was poſſeſs'd of one Spirit againſt them: Hatred and Contempt reign'd in every Boſom. The *Britons* thought every Thing in their Power, and nothing too bad for ſuch Enemies.

The Garriſon *Edward* had left in *Bedford* made a bold Sally upon the Beſiegers, and they were ſupported by People voluntarily collected for that Purpoſe: many of the *Danes* fell, and the reſt diſpers'd and eſcap'd as ſecretly as they could.

The ſame Year was diſtinguiſh'd by many more Attempts of the ſame Kind, and all unſucceſsful. The *Danes* ſometimes deſtroy'd a few ſcatter'd People, and ſometimes drove away Cattle, but nothing more; and rarely this: much oftener the End was Loſs of every Kind.

During theſe Tranſactions *Edward* return'd into that Part of his Dominions where they had been encourag'd by his Abſence to be ſo troubleſome. He repreſented to the People that their new Fortreſs at *Temsford* was built with the ſole View of ſupporting their Excurſions into the Neighbourhood; and amidſt their loud Acclamations, he determin'd to level it with the Ground.

A Meſſage was diſpatch'd to the *Danes* in this Place, demanding it ſhould be demoliſh'd, and inſiſting on their inſtantly quiting it. There were at that Time no leſs than a *Daniſh* Sovereign and his Family, with many of the principal People of their Country in the Place.

Their Anſwer was, "They would defend it to "the laſt Drop of all their Bloods; and that if it "were attack'd, the King muſt take Notice they "ſhould neither give nor accept Quarter."

Edward took it the next Day by Aſſault, and all that were in it periſh'd.

The King's Example in one Part of the Iſland animated his Subjects in others. *Colcheſter* was at this Time a Place of great Strength in the Hands of the *Danes*, the People of *Kent* and *Eſſex* ſat down before it; took it after a reſolute Defence; and gave no Quarter.

The *Danes* of the neighbouring Provinces roſe in the Defence of *Colcheſter*. The Beſiegers had Notice of their March, and made their deſperate and ſucceſsful Aſſault before they could arrive. They in Revenge beſieg'd *Malden*, and hung out their bloody Flag. The Inhabitants were doom'd to Deſtruction in return for thoſe ſlain at *Colcheſter*.

The victorious Army of *Kentiſh* and *Eſſex* Men march'd up to the Trenches of the Beſiegers, fought them with little Regularity but with great Fury, and rais'd the Siege.

The People of *Malden* ſally'd at the ſame Time, and the *Danes* left ſome Thouſands upon the Field.

Edward with his main Body now came up; and the *Danes* were humbled and ſubmitted.

The Year 621 was glorious to this Sovereign. While he was ſtrengthening *Torceſter*, *Thurfert*, an Earl and Commander of a numerous Body of *Danes* voluntarily ſubmitted; and before the End of the Summer, the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Angles*, and the *Danes* of all the neighbouring Provinces, took an Oath of Allegiance and Submiſſion both by Sea and Land.

The laſt Submiſſion was that of a conſiderable Army of *Danes* at *Grantbrig*, from whom the King took the ſame Oath. With this ended the Campaign of that Year; and *Edward*'s Soldiers, perfectly at Eaſe from further Apprehenſions from theſe Enemies, deſired to be diſmiſs'd to follow their peaceful Occupations.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Farther ſucceſsful Enterprizes of Edward *to his Death.*

THE King opened the Summer of the Year 922 with a March to *Stamford*, where he built a Fortreſs, and demanded and received the Submiſſion of the neighbouring *Danes*.

The Death of *Elfled*, Daughter of *Edward*, on whom he had beſtowed a great Part of the Kingdom, and who had very nobly preſerved it from the *Daniſh* Incurſions, now reſtored it to him again.

North Wales ſubmitted to him this Year, and all the Kingdom of *Mercia*, for Part of it was inhabited by *Danes*, who now choſe Subjection to the common Sovereign.

From theſe Places *Edward* marched Northward, repaired many Cities, ſubjected ſeveral more Provinces, and at the End of his Expedition that Way received the Homage of the *Scotiſh* King. This was in Conſequence of a bloody Battle, in which *Edward* with an inferior Number beat the *Scots*, *Northumbrians* and *Danes*, who had made a general Effort to oppoſe him.

Athelſtan his Son diſtinguiſh'd himſelf nobly in this Action; in which a great Number of the Flower of the *Scotiſh* Nobility fell, and *Malcolm*, Captain General, and adopted Heir to the Crown, found it difficult to eſcape, with a poor Remainder of his Army.

In the two ſucceeding Years many other Provinces were ſubdued to the King, and every where the *Danes* ſubmitted, or fell in their Oppoſition.

In the Year 925, *Edward*, having atchieved the great End of reducing the whole Iſland under one Sovereign, died full of Glory, and crown'd with the Applauſes of his People.

He was buried with every Mark of Pomp and funeral Solemnity at *Wincheſter*; and, by the unanimous Deſire of his Subjects, near the Bones of his great Father *Alfred*.

Such Senſe of Virtue was there at that Time in *Britons*: they entertained ſo high an Idea of the Virtues of that great and good King, they thought this the higheſt Honour that could be paid to one they almoſt idolized.

It is a glorious Part of *Edward*'s Character, that of all the Sovereigns of that Line, he made the greateſt Conqueſts with the leaſt Expence of Blood: *Britain*, tho' the Scene of War laſted during his whole Reign, yet continually encreaſed in Civil Arts, and in every Mark and every Memorial of them. Cities roſe; and Lands were cultivated, as in the Times of profound Peace.

The Iſland, tho' in the laſt Year of his Reign entirely under his Sovereignty, yet was divided into petty Provinces, and govern'd under that Diviſion by petty Kings, ſubordinate to him.

In this Condition he left it to his eldeſt Son *Ethelwerd*, a Prince of a peaceful Diſpoſition, who died in a few Days after. We do not read of Poiſon, but it appears ſomewhat ſuſpicious.

Athelſtan was next in the Succeſſion, a General and a Prince of great Name and Expectation, honour'd by his Father, and reverenced by the People. All put together, the Accident had a black Aſpect.

If there lie any Charge againſt the Adminiſtration of *Edward*, it is the not ſufficiently regarding the great Concern of *Britain*, its naval Power.

We have ſeen him in the Beginning of his Reign harraſſed by poor Oppoſitions at Sea, while he commanded every Thing at Land: in the End he was ſucceſsful, and had the Satisfaction and Glory of reducing the whole Iſle to his Obedience; but we ſhall ſee in the ſucceeding Years that altho' he could not have left the Kingdom more entire, he might have bequeathed it much more ſecure to his Succeſſors. *Britain* might be reduced by a Land Force from all internal Diſſentions, but foreign Enemies could only be kept off by its Force at Sea.

CHAP. VII.

The Danes *in the Reign of* Athelſtan *begin to renew Hoſtilities.*

ATHelſtan, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo greatly in the Engagement with the *Scots* and their Allies, ſucceeded to the Throne of *Britain* in the Year 926.

Edward had left ſeveral other legitimate Sons, and this was a Baſtard; but the Succeſſion was interrupted in his Favour. 'Tis ſuſpicious that he who cou'd have Intereſt to carry this Point, had uſed undue Practices in the other; but he was favoured by the People, and he aſcended the Throne amidſt their Acclamations.

A Plot againſt him is named by *Malmſbury*, and from him by others of more Faith than Judgment; but it ſeems to have been a Contrivance to get out of the Way a Competitor, *Alfred*, whom it was not eaſy on any other Terms to manage.

A Story was invented, that a Deſign was formed againſt *Athelſtan*, to ſeize him and put out his Eyes. This had an excellent Effect for him: the People ſwallowed the Bait; *Athelſtan* was pity'd; his Virtues were ſounded doubly; and nothing was fit Atonement for his Wrongs, but giving him the Crown.

The young *Alfred* in vain declared his utter Ignorance of any ſuch Deſign: he was ſent to *Rome* to aſſert his Innocence before the Pope: and he there died ſuddenly. The Story ſays, he was taken ill at the Altar, and died three Days after. People then thought it a Judgment from Heaven upon his Perjury and former Guilt: the Reader now will perhaps think otherwiſe.

Early Hiſtorians have not given an expreſs Account of the Particulars of this great Tranſaction; nor have thoſe of later Time ſufficiently conſider'd what they have left.

Taking the whole together, *Athelſtan* muſt ſtand ſuſpected of much Treachery and Blood in his Way to the Crown: however he receiv'd it with a tumultuous Acclamation of the People from the Hand of *Anſelm*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The *Danes* knew every Sovereign could not be an *Edward* or an *Alfred*: they were convinced of the perſonal Courage of *Athelſtan*, but that they knew was the leaſt Article in the Concern.

Wiſdom had joined Valour in thoſe envied Characters, and their People's Love had given them at length what no other King had attained. They ſaw the Joy at this Coronation, but they knew the Fickleneſs of popular Opinion too well to form any ſettled Expectations from it. They held Aſſemblies, and they took Reſolutions to act in Concert. Inſurrections in different Parts they knew would be the moſt effectual Method of gaining Succeſs in each; and upon their determin'd Council, *Inguald* one of their Kings made himſelf Maſter of *York*, and *Sitric* another of them took *Davenport* in *Cheſhire*.

Athelſtan ſaw an ill Proſpect before him, and he took an unexpected Method of ſecuring himſelf from Danger.

The Succeſſor of that *Edward*, who had ſubdued the *Danes* by his Sword, gave his Siſter in Marriage to one who had again uſurped an Independency. The People ſaw this Meaſure with Aſtoniſhment, but the Event reconciled them to it.

Sitric died in a few Months after his Marriage: we are not told the Particulars, but this alſo looks ſuſpicious; and his two Sons who jointly inherited the Province, were driven out by *Athelſtan* ſoon after. He doubted his Succeſs againſt the experienced Father, but he diſputed with his young Sons: no Ties of Blood with-held him, for they were Children of another Marriage.

In the Year 927, the ſecond of *Athelſtan*'s Reign, ſome Errors in his own Conduct, and the Virtues of *Edwin*, the next legitimate Son of *Edward*, gave the People Thoughts of depoſing their Sovereign, whom they found a Tyrant, and therefore remember'd to be an Uſurper.

Athelſtan ſaw the gathering Storm, and prepared againſt it with that cruel Cunning, which is ſuppos'd to have reign'd in too many of his Actions. He had pretended to love his Brothers with the moſt tender Affection: there were thoſe at that Time who were deceived with the Shew; and there are thoſe ſince who have been miſled by the Accounts of it.

Edwin was one of theſe beloved Princes; but his End followed the Deſign of the People in his Favour: he was ſent out to Sea in a ſmall Boat with a ſingle Servant, who returned after ſome Time, and gave Account that Prince *Edwin*, terrified at the roaring of the Waves, and the weak Condition of the Veſſel, and deſpairing of eſcaping to Land, threw himſelf overboard, and was drown'd.

The fooliſh Story paſſed with many at that Time, and has with others ſince: the King to give it a Colour, mourn'd in the deepeſt Manner for his Brother; and by ſtudying the Temper of his People, now his dreaded Rival was removed, eſtabliſhed himſelf again firmly in their good Opinions.

The Servant who had been inſtrumental to the Death of *Edwin*, in plain Words he who had thrown him into the Sea at the Command of *Athelſtan*, was promoted to a higher Office; and after ſome Time ſacrificed to the King's Fear of betraying the Secret.

The Character of *Athelſtan* has been imperfectly handed down to us; late Hiſtorians have in nothing been more miſtaken; but there remains enough in the *Saxon* Annals, and in the earlieſt Hiſtories, to ſhew him truly.

CHAP. VIII.

Athelſtan *prepares a Naval Power in* BRITAIN.

THE Reign of this Sovereign was for ſeveral Years diſturbed with popular Commotions; and after that with Competitors for a Part, tho' we hear of no more Claims for the whole Kingdom.

The Fear of being ſuſpected of the Death of thoſe of *Edward*'s Sons, who had fallen ſo opportunely for him, and ſo ſuſpiciouſly, made him redouble his pretended Eſteem, Affection and Regard for thoſe which ſurviv'd; and they who had the Fate of their Brother before their Eyes, were frighted from Ambition: they compounded for Life at the Price of living Subjects to an Uſurper; and giving *Athelſtan* no Trouble, they were permitted to live in Peace.

The *Danes* for the four or five Years ſucceeding theſe made many Attempts upon particular Places, and in ſome were ſucceſsful; but the ſovereign Power was now ſo well eſtabliſhed in the Iſland, that what they thus obtain'd was either forfeited again ſoon, or retain'd under ſuch Terms as were very little advantageous to the Poſſeſſors.

But the Year 932 raiſed new Terrors. The two Sons of *Sitric*, to whom *Athelſtan* had given his Siſter, and a Settlement in the Provinces he had won by his Sword, had been driven out of their Inheritance by him after the Death of their Father. Here either his uſual Caution forſook him, or Opportunities did not favour his Purpoſes, for theſe Youths liv'd; and they now became formidable: their Names were *Guthfert* and *Anlaf*. *Guthfert* had gone to *Scotland*, and *Anlaf* into *Ireland*, where being honour'd for their Birth, and pitied for their Misfortunes, they had both become conſiderable.

The King of the *Scots* received and protected *Guthfert*, and promiſed his Aſſiſtance to reſtore him to his Inheritance; a Correſpondence was kept up between him and his Brother in *Ireland*; and a formidable Power was now preparing for the Expedition.

The Time of their Preparation gave *Athelſtan* the ſame Opportunity, and he employed it to the utmoſt

Advantage. He was at the Head of a very conſiderable Body of Forces in the Iſland, for the *Danes* kept him in continual Employment; but he conſider'd this Attack would probably be moſt formidable by Sea.

The Succours from *Ireland* muſt come in Ships, and 'twas not probable that the *Scots* would attempt to march thro' the whole Kingdom by Land. He had Intelligence of Naval Preparations in *Scotland*, and Rumour repreſented the ſame in *Ireland*; and he ſaw nothing but a Naval Power could oppoſe them. He repreſented to the People that their Courage was a ſufficient Protection againſt all inbred Enemies; but that their Security from thoſe Abroad, or from the remote Parts of the ſame Iſland, muſt be by Sea.

He gave them a brief Detail of former Actions: he ran thro' the Hiſtory of preceding Reigns; and ſhew'd them how ſucceſsful the Kingdom had always been when poſſeſs'd of a powerful Navy, and how open to every Inſult when it had not that Defence: he extolled *Alfred*, his Grandfather, as a God; and he preſumed to ſay, “That his great Father *Edward*, “the worthy Son of that immortal Sovereign, had “but in one Thing been remiſs, which was the “Neglect of his Kingdom's natural Defence.”

Whatever were the Faults of *Athelſtan*, he had many great Qualities, and that of Oratory was one: the People charm'd with his Eloquence, liſten'd to his Admonitions, and a large Supply was immediately rais'd for the building a powerful Fleet.

Athelſtan told them the only Reaſon he had not long before engag'd in this was the Expence; that he had always known it eſſential to the Glory of the Kingdom, and now found it neceſſary for its Defence; and that having the Means, and their free Aſſiſtance, he ſhould not loſe a Moment in the Preparation.

Two Years were employ'd in building a new Fleet: every Artificer at Home was employ'd, and all that could be obtain'd from foreign Countries of known Skill and Abilities were engag'd.

In the Year 934 *Athelſtan* ſaw a very powerful Fleet upon his Seas, well built, and man'd with thoſe who beſt underſtood the Art at Home, and with ſome ſkilful Strangers. He kept theſe in continual Practice, and waited the News of the Enemies moving.

Athelſtan ſaw how much depended upon the Event of the preſent Preparations againſt him, and he was upon his Guard accordingly. He kept up an Intelligence in *Scotland*, and along the Coaſts of the North of *England*. He found from time to time how they advanc'd, and receiving Notice in the Middle of the Summer of the Year 934, that the *Scotch* Naval Power was ready, and waited for the *Iriſh* Veſſels; he determin'd to take the Opportunity of fighting them ſingly, if he could get them out upon the Seas.

He gave immediate Orders for his Forces to make ſpeedy Marches Northward, and himſelf going on board the Fleet made for the Coaſt of *Scotland*.

The Time of this Preparation on either Side had been ſo great, that the News from one Kingdom had travelled to the other; and Fame that magnifies all ſhe carries, had repreſented each to the other as much greater than they really were. It was a prudent Step in *Athelſtan* to fight the *Scots* Veſſels alone, be their Number what it would; and they ſeeing his Reſolution, believ'd every incredible Story they had heard of his Numbers.

They were lying off at Sea, waiting for the *Iriſh* Fleet, when the Royal Fleet came in Sight. His foremoſt Ships were man'd with the beſt Sailors, and with choſen Troops. He gave Orders inſtantly to bear down upon the Enemy, and they fled before him; 'twas not a regular Action, but a Purſuit of Flyers, whatever the Veſſels of *Athelſtan* reach'd they took: there was ſcarce a Shew of Reſiſtance.

He follow'd them in this Manner to *Cathneſs*, and in the Purſuit took a very conſiderable Number. Theſe were well built Veſſels, and ſerv'd as a good Addition to his own Fleet.

CHAP. IX.

Anlaf is engag'd in new Preparations.

IT is probable that if the *Scots*, who were aſſiſted for this Enterprize with many Veſſels from *Cumberland*, ſent by *Eugenius*, King of that Province, a Favourer of *Guthfert*, and an Ally of theirs, had known the real Force of *Athelſtan*, they would have ſtood an Engagement; but he was ſav'd the Hazard of ſuch a Conflict by their Terrors.

The News reach'd the *Iriſh* Coaſt by ſome of the *Scots* Veſſels who made their Way thither; and all farther Thoughts of an Invaſion were laid aſide for the preſent. The *Iriſh* might have been able to diſpute with the King of *Britain*, join'd with the compleat Force of the *Scots* Veſſels, but they did not think themſelves by any Means a Match for his Power alone; ſwelled by the Advantage of the Captures, and fluſh'd with Victory. They called in their Veſſels, and determin'd to ſtrengthen themſelves farther, and wait a better Opportunity; and the Aſſiſtance of a new Force in the Hands of their Allies.

CHAP. X.

Athelſtan *is ſucceſsful at Land in conſequence of his Advantage on the Seas.*

THE News of their Fleets Succeſs was receiv'd with Acclamations by the People: *Athelſtan* ſaw it gave his Soldiers new Spirit; and knowing the *Scots* and their Northern Allies muſt be as much diſpirited and daunted, as theſe were fluſh'd with Triumph and Confidence, he determin'd not to loſe ſo favourable an Opportunity of attacking their Army.

He landed his Forces; laid up his Veſſels in Safety, and joining thoſe who had march'd by his Order, and were now advanced very far into the North; he immediately made after the Enemy, who were preparing to invade his remoteſt Provinces.

The Panic that had infected the Fleet of the *Scots* was ſpread among their Land Forces, and redoubled by his Succeſs againſt them: they purſued the ſame Conduct, flying before him, but ſtill keeping in a Body. He follow'd them in this Manner, falling upon their Rear whenever he came in Reach; and his People were ſo quick in the Purſuit, and ſo ſucceſsful, that with very little Loſs on their own Part, they thin'd the Army of the Enemy; and mark'd the Courſe of their Purſuit by *Scottiſh* Carcaſſes.

Athelſtan, perhaps, might have brought them to a general Engagement, if he had preſs'd to the utmoſt upon them; but he judg'd that this was thinning their Numbers with leſs Danger, and leſs Loſs of his own; and that there was more Glory in purſuing for many Days a flying Enemy, than in the Action of one ſucceſsful Battle.

He drove them before him as far as *Dunfeoder*.

Here the *Scots* and their Allies, conſidering the Diſgrace and Loſs; and ſeeing themſelves every Day weaker, made a Stand; and had at firſt ſome Thoughts of facing the King's Forces in a general Engagement; but on more mature Deliberation, they found it was playing a deſperate Stake: that it was better to make Terms as well as they could for themſelves. As for *Guthfert*, the Quarrel not being their own, but undertaken in his Cauſe, they ſuppos'd they had ſuffer'd enough for him, and came to a Reſolution to give him up to the Enemy.

On the breaking up the Council, in which this was determin'd, a Meſſage was ſent to *Athelſtan*, "That they would no longer ſupport the Cauſe of "*Guthfert*; that if he inſiſted on it, they would de-"liver him up into his Hands; and deſir'd he would "look upon that as the beſt Compenſation they "could make for their Oppoſition; which they "were ready to give up, and ſign any peaceful "Treaty."

The Names that authoriſed this Application were thoſe of the King of the *Scots*, and the King of *Cumberland*. *Athelſtan* knew their Fear was their Monitor; and conſidering this as an Act of Deſpair, he made large Demands.

"*Guthfert* muſt be given up to be uſed at his "Diſcretion; and the two Kings muſt ſurrender "to him their Kingdoms, holding them hereafter as "dependent on the *Britiſh* Throne." This was their Choice, or he would take by Force what he offer'd, to ſave his Subjects Blood, to accept on theſe favourable Terms by Treaty.

The two Kings ſaw their Condition; and ſubmitted. *Athelſtan* at the Head of his Army receiv'd the regular Allegiance of both, and demanded the Son of the *Scots* King as Hoſtage for the delivering up of *Guthfert*. This could not be refus'd: the Prince was deliver'd in Form, there to remain till the other ſhould replace him; and *Athelſtan* march'd back full of Glory; having with the Expence of very few Lives, extended greatly the Dominions of his Crown; and as he and the People imagin'd, terrify'd the whole Party of *Guthfert*'s Friends from farther Enterprizes.

CHAP. XI.

The Iriſh *fit out a vaſt Fleet in favour of the Sons of* Sitric.

THE Glory *Athelſtan* had acquir'd by the Tranſactions of the Year 934, render'd him dreaded and reſpected throughout the neighbouring Nations; but it had an unhappy Effect upon his own Conduct, for it lull'd him into too great Security.

He kept up his Land Forces for his own Defence, for he did not conſider himſelf as yet enough eſtabliſh'd in the Hearts of his People, to be out of Danger of Inſurrections. Guilt is always fearful: and ſeldom without Reaſon.

The People who were pleas'd with his publick Succeſſes, hated his private Conduct, and his Precaution was not without Grounds. In this therefore Self-love and Fear kept him vigilant, but in the general Care of the Nation he was remiſs. He forgot that to a Naval Force was owing all his Succeſs in this glorious Year; and as if the vanquiſhing one Fleet of an Enemy was the over-awing all future Attempts of the ſame Kind, he never thought of keeping up his own.

The Navy that had ſecured the Kingdom was left to rot in the Ports: for a Year or two ſome Expence was allow'd for the keeping it in Order; but after this the King found other Uſes for the publick Money; and it fell into that Neglect which had often been ſo fatal.

Guthfert, who underſtood the Terms of the Treaty the *Scots* had made with *Athelſtan*, did not conſider himſelf as ty'd down to fulfil the Conditions: he knew what would be *Athelſtan*'s Diſcretion when he ſhould be deliver'd up to him, and he eſcap'd to *Ireland*.

The *Scots* King requeſted back his Son from *Athelſtan*, repreſenting the Impoſſibility of his keeping the Condition of delivering up *Guthfert*, who had eſcap'd unknown to him: and on the other Hand, *Athelſtan* who had the Conditions and the Power in his Hands, inſiſted on the Letter of the Treaty. Four Years he kept the Prince, in contempt of the Intreaties, Remonſtrances, and at laſt the Menaces of his Father.

It is not eaſy to be moderate in Succeſs. The King of *Cumberland*, *Eugenius*, who had ſubmitted to hold his Province dependant on *Athelſtan*, found a thouſand Marks of a Conqueror's Iron Hand: he had thought it no more than a Conceſſion of Form, and that *Athelſtan* had demanded it only to do himſelf Honour: ſo it was repreſented to him, and ſuch he thought the Deſign of it when he made it; but he now found it otherwiſe.

The Oppreſſions of his People, and the Exclamations of the *Scots* at their Prince being detain'd, rous'd up a-new the Spirit which the Succeſs of *Athelſtan* in 934 had quell'd.

They met in general Council, they deliberated upon Means of Oppoſition, and they ſent Deputies to *Ireland*, gently upbraiding them with defeating their former Hopes by not coming up in Time, and requeſting them now to join them in the ſame Attempt.

The Meſſengers found *Anlaf* buſy in Naval Preparations: he told them his Brother was under his Protection, but that far from thinking of giving him up, they were preparing to reſtore themſelves to their uſurped Rights in *Britain*; that early the next Year they might expect to ſee a Preparation no *Britiſh* Force could cope withal; and that perhaps inſtead of replacing them alone upon their Father's Seat, would give a new Sovereign to *Britain*.

The Meſſage gave Spirits to the riſing Power: they promis'd to be ready to join them with a large Force, and they haſten'd the Expedition.

Athelſtan ſat at quiet on his Throne while theſe Preparations were making with inexpreſſible Diligence and Expence to pull him down. He knew of the Correſpondence his Northern Provinces held with *Ireland*, and he prepar'd to chaſtiſe them; but foreign Enemies he thought off with Contempt.

Early in the Year 938 *Athelſtan* took the Field with a great Army, and bending his Courſe Northward, promis'd himſelf nothing leſs than the Succeſſes he had experienced before againſt the ſame Enemy.

He calculated right indeed that he was able to humble the Forces of *Scotland*, and the Northern Counties; but he did not foreſee, and therefore he could do nothing to prevent the Reinforcement from Abroad. Ships he had none, when he more wanted them than any of his Predeceſſors: the Event was the landing of a great Power without Oppoſition, and the Loſs of many thouſand Lives.

While he was on his March, News came of a prodigious Fleet being upon the *Britiſh* Seas: every Poſt brought Account of larger and larger Numbers; and *Athelſtan*, who ſuppos'd their Fears had magnify'd the Danger, found himſelf ſo deſperately miſtaken, that the Armament was indeed much greater than the worſt of thoſe Accounts had ſaid. No leſs than ſix Hundred hoſtile Veſſels hover'd on the Coaſts of *Britain*, conſulting where to land.

The Intelligence where *Athelſtan* then was led them to the *Humber*, for they deſir'd nothing ſo much as entering immediately on Action. They landed too far off his Army to have that Point diſputed: they were reinforced by the Powers rais'd by the Kings of *Scotland* and *Cumberland*, and they diſputed the Fate of *Britain*, as is univerſally related, by the bloodieſt Day the Iſland ever ſaw.

The Armies made with equal Spirit toward each other, and met upon the Skirts of *Northumberland*. They came within Reach at Night, and waited with equal Impatience for the Morning. The Action began with Day-light, and continu'd deſperate till Evening.

Athelſtan ſhew'd himſelf the General in every Inſtance. He took every poſſible Advantage, and evaded every Danger. His Example animated thoſe who found Confidence in his Conduct. Five Hours it was diſputed with dreadful Fury, and amazing Slaughter before there was the leaſt Advantage on either Side, and then 'twas againſt *Athelſtan*; his main Body began to give Ground, and the Enemy puſh'd the Succeſs. All was at the Stake, and a few Moments muſt have determin'd the Day againſt him, when he drew up his laſt Reſource.

Here he ſhew'd his Skill ſuperior to the Enemy. They had charg'd with their choiceſt Troops, depending on the firſt Shock; but *Athelſtan*, conſiderate of every Thing that might happen, had kept a great Reſerve.

Now was the Occaſion they were wanted. When the *Britiſh* Troops were failing and yielding before the Fury of the *Scots*, who held the foremoſt Place, both Armies were alarm'd with a Shout that rung beneath the Vault of Heaven, and appear'd on the Inſtant *Athelſtan*, at the Head of a Thouſand Veterans; Soldiers who had ſhar'd the Glory of *Edward*'s Victories, and were all now freſh, unhurt, and full of Spirit. They ſtop'd the Progreſs of the conquering Party; and the reſt who were before diſhearten'd, gathering new Spirit from their Actions, ſeconded them, and imitated their Fury.

Theſe Veterans turn'd the Fate of the Day, but moſt of them fell. They purchas'd with their Lives a Victory others boaſted. *Athelſtan* every where animated the reſt of his Troops by his Eloquence and his Example.

The Enemy return'd with many violent Attacks during the Day, but toward Evening they gave up all, and retreated in what Order they could. Five Kings, 'tis ſaid, fell on the Enemies Party in this Action, and in a manner all their choſen Leaders.

The Kings of the *Scots* had the good Fortune to eſcape; and the Body of the Army that remain'd, made the beſt of their Way by violent Marches to their Ships.

Athelſtan purſued and harraſs'd their Rear, there was no Naval Power with which to follow them on the Seas, ſo that their Veſſels got ſafe away, but of the Numbers that came few return'd to *Ireland*.

This Action, ſo terrible in itſelf, and memorable in its Conſequences, has been related by all Hiſtorians, and by many with different wild Circumſtances.

It was commemorated in the Songs of that Time; and in the rude Embelliſhments of that early Poetry, much of the Truth was probably obſcur'd or loſt, and much Fruit of Imagination added.

The Circumſtances thus deviſ'd for Embelliſhment in Poetry, have been tranſcrib'd by ſober Hiſtorians, and thus the Story has been related differently according to the Genius or Judgment of the Writer.

There remain, however, Circumſtances enough in the more authentick of the earlieſt Writers to eſtabliſh the Truth of the Event, and the Conduct of the Engagement. This is not the only Paſſage in the Life of *Athelſtan* recorded differently by Authors: indeed the whole ſeems to have been little underſtood.

The Conſequences of this Action were the Submiſſion of the *Welch*, and of many other ſeparate little Kingdoms, and a profound Peace both at home, and from all foreign Enemies, during the Life of *Athelſtan*, which appears to have been of three Years Continuance after the great Affair juſt related. According to the *Saxon* Annals he dy'd in the Year 941, and was bury'd at *Glouceſter*.

His great Succeſſes, and the pompous Accounts of them deliver'd in the Memoirs of that Time, have blinded the Eyes of many Hiſtorians, who repreſent him to have been a good as well as a great King; and eminent in Knowledge and in Virtues.

They diſpute even the Murther of his Brother *Edwin*; alledging from ſome ſuch Hiſtorian as we have juſt named, his pretended mourning for him; and believing all that has been ſaid of his Love for the reſt of his Brothers.

We ſhall place the Accounts of ſuch Writers in a proper Rank in the Judgment of the Reader, by obſerving that the Authors on whom theſe modern Retailers of Hiſtory ſhould have rely'd, ſay, that after ſacrificing the Perſon by whoſe Advice he undertook that Murther, he enjoin'd himſelf a ſeven Years Penance, and built two Monaſteries for the Soul of his Brother.

That he was an Uſurper is evident, becauſe he obtain'd the Crown againſt the natural Claim of *Edward*'s legitimate Children: and by the whole that is authentically recorded of him, it is not improbable that he equal'd in cruel Cunning, and deſperate Miſchief, that *Richard* the IIId, whoſe Name is hateful, as well as in his perſonal Courage.

CHAP. XII.

The Reign of Edmund.

THE legitimate Deſcendants of *Edward* excluded during the Life of *Athelſtan*, ſucceeded at his Death. His Ambition had left no Room in his Heart for Love; and no Offer of Marriage had been made to him by which he could have added to his Intereſt or Power: he therefore dy'd unmarry'd; and *Edmund*, the eldeſt of the ſurviving Sons of the late *Edward*, was placed upon the Throne. He was a Youth of eighteen, but he ſhew'd before Manhood that he inherited the Virtues of his great Father.

The *Danes* were always ready to take Advantage of Changes in the *Britiſh* Government. They now flatter'd themſelves, that the Youth of *Edmund* would give them Opportunities of enlarging their Territories; and of robbing, as was the Character of their Nation, with Impunity.

We have obſerv'd, that *Edward* permitted many of theſe People to ſettle in *Mercia*, under ſtrict Regulations, and upon Conditions of the moſt peaceable Behaviour; but tho' they had obſerv'd theſe Terms during his Reign, and that of *Athelſtan*, they now ſhew'd Fear had kept them honeſt.

They poſſeſs'd a great deal of Territory in *Mercia*, and with it *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford*, *Leiceſter*, *Derby*, and many other conſiderable Towns between them. They made Excurſions from theſe into the neareſt Territories of the Crown ſoon after *Edmund*'s Coronation, and continu'd plundering during the firſt Year of his Reign. He determin'd to begin and end the Diſpute with them at once, and therefore made a great Preparation. He was crown'd in 941, and in the next Year 942, he enter'd *Mercia* with a vaſt Power; refuſ'd to hear all Terms of Accommodation, and took one by one all the hoſtile Cities. He never ſtop'd his Progreſs till he clear'd *Mercia* of the *Danes*.

In the firſt Year of his Reign *Anlaf* had enter'd *Britain*, taking that Opportunity to claim his Province: *Edmund* would hear at firſt of no Claims, not of dependant Sovereignty in his Dominions; and *Anlaf*, with his Friends in the North, raiſ'd a conſiderable Force, with which they march'd Southward to diſpute the Authority of his Couſin, who forbad his taking Poſſeſſion of what devolved to him by the Death of his Father, ſolemnly granted by *Athelſtan* to him and his Deſcendants.

The Armies were near, when the two Archbiſhops, *Odo* and *Wulſtan*, interpoſ'd. They reminded *Edmund* that *Anlaf* was his near Relation; and they propoſ'd to *Anlaf* to accept his Rights upon Condition of becoming Chriſtian; which Religion he had before diſclaim'd.

This Condition was agreed upon, and the Church Power prevailing over the Thirſt of univerſal Dominion, even in a youthful King, the Limits were eſtabliſh'd, and *Edmund* granted him Poſſeſſion.

This was an Act of Compulſion, and it was of no Duration: the next Year *Edmund* fell upon *Anlaf* unprepar'd, and drove him out of his new Poſſeſſion. *Reginald*, King of *Northumberland*, next ſhared the Fate of thoſe who are weaker than the Ambitious; he was driven to ſeek his Safety in Flight, and his Kingdoms fell into the Hands of *Edmund*.

In 945 the Conqueror march'd Northward; he fell upon *Cumberland* then under a ſeparate Dominion, and reduced it to the Obedience of the reſt: from thence he made his Way to *Scotland*, where Hoſtilities never ceas'd againſt *Britain*. *Malcolm* was King, and he had a conſiderable Power on foot: *Edmund* march'd boldly toward him, and had the Armies met, it is not eaſy to conjecture on which Side the Event would have turn'd: but here the young King purſu'd a Courſe altogether different from that of his Predeceſſors.

Inſtead of falling upon the *Scots*, he ſent an Embaſſy to *Malcolm*; and offer'd him his Choice of a firm and faithful Amity, or a bloody War. What he demanded was, *Malcolm*'s active Friendſhip; his Aſſiſtance with Troops and Veſſels when they ſhould be needed; and his ready Service in a common Cauſe: to induce the *Scotch* King to accept the offer'd Terms, he propos'd to give him the new conquer'd Province of *Cumberland*, and many great Advantages.

An older Head than *Edmund*'s muſt have propos'd this Treaty, but we hear nothing of its Author.

Intent upon reducing the reſt of the whole Iſland to his ſole Power, he found there would be no end of diſputing in many Parts at once. He therefore gave up a Province he could not keep without a great Force always near, and which he made the Bribe to buy his greateſt and moſt formidable Enemy's Friendſhip.

Malcolm accepted the Conditions: he was proud of extending the Bounds of his Kingdom; and he engag'd himſelf by every ſacred Tye to obſerve good Faith ſtrictly.

This Tranſaction cloſed the Year 945, and *Edmund* now at reſt in the North, and ſure of a Reinforcement there when his Affairs ſhould require it, laid in Security a very rational Plan of extirpating the *Danes* from every Part of the Iſland, as he had done from *Mercia*.

Before he took the Field in the Year 946, he gave a general Feaſt; and perceiving among the Company one whom he knew to be uninvited, an Enemy, and a Robber, he roſe with great Indignation from his Place, ſeiz'd the Perſon, and was tearing him from his Seat by the Hair; when the Ruffian drew a conceal'd Dagger, and reveng'd the Outrage by a mortal Wound.

Thus fell a King, whoſe Deſigns were of the nobleſt Kind; and who, but for ſuch a miſerable Accident, would probably have liv'd to ſee them perfected.

The Stroke was given before the Company were aware of the Incident. They ſaw the King fall; they ſaw the bloody Dagger in the Murtherer's Hand, and they cut him to Pieces. Poor Atonement for one of the ſtrangeſt Crimes Hiſtory records.

The five Years Reign of this youthful King, was very fortunate to the Royal Power: he loſt nothing of the Poſſeſſions he received from his Brother; he had added conſiderably to them, and he was about adding much more largely.

His firſt Years had fallen into the common Error, a Neglect of the Naval Power; but he had begun to atone for it in the laſt; and had he liv'd to ſee the ſucceeding Summer, the united Fleets of *England* and *Scotland*, would probably have been enough to have aw'd all the neighbouring Nations into Peace while he purſued his great Plan, not only of reducing the whole Iſland to Subjection, but extirpating the *Danes*.

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CHAP. XIII.

The Reign of Edred.

EDmund had marry'd ſoon after his Acceſſion to the *Britiſh* Throne, but his Children were too young to ſucceed in ſo troubled a Condition of the Kingdom. The univerſal Voice declared for the next of *Edward*'s Sons; and *Edred* was crown'd at *Kingſton*.

The Treaty we have named was not between *England* and *Scotland*, but between the two Kings who enter'd into it, *Edmund* and *Malcolm*: conſequently the Death of *Edmund* render'd it void; and *Edred* not ſeeing the Depth of his Brother's Policy, did not condeſcend to renew it. He demanded the Submiſſion of the *Scots*, and when they had ſeen him with a powerful Army carry all before him in *Northumberland*, they comply'd with the Condition.

We ſee in the Account of this Tranſaction, how much more laſting thoſe Treaties are that come freely, than thoſe made by Force.

The *Scots* had continu'd faithfully to obſerve the Articles of their Treaty; but the *Northumbrians* in the Year 649, choſe a *Daniſh* King, *Eric*, and urg'd him to defend his Dignity, and enlarge his Dominions.

Edred being inform'd of this, march'd with a conſiderable Force directly to that Province. 'Twas his Rule to meet Oppoſition and Danger. He fell upon the firſt Towns who had acknowledged *Eric*'s Sovereignty, and plunder'd, but gave Quarter; his Intent was to puniſh, not to deſtroy the People.

Eric was not aware of ſo ſudden an Attack; and it was ſo long before he could put himſelf into a Poſture of Defence, that the King had plunder'd half the Country.

As ſoon as he was ready he made up to the Royal Troops. He fell upon their Rear in an unexpected Manner at Day-break, and put all into Confuſion.

Edred had poor Intelligence not to be aware of this; but he made a very ſpeedy Reſiſtance. His People when it was broad Day, ſaw this deſperate **Dane** had fallen upon them in a wild Manner, and with a much inferior Force: they fought to defend themſelves, and to preſerve their Spoils: and in a few Hours *Eric* was oblig'd to make a very indifferent Retreat.

This gave the *Northumbrians* a great Opinion of *Edred*, and a very poor one of their new King *Eric.* The King ſaw the Turn in their Opinions, and he made the moſt favourable Uſe of it. He declared that he was returning with his Plunder, ſatisfy'd with the Vengeance he had taken of them for their Infidelity; but ſince he ſaw they would never reſt his Subjects, he gave them their Choice to reject their King, and return to their Obedience to him; or to ſee his Troops turn back upon them, with Orders to treat them as People not reconcileable to their Duty; to burn and give no Quarter.

Edred judged rightly what would be the Reſult of ſuch an Offer from a King at the Head of a victorious Army. They rejected their new Sovereign, gave Oath they never would create another; ſwore Submiſſion and good Faith to *Edred*, and ſent him magnificent Preſents.

The Terror of the Accident remained upon the *Danes* of this Province to the utmoſt Time of their Reſidence. No Hiſtory bears the Name of another King of the *Northumbrians*. *Aſwulf* was their Chief next after this under the Title of an Earl, and his Succeſſors obtained no other Dignity.

Britain enjoyed a State of great Repoſe during the Remainder of the ſhort Reign of *Edred*, the whole Extent of which was but ſeven Years. He died in 955 of a Fever in the Flower of his Youth, and was buried at *Wincheſter*.

CHAP. XIV.

The Reign of Edwi.

THE Reign of *Edwi*, ſhorter than that of *Edred*, is remarkable for nothing more than the utter Neglect of the *Britiſh* Navy: it had been drooping during the latter Years of *Edred*, but in his Time it came to nothing.

Edwi was a young gay voluptuous Prince, form'd for Pleaſure, and a natural Enemy to all great Enterprizes. He was addicted to Women; and on their Account negligent of publick Affairs. One of their Sex alſo engaged his fickle Temper in a Hatred to the Church, at that Time too powerful in *Britain* to be oppoſed with Impunity, unleſs by a Monarch of more Power and Intereſt than ever were the Share of *Edwi*.

We have obſerved, that *Edred* was Brother of *Edmund*, and ſucceeded to the Throne againſt the natural Right of his Sons, becauſe they were too young for Sovereignty.

This *Edwi* was one of thoſe Sons of *Edmund*, whom ſeven Years brought towards Manhood, and who now ſucceeded his Uncle. He was crown'd at *Kingſton*, and is recorded with the Addition of *the fair*, from his Beauty.

Algina is the Name of a Lady he kept as a Miſtreſs, tho' his near Relation; and ſo fooliſhly was he devoted to her, that he withdrew from his Nobles at the Coronation Feaſt, to wanton in her Chamber.

All lamented the miſerable Proſpect this gave of the ſucceeding Reign; but one was bold enough to tell him of it: this honeſt Man was *Dunſtan*, a Biſhop at that Time. He againſt all Denial went into the Chamber, told the King his Error, and ſpoke ſharply to the Lady: he took him to the Company, and made up the little Breach his Abſence had caus'd.

The King forgave him, but the Lady could not. After his Pardon he was on ſome frivolous Pretence baniſhed, and his Monaſtery rifled.

Biſhops at that Time were bold enough to ſtand the Anger of a King, when Integrity and the Diſcharge of their Duty required it. *Ado*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, repreſented to *Edwi* the many Murmurs that had riſen from *Dunſtan*'s Exile; he told him he knew the Source of that Decree; and from this taking Occaſion to ſpeak of the Lady, he reminded him of the ill Example he ſet before his Subjects; requeſted him to part with her; and this not ſucceeding, pronounced a Separation between them.

The King inſtead of obſerving even externally the Church's Sentence, grew outrageous againſt it. Two Prelates, who had conſcientiouſly diſcharg'd their Duty, made him an Enemy to the whole Order, and he ſhewed his Animoſity by the moſt violent Oppreſſions: theſe the People could the leſs endure, becauſe they ſaw the Cauſe of them. *Edwi*, in fine, ſacrificed his Crown to his Inſults upon Decency and Religion.

'Twas but in the Year 955 he was crown'd, and in 957 the *Mercians* led the Way to a general Rebellion: they declared the King unworthy to retain the Crown, and vow'd their Subjection to the next in the Royal Line, *Edgar* his younger Brother.

The *Northumbrians* follow'd their Example, and in a few Months the *Weſt Saxons* were all the Subjects of this King. The Change affected him ſo deeply, that he broke his Heart.

He died the next Year, with no viſible Diſorder: Grief deſtroyed him.

CHAP. XV.

The Reign of Edgar, *and the glorious Condition of the* Britiſh *Navy in his Time.*

Edgar, who held the greateſt Part of the Kingdom during his Brother's Life, ſucceeded at his Death to the whole. He has been called by ſome, tame, puſillanimous and paſſive; but they have miſtaken his Character.

Edgar the Peaceful, is a Title under which he ſtands recorded in the old Hiſtories, and this miſled thoſe ſlight Compilers.

He was a very great and glorious Monarch: he look'd on War as a Misfortune to any Country, and he as much as poſſible avoided the Occaſions of it in his own; but his Method of avoiding was by preparing againſt it.

He took the utmoſt Care of the Naval Force of the Kingdom, which he made not only its Safeguard, but a Terror to all neighbouring Nations; and he maintain'd at all Times a conſiderable Land Army. This kept others in Awe, and gave ſuch Weight to his Embaſſies, that they were uſually ſucceſsful.

This famous Sovereign was raiſed to the Throne at ſixteen Years of Age: he had poſſeſſed the Sovereignty over a Part before, therefore the Juriſdiction of the whole hung more eaſily upon his Shoulders. He was of an excellent Diſpoſition in himſelf, and he was happy in good Adviſers. The firſt Act of his Sovereignty was to recall *Dunſtan* from his Exile: by this he ſhewed a Reſpect for the Church, and diſavow'd the unjuſt Proceedings of his Brother.

Edwi had given many of the principal Convents to ſecular Prieſts, from the Monks their proper Poſſeſſors; theſe *Edgar* reſtor'd; and he built and endowed many others.

He diſtributed Juſtice from his own Mouth with the moſt applauded Wiſdom and Integrity; he gave Penſions for Life to many who had deſerved well of the Government in the Reigns of his Predeceſſors, and had before been too much neglected; and he never fail'd to diſtinguiſh every worthy Action in his own Time by Rewards.

Theſe were the Virtues of *Edgar* in his peaceful Capacity: and he was not leſs diſtinguiſh'd by his warlike Preparations. *Britain* had its Enemies foreign and domeſtick in this Reign as well as the preceding Times, but they dar'd not attempt any thing.

Edgar ſhew'd Poſterity, would they have Virtue and Reſolution to follow the Example, that *Britain* while rich in herſelf to deſpiſe foreign Acquiſitions, may by her own Strength terrify her boldeſt Enemies to Peace.

The Navy was the firſt Care of *Edgar*: he ſaw many of his Predeceſſors had aw'd the *Danes* within the Iſle to Peace, but that they had been expoſed to continual Attacks and Inſults from Abroad: he found theſe grew upon the Neglect of the Naval Power; and vaniſh'd at its Reſtoration. This therefore he determin'd to advance to a Degree of Strength it had never known before; and he ſucceeded in the Undertaking to the perfect Security, and unequal'd Glory of his Country.

He divided the Sea Coaſt of his Dominions into four equal Diſtricts, and he appointed for the Guard of theſe four Squadrons. The Number of Veſſels in each would ſeem too great for Credit, but that it is avouch'd by every Hiſtorian: indeed ſo atteſted, that we muſt receive it, or give up every thing that is recorded. Each Squadron conſiſted of fourteen hundred Veſſels, the whole Force amounting to five Thouſand and ſix Hundred. Thoſe who make it leaſt call it three Thouſand ſix Hundred, but the larger Account has the beſt Authority.

Theſe four Squadrons he kept out on cruizing Voyages, where they had their appointed Stations, and at ſet Times their general Rendezvous: he ſpent a Part of the Summer always himſelf on board them; and he never fail'd to prefer their Commanders according to their Merit.

We need not tell the Reader no Invaſion was heard of in the Days of *Edgar*: the Sea Coaſts, deſerted for many Reigns before, now became inhabited; and the People carried on their Traffick in perfect Security.

There is a ſingular Circumſtance in the Hiſtory of *Edgar*, not eaſily accounted for at this Diſtance of Time. It is that he reigned fourteen Years before he was ſolemnly crowned. The Death of *Edwi* happen'd in 958, and the Coronation of *Edgar* was held with great Solemnity at *Bath* in 972; in all theſe Years he had been aggrandiſing his Kingdom and civilizing its Inhabitants. Himſelf was the Example of Politeneſs to his Court. He diſtributed Rewards to thoſe who invented uſeful Arts; he prefer'd thoſe in the Church, whoſe blameleſs Life and Learning recommended them to his Favour; and he went twice a Year himſelf the Circuit, as our Judges, hearing Cauſes, and determining Controverſies among his Subjects.

The Year after his ſolemn Coronation he went to *Cheſter*, and there ſummoned his tributary Kings. He treated them with the moſt perfect Courteſy, but he maintained a Dignity becoming the general Sovereign. At this Aſſembly were preſent, 1. *Keneth* King of *Scots*; 2. *Malcolm* King of *Cumberland*; 3. *Maccuſe* King of the Iſles; and five ſeparate Kings of different Provinces in *Wales*. With theſe, in a ſmall eight oar'd Galley, *Edgar* was row'd down the River *Dee*, more glorioufly than *Cleopatra* on the Silver *Cydnus*, each King managing an Oar. *Edgar* apologized for the Service, but he thought it for the Honour of his Crown that it ſhould be performed. Now, ſaid he, let my Succeſſors remember, I leave to them a Crown worth their Ambition.

The next Summer *Edgar* died young, but full of Glory. He was in the thirty-ſecond Year of his Age, when a Fever carried him off.

The famous Story of *Elfrida*, and the Paſſion of this Prince for her, ſtands recorded in authentick Hiſtory. She was the Daughter of a Duke of *Devonſhire*, whoſe Beauty made its Way in the general Voice to the King's Ear. He pitched upon one he thought he could truſt in ſuch an Affair, *Athelwold*, bound to him by the greateſt Favours, and ſent him privately to ſee whether the Lady was ſo eminent in Beauty as repreſented.

Athelwold found her ſo charming that he play'd falſly with her Maſter. He woo'd her, and marry'd her: and returning with an Account little favourable to the King's Ear, he put off the Thoughts of any farther Regard for the Report.

Edgar who had never ſeen *Elfrida*, believ'd *Athelwold* againſt her, and he enjoy'd his beauteous Wife ſome time.

At length, however, it came to the King's Ear that *Elfrida* was indeed the Beauty ſhe had been repreſented, and that *Athelwold* was marry'd to her. *Edgar* was not violent in his Reſolutions, but ſteady: he told *Athelwold* he would viſit him; and the Courtier, diſtracted with the Terror, requeſted his Wife to be dreſs'd as little to Advantage as poſſible, that ſhe might not appear too tempting to a young and wild King.

Elfrida knew nothing of the Deceit; but the Woman prevail'd in her over the Wife: *Athelwold* could not more fear her charming the King than ſhe deſir'd it.

She diſobey'd him to the utmoſt, and when the Royal Gueſt arriv'd, came down from her Toilette more charming than *Athelwold* had ever ſeen her, the King was ſtruck with her Beauty, but he could command his Temper: he ſmother'd his Reſentment for the preſent; but determining to marry *Elfrida*, he took an Opportunity in hunting to kill *Athelwold* with his own Hand. He afterwards marry'd the Lady, and with her paſs'd the Remainder of his Days.

Edgar was the laſt of the great *Saxon* Kings. What had been acquir'd with ſo much Blood and Toil, from his Death began to dwindle away; and that People whom he had made eminent in the World, fell by ſlow Degrees to no Conſideration.

CHAP. XVI.

The Beginning of the Reign of Edward, *called the Martyr.*

EDGAR, before his Marriage with *Elfrida*, had bury'd another Wife, *Egelfleda*, a Daughter of Duke *Ordmer*, by whom he left a Son *Edward*, afterwards called the Martyr: by *Elfrida* he had alſo a Son *Ethelred*, ſeven Years old at the Time of his Deceaſe.

Elfrida had poſſeſs'd great Power during the Life of *Edgar*, and ſhe thought it would not be difficult to place the Crown upon her Son's Head, in wrong of the Elder by a former Marriage; but in this Expectation ſhe deceiv'd herſelf.

The King had always ſhewn the moſt perfect Reſpect for *Edward*, and his Will was ſacred with the People: to this we are to add, that the *Saxons* hated to be govern'd by a King under the State of Infancy.

We have ſeen Inſtances of their ſetting aſide for the Time, the right Succeſſion on this Occaſion; and we cannot wonder that they now prefer'd the Elder.

Edward was crown'd in 976; and *Elfrida*, who had laid a Deſign of governing the Kingdom in the Name of an Infant Son, found herſelf oblig'd to retire with him to a magnificent Caſtle formerly in the King's Poſſeſſion; where ſhe waited better Fortune.

Britain was now grown wanton in Succeſs: *Edgar* had raiſed it to a Height at which it requir'd no ſmall Attention to preſerve it. The People had now no foreign nor inteſtine Enemies to fear, and in the Lazyneſs of Peace they began to quarrel among one another.

The Church ſounded the firſt Trumpet: the old Diſpute between the Monks and the ſecular Prieſts was reviv'd.

The latter, who were more in the World, and by means of their Wives and Relations had more Intereſt, repin'd to ſee the Monaſteries all in Poſſeſſion of the others, and ſtir'd up their Friends to obtain them ſome like Appointments.

The Monks at that Time, no more than the Clergy of other Ages, were without their Faults; theſe were exaggerated; and by various Methods the principal People in the Land were influenced againſt them; or more properly, in favour of the ſecular Prieſts.

In the beginning of *Edward*'s Reign the Miſchief broke out. The Duke of *Mercia*, *Elſere*, diſpoſſeſs'd the Monks of ſeveral of their Monaſteries in his Dukedom; the Duke of the *Eaſt Angles*, *Ethelwin*, oppos'd him: he rais'd an Army, and defended the Monks againſt ſuch Inſults. Theſe were no more the Days of *Edgar*; he who made eight Kings row his Galley, would not have ſuffer'd a Duke of *Mercia* to raiſe Troops upon a Church Quarrel, or a Duke of the *Eaſt Angles* to march an Army on the ſame Grounds. *Britain* ſaw how much the Character and Spirit of a King, ſupported the peaceful Government of his Realm.

Elfrida took Occaſion from theſe Diſputes, which frighted the young mild King, to get near his Perſon: ſhe offer'd him her Friendſhip and her Council, and indeed arriv'd at all but obtaining her Son the Name of a King; for ſhe govern'd in every Thing as much as if that Infant had been on the Throne.

Too much Succeſs made her graſp after more; and ſhe determin'd to deſtroy the King. To conceal her Intent ſhe put on a Face of more than uſual Affection: ſhe tended him when in any little Diſorder, ſoothed him by artful Flatteries: ſhe became as it were a Mother to him; and as it would have ſeem'd to any, the moſt affectionate that ever liv'd.

All this Time ſhe kept in her Favour a determin'd Villain, nurs'd up by her own Breath to the moſt deſperate Purpoſes; enrich'd by her Liberality, and promis'd Mountains when he ſhould have perform'd her a certain Service. What it was he knew not; but he ſwore to do it.

The hunting Seaſon coming on, *Elfrida* retired to *Corveſgate Caſtle*, afterwards known by the Name of *Cofe Caſtle*: intreating the King when his Pleaſures led him that Way, to call at her Dwelling. He, unſuſpecting her Deſign, promiſ'd, and took the firſt Opportunity of performing it. He rode off from his Attendants the firſt Time the Chace led that Way; and ſtopping at her Gate, could not be perſuaded to a-light.

A Cup of Wine was brought him as he ſat on Horſeback, and while *Elfrida* kept him in diſcourſe, the appointed Villain got cloſe behind him. When the Cup was at his Mouth he ſtruck; ſtabbing him into the Back with a long Dagger. The King clap'd Spurs to his Horſe, and fled bleeding.

He was without Attendants, and he fell unaſſiſted: the Loſs of Blood made him drop from his Saddle; and his Foot hanging in the Stirrup, he was drag'd to Death; perhaps the Wound not mortal.

Elfrida puſh'd her Enterprize before ſhe could be ſuſpected: *Ethelred*, her Son, was next in Blood, and he was immediately crown'd at *Kingſton*.

The unhappy *Edward* reign'd but three Years; and in this Time not only did no memorable Act, but by a miſerable Neglect made the Way for the ſucceeding Ruin of his Country.

What Troops he kept up were employ'd in quelling domeſtick Troubles; and for the Service he had done the Monks, and the Enmity *Elfrida* bore ſome of their Order, they canoniz'd him Martyr attributing his Death to her Reſentment, and his Kindneſſes to them.

The Naval Power, at ſo glorious a Height in the Days of *Edgar*, ſunk in the ſhort Reign of this *Edward* almoſt to nothing: ſo little Time ſerves for deſtroying, what many Years, and the Toil of Thouſands labour'd to raiſe.

The Expence of keeping it in Condition of Service, was too great for a Prince of his narrow Mind: not being able to ſupport the whole, he gave up the whole; not preſerving ſo much as would have ſerv'd for his own Security, and that of the Kingdom.

CHAP. XVII.

The Beginning of the Reign of Ethelred.

IT was in the Year 979 that *Ethelred* aſcended the Throne. He was the ſecond Son of *Edgar* by *Elfrida*. *Edmund* I. dying an Infant.

Dunſtan perform'd the ſacred Office of Coronation, but with a heavy Heart. He ſaw a cruel and ambitious Woman, in effect, aſcend the Throne; for he well knew that *Ethelred* would be but her Inſtrument. He declared his Diſapprobation in a Spirit of Prophecy at the Office; and ſaid he would live long enough to deſtroy his Country.

'Twas well for the Biſhop, *Elfrida* heard not of this: ſhe would have taken ſpeedy Care he ſhould not live to ſee his Prediction accompliſh'd.

The firſt Years of *Ethelred*'s Reign, gave the Enemies of *Britain* an Opportunity of forming again their long neglected Projects. The young King was bred in Indolence, and the Queen Mother had no Care but to amaſs Wealth.

The *Danes* whom *Edgar* and his Predeceſſors had kept humble, now form'd ambitious Hopes again. They were mortal Enemies to the *Britons*, and they no ſooner ſaw they could do Miſchief than they ſet about it.

How often in the Courſe of this Hiſtory muſt we repeat Proofs, that on the Naval Power of the Iſland depends its Security. That neglected, Safety always fell with it.

Edward's three Years Reign had left the Shipping in a miſerable State; and the *Danes*, not thoſe at home upon the Iſland, but their Countrymen abroad, kept a ſteady Eye upon this Miſconduct.

They watch'd the Beginning of the Reign of *Ethelred*; and when they ſaw the firſt Year of it paſs without any Effort to renew this Article of Strength, they form'd the great Deſign of compleating what their Anceſtors had dy'd in attempting, the Reduction of the Iſland.

Three Years paſs'd inactively in *Britain*; but the ſame Period ſaw vaſt Preparations of the *Danes*, and the Year 982 brought the whole Preparation to the Shores.

The Iſland trembled at their Approach: long loſt Fears were revived: and with Reaſon; for in no Country did there ever ſuch a Band of cruel Ruffians land. None of their Exploits deſerve the Name of Courage; but all are mark'd with ſuch Barbarities, as diſgrace the Annals of no other Age or Nation. Unhappy Country; ſcarce reſcued by one Sovereign from the Fears of Enemies at Home, when left by another a Prey to worſe from Abroad!

'Twas in the Middle of the Summer 982, when the firſt Body of theſe latter *Danes* arriv'd: and to ſuch Condition was *Britain* ſunk in her Naval Power, that ſeven of their Veſſels, for there came on this Expedition no more, landed them without Reſiſtance. That Iſland which had but a few Years before almoſt five Thouſand Veſſels, now had no Power to reſiſt a Squadron of this little Number.

This Body of the *Danes* landed at *Southampton*; and having plunder'd the Town, ſlaughter'd the Inhabitants, and left it in Flames, they retir'd with their Booty to their Ships.

The ſame ill Meaſures which had encourag'd them to attempt the Iſland, gave Spirit to all the Northern Neſts of Pirates to put forward, and ſee what Plunder they could take in Safety.

The Sea Coaſts were no longer in that Security *Edgar* had given them. That Safety had made them opulent, and now they were a Prey to every Robber. *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall* were expos'd to Pirate Veſſels from *Norway*, whoſe People went home with prodigious Booties.

The Confuſion ſoon grew general. *London* was reduced to Aſhes, as was ſuſpected, by the *Danes* privately; and the Queen Mother continuing her Hatred fooliſhly againſt the Clergy, inſtigated the

King to beſiege *Rocheſter*, for ſome Diſpute of hers with the Biſhops.

While the inteſtine Quarrels divided the Power of the Kingdom, every Year brought more and more numerous foreign Enemies. The *Danes* landed in greater Numbers: and made their Way from the Coaſt, their firſt Scene of Enterprize, into the Heart of the Country.

Many Years they met with no Stop or Check, ſo miſerably were Things manag'd; till in 988, *Goda* Earl of *Devonſhire*, with *Sternwold*, a gallant Gentleman of that County, collected with the King's Permiſſion, a Body of thoſe who had ſuffer'd, and thoſe who fear'd to ſuffer; and in Defence of their Lives and Properties, and Revenge for the paſt Cruelties, they faced a large Body of the *Daniſh* Ruffians.

The Fight began with great Fury, but the firſt Shock was all. The two Leaders fell at the Head of their Forces; but they conquer'd; the *Danes* took to flight, and were purſued with Fury. No Quarter could be expected: few of theſe got back to tell the Story of their Comrades fall.

The News, however, reach'd to their native Country; and as was uſual in their earlieſt Expeditions of the ſame Kind, kept them from any new Attempt ſome time.

Three Years paſs'd without any Viſitation from theſe barbarous Enemies: a Space of Time in which had *Ethelred* inherited the Spirit of his Father, he might have prepared ſuch a Naval Strength as would have kept them off for ever. But nothing of this Kind was thought of. *Elfrida* kept him from all Attention to Buſineſs, unleſs where ſhe wanted his Power to ſupport her Demands, or to revenge her Quarrels.

Mean Time the *Danes* muſter'd a larger Body, and in eighteen Ships under the Conduct of *Guthmund*, Son of *Steytan*, made the Coaſt of *Britain*, and landed at *Ipſwich*.

Juſtin, a Warrior of great Eminence, join'd *Guthmund* in this Enterprize: and theſe Leaders laid larger Plans than thoſe who landed but to rob. The Conqueſt of the Iſland was in their Minds: and to ſpread Terror, they ſlaughter'd all in *Ipſwich*, and left the Town in Flames; marching loaded with the beſt Spoil farther up into the Country.

The Deſign of this Invaſion was no Secret; and the King at length awaked by the Danger of his Crown, ſent out the beſt Troops he had againſt them. *Brithnoth*, Duke of the *Eaſt Angles* commanded theſe Forces; and gave the *Danes* Battle.

They were not now ſo ſoon routed as in former Engagements; for in thoſe only lawleſs and irregular Bands of Robbers fought, but in this Enterprize they were regularly diſpoſed, and had proper Leaders. Many were left on the Field on both Sides; and Night parted them rather than Victory.

Brithnoth, who behav'd with great perſonal Courage in this Action, fell: and next Day the *Danes* appearing in order of Battle, and keeping the Advantage of the Ground, the *Britons* made the beſt Retreat they could. In this the *Danes*, after a ſlight Purſuit, more for Terror than Execution, did not moleſt them. Their Buſineſs was not to fight, but plunder: they took the Occaſion of the People's Fears, and the flying Forces, to attack the richeſt Towns; and committed ſuch ſucceſsful Devaſtations, that while the Soldiers fled the King trembled.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Danes *bought off with Money.*

COuncil upon Council were held, in which no Reſolution could be taken. No Ships could be fitted out to prevent Reinforcements landing; nor any General to be found to lead the diſpirited Troops to a ſecond Engagement.

Ethelred, when he beſieg'd *Rocheſter*, had been bought off by a large Sum from *Dunſtan*: the Meanneſs of his Temper which had led him to accept this Compromiſe, induced him to the Thought of offering the ſame Terms to theſe victorious Ruffians. The Propoſal was made to the Nobles, who at once deteſted, and agreed to it. The cruel Neceſſity compelled them to acquieſce in the moſt unkingly Propoſal.

A Deputation was ſent to the *Danes* offering them ten Thouſand Pounds to depart. They held a Council upon the Propoſal, and computing that they could not get more by Plunder in the Remainder of the Year, they accepted the Offer: the Money was paid; and they embark'd with that, and with their Spoils, toward the Beginning of Autumn.

This Act of *Ethelred*, which ſtamps an indelible Stain upon his Hiſtory, and on the *Britiſh* Annals, was in the Year 992.

The Peace bought with this Sum laſted but till the following Summer; and what accuſes *Ethelred*, or if the Reader pleaſe, *Elfrida*, yet more is, that no Care was taken to prepare in the mean time for their Reception. Had Forces been rais'd with Diligence; or had but the Shadow of a Naval Power been prepared in the eight Months of their Abſence, ſome Reaſon might have been given for the Treaty: but as it ſtands, 'tis without all Excuſe.

The Body of *Danes* who came in the Summer of the Year 993, were more numerous than thoſe of any of the preceding Expeditions: their firſt Attack was upon *Beddenburgh*, in *Durham*, then a flouriſhing City; this they plunder'd, and then levelled with the Ground; and thence ſailing in at the Mouth of the *Humber*, they waſted the whole Country on either Shore, ſparing nothing.

The Diſtreſs of the Time made many arm: the King ſent what Forces he could to join them; and by an Error never to be forgotten, gave the Command of them to three Noblemen, *Fræna*, *Frithegiſt*, and *Godwin*, all of *Daniſh* Families. They acted as was to be expected, betraying the King's Forces to their Countrymen. Thus ended all Expectation from the Army, and nothing but Deſpair ſpread every where.

Ethelred now perceiv'd the Error of which he had been guilty, in not fitting out Ships in Time: no Hope remain'd but at Sea, and he had no Fleet.

The *Danes* had ventur'd ſo far from their Veſſels into the Land, that every one ſaw, had there been any Force to be employ'd, it would have been eaſy to have ſeiz'd them all; the Guard they left with them being in a manner nothing.

In this Extremity, and under this Opportunity of Advantage, an Offer was made to the King very much to the Honour of the then Inhabitants of *London*. They preſented themſelves before him with an Addreſs, offering indeed their Lives in his Service. They propos'd to man with themſelves, and their Dependants, all thoſe little Veſſels in which they carry'd on their coaſting Traffick; and to undertake in theſe weak and expoſed Boats and Barges, the ſurprizing of the *Daniſh* Fleet.

Ethelred wept with Tranſport at the Offer: he encourag'd them in their glorious Deſign; promis'd them Rewards, Immunities and Honours; and appointed them a Commander for the bold Expedition.

If *Ethelred* had been brib'd to the Deſtruction of his Country, he could not have taken a more ready Courſe to it. This was an Expedition, the very Eſſence of which was Secrecy: no Truſt ever requir'd more Courage, or more Fidelity, than the Command of it; and *Ethelred* beſtow'd it upon one whom he had ſome Years before baniſh'd, and but lately recalled, on *Alfric*, Son of a Duke of *Mercia*, who had neither.

The Expedition was deſperate in every Senſe, but the Succeſs of it was for the firſt Days all that could be wiſh'd. The *Danes* were waſting the Country far from their Veſſels; and the *Britiſh* Armament came in Sight of them; as the gallant *Londoners* ſuppos'd without Notice.

It had been ſo but for *Alfric* their Leader; but he partly in fear from the hazardous Nature of the Exploit, and partly in revenge to *Ethelred*, gave the Enemy Intelligence.

As ſoon as it was dark, the *Londoners* perceived one Veſſel parting from their Company, and makeing for the *Daniſh* Fleet. They ſuſpected the Truth; for it was *Alfric* going over to them. They purſued and took the Veſſel, and 'tis ſuppos'd, he dreading the Puniſhment for ſuch a Crime, threw himſelf over board; for he was not found in the Veſſel, nor heard of afterwards.

The *Londoners* ſaw they were betray'd; and would have got back, but they could not; the *Daniſh* Veſſels were well man'd, and tho' the others behaved as well as poſſible, they had no more chance to defend themſelves than to get away. Moſt of 'em were taken, and in a manner all the People periſh'd. Thus ended an Expedition greatly to the Honour of thoſe who propoſed and undertook it; but to the unpardonable Shame of the King who choſe ſo ill a Conducter of it.

The *Danes*, enrich'd with Plunder, return'd home as uſual at the Approach of Winter; and gave ſuch an Account of their Succeſs, and of the Weakneſs and Miſmanagement of their Enemies, that the next Spring brought over a much more terrible Number of them. A Treaty had been ſettled during the Winter between *Denmark* and *Norway*, and by a Compact they were together to attack this Iſland.

In Spring the Expedition took Place, *Swane* of *Denmark*, and *Anlaf* King of *Norway*, conducted it in Perſon, and came up the *Thames* in near a hundred Gallies.

Ethelred had now ſo ſeverely felt the want of a Naval Power, that all Diligence was uſed during the laſt Summer, and the preceding Winter, to fit out ſome Veſſels. They were few, and but poorly manag'd; for, thro' Diſuſe, both the Art of building, and of working Ships was greatly loſt. Such as they were, they were order'd out to Sea early in the Spring in 994.

This was the Time of the joint Fleets of *Denmark* and *Norway* making their Expedition: theſe Veſſels of the King's fell in their Way; and conſequently, fell into their Hands; they took moſt of 'em, and gave no Quarter to the People. The Veſſels they brought with them in triumph up the *Thames*; and aiming at nothing leſs than the Reduction of the whole Iſland, they declared their Deſign to be for the firſt Stroke at *London*.

The Inhabitants ſaw all at Stake, and deſpiſing that Fear which the Fate of thoſe who undertook the laſt Expedition againſt this Enemy might have infuſed into timorous Minds, they determin'd on a moſt deſperate Reſiſtance.

The Gallies of the confederate Powers found no Oppoſition to their coming up the *Thames*; they arrived at the Scene of Action, and they began the Attack from the River and on Shore at once.

The Inhabitants defended themſelves with ſuch a Spirit, as has been rarely equal'd. The *Danes* loſt ſo many of their Men, and gain'd ſo little Ground, that they gave up the Enterprize.

London was ſaved by the Courage of its Inhabitants, but the Country on each Side the *Thames* ſuffer'd dreadfully. The confederate Forces march'd up the Country to a great Diſtance in *Surry*, *Kent* and *Eſſex*, plundering and deſtroying wherever they came. Their Veſſels lay down the *Thames* to receive them; and *Britain* that had ſo late been Miſtreſs of the greateſt Naval Power in the World, was oblig'd to ſee it unreveng'd.

Ethelred ſaw this, and knew not what to attempt. The Example of the *Londoners* might have inſpir'd him with Reſolution; but the Remembrance of the former Treaty was better rooted in his Memory. He ſent an Embaſſy, offering them again Terms to depart: the *Danes* enlarg'd their Demand according to the Neceſſity of the Kingdom, and ſixteen thouſand Pounds was paid to them with Permiſſion to carry off their Plunder.

This ſatisfy'd the *Danes*; but *Anlaf*, King of *Norway*, was yet to be appeas'd. *Elfrida* found the Way to cultivate a Friendſhip with him: ſhe made him Preſents in the King's Name; invited him to *Andover*, where he then reſided; and, as 'tis ſaid, wrought on him to embrace the Chriſtian Religion: however that be, he accepted the Gifts that were from time to time offer'd him by the King and by *Elfrida*, and promis'd to undertake nothing farther againſt the Kingdom.

'Twas the Miſfortune of *Britain* that this puſillanimous and weak King *Ethelred* reign'd long. He might have known by all preceding Tranſactions, that the Peace he had purchaſ'd with the *Danes* would be of ſhort Duration; and he ſhould have prepared againſt their Return: but to recount thoſe Things he ſhould have done, is to relate what he neglected.

Three Years of Quiet follow'd the Payment of the ſixteen thouſand Pounds; but at the End of that Time a *Daniſh* Fleet enter'd the *Severn*, and diſgorg'd its Cut-throats as was uſual. This was in the Year 997. They waſted *South Wales*; then turn'd their Fury upon *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, plundering every where, and carrying Fire and Sword wherever they went.

In vain the *Britons* expected their going off at the Approach of Winter. They ſtaid at *Taviſtock*, recruited their Corps by ſome Reinforcements from their Friends in *Britain*; for barbarous as they were, they had Friends here of *Daniſh* Extraction; and taking the Field in Spring, they overrun *Dorſetſhire* and *Hampſhire*.

The Summer of 998 carry'd them to the *Iſle of Wight*, where they committed the ſame Outrages as in other Places, murthering all without Diſtinction of Age, Character, or Sex; and burning all the Places they had plunder'd.

Ethelred bore this with his accuſtom'd Tameneſs, but the People were all in Confuſion: the Nobles called him to Council; and many Things were propoſ'd, but he had not Spirit to engage in any. Forces were rais'd, but they were ill officer'd: the King who ſhould have led them, had not the Virtue even to chuſe well for that Service: the Favourites of *Elfrida* were employ'd, and they were of the worſt People. Sometimes they betray'd their Troops to the *Danes*; ſometimes ſacrificed them by their Cowardice or Folly: in ſhort, nothing was done to ſtop the Progreſs of an Enemy who was plainly aiming at unpeopling half the Iſland, that they might ſubdue the other by their Terrors.

At the Cloſe of the Summer 998 they went back with their Booty: but early in 999 they return'd, more numerous in every Expedition; the Torrent of their Fury was this Year directed toward *Kent*. They ſailed up the *Medway*, and attempted *Rocheſter*.

The Inhabitants, ſtrengthen'd by great Numbers from the neighbouring Country, and animated by the Courage and Succeſs of the *Londoners*, gave them a deſperate Reception: they fought as Men that had no Choice but Victory or Death; but their Fortune was not equal to their Valour: the *Danes*, after a great Slaughter, prevailed: they treated the Town as the others they fell upon; and thence marching up into the Land, and mounting their Infantry, that they might ſpread themſelves the farther, they plunder'd, burnt and deſtroy'd almoſt throughout the whole County.

The King ſent out ſuch Forces as he had, and ſuch Leaders; but the Commanders were cowardly, or ignorant; and the Soldiers frighted out of their Strength. Whenever they faced the *Danes* they were ſure to be beaten: and Expreſs after Expreſs arriv'd of new Slaughters, and new Devaſtations.

The *Danes* finding it ſo eaſy to beat all the Forces that were ſent againſt them, grew into a Contempt of Oppoſition; and the *Britons* were frighted by the repeated ill Succeſs of their Attempts, from all Thoughts of it. The Kingdom was open to the Plunderers wherever they turn'd themſelves. This Year was a very fatal one to *Britain*, and miſerably cloſed the Century.

The *Danes*, loaded with Plunder, left the Shores; and nothing dwelt upon the Minds of the *Britons* but the dreadful Expectation of their next Viſitation.

THE NAVAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK XI.

During the eleventh Century.

SECTION I.

To the Time of the Norman *Conqueſt.*

CHAP. I.

The Danes *continue their Devaſtations.*

THE preceding Century cloſed in Blood, and this was uſher'd in with Terror; but ſo diſpirited were the People, and ſo dully unactive was the Sovereign, that they ſeem'd to hold out their Throats to the Murtherers Knives; and thought not of Oppoſition.

Fortune gave them the Reſpite of one Summer; for during the Year 1000, no *Daniſh* Veſſel was ſeen upon the Coaſt. That People had for the preſent Year let *Britain* reſt; and bent their Courſe to *Normandy*.

This little Reſpite gave ſome Spirit to the People: the Nobles aſſembled frequently about the King; and preſs'd him to rouſe himſelf, and to undertake ſomething worthy his Place and Office. They ſet before him the Actions of his great Predeceſſors, and told him what he ow'd to his Poſterity.

A Naval Force was the Reſult of every Council, but how to prepare it was not eaſily to be determin'd. The Treaſures low, the People diſſpirited, and the Art in a manner loſt. However, what could be done he at length reſolved to do; and in a Year and half ſomething like a Navy was prepared.

'Twas now the Spring of the Year 1001, and no *Danes* appearing: *Ethelred*, by the Advice of his beſt Counſellors, diſpatch'd his little Fleet for *Cumberland*; and ſetting himſelf at the Head of a tolerable Land Force, march'd thither in Perſon.

The *Danes* ſettled in this Province had upon all Occaſions aſſiſted their Countrymen who came to plunder; and the King now return'd it heavily upon them. He attack'd them both by Sea and Land at once, and was too powerful to be reſiſted. He gave his Soldiers Liberty to plunder and deſtroy; and they remember'd they were *Danes* they were deſtroying; the worſt of thoſe Ruffians Exploits were not more terrible than this of *Ethelred*'s.

While he was thus employ'd in *Cumberland*, the Enemy having left *Normandy*, came again with double Fury againſt *Britain*. They made their firſt Attack on *Exeter*, and this with their uſual Fury: but they were repuls'd with Slaughter as at *London*.

The People knew they were to expect no Quarter, if conquer'd, therefore it was as good to die fighting; and they found by repeated Experience, that the *Danes* like the Tyger, if they did not ſecure their Prey at the firſt Leap, made off without returning to the Charge: thus it far'd at *Exeter*: that City eſcap'd; but the Country round about ſuffer'd all the Fury of theſe enrag'd Barbarians.

The King was ſoon recalled from his Expedition by this News; but he had not Power either at Sea or Land to fight 'em.

The People of *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire* and *Devonſhire*, made a joint Body, and ſtood the Fury of the *Danes* ſome Hours, in a ſharp Conflict on the Borders of *Somerſetſhire*: they did not want Courage, but they were loſt for want of Leaders.

In *Hampſhire* there was this Year another Conflict, in which *Ethelward*, a General of the King's, headed the People; but they were beaten, and he fell in the Battle. His too fearleſs Conduct in the Action expoſed him to their Fury: it ſeems by the Accounts of this Time, that there was not one good *Saxon* General: the greater Part of thoſe employ'd by *Ethelred* were Cowards; and the reſt raſh to a Fault almoſt equal with the other.

Ethelred, diſcourag'd by theſe Succeſſes of the *Danes*, offer'd them a third Time Money to depart: he paid 'em Tribute, or he ranſom'd his forfeited Dominions, it does not bear any other Conſtruction.

The *Danes*, as uſual, accepted the Propoſal, but they enlarged the Sum, 'twas now four and twenty thouſand Pounds. This was paid to them, and they return'd home with it, and with their Plunder.

Ethelred is not to be blam'd that he did not fight them at Sea, for his Fleet was by no means equal to ſuch an Undertaking; theſe were Times in which the Navy of *Britain* made but a poor Figure in the World.

The King ſaw at length, and all ſaw with him, that theſe purchaſed Accommodations muſt end in the Deſtruction of the Country. They ſaw it was a kind of Tribute to be paid once in two or three Years; perhaps hereafter every Year, and every Time increaſed enormouſly in the Sum.

Conſultations without Number were held; and a Variety of Expedients were propoſed, many of 'em were judicious, if they had been practicable in the preſent Circumſtance, but plainly at that Time impoſſible. The Council at length came to this Reſolution; that ſince the Kingdom did not afford a ſufficient Defence, it muſt be ſought abroad.

The Duke of *Normandy* had of late become a Friend of *Ethelred*; he was powerful, and he hated the *Danes*: he had a Daughter of celebrated Character, *Emma*, or *Elgina*, for 'tis written differently, and it was determin'd that *Ethelred* ſhould demand her in Marriage.

This was done, and *Richard*, her Father, readily accepted the Alliance. This Marriage was ſolemniz'd in the Year 1002; and *Ethelred*, as little Minds are eaſily elated, promiſed himſelf Wonders from this ſtrong Tye of *Richard*'s Friendſhip.

CHAP. II.

The Maſſacre of the Danes, *and its Conſequences.*

THE People were entertain'd with Feaſts and Shews upon the Celebration of the Royal Nuptials; and gathering Spirit from the King's Countenance, who had never look'd up before, they thought of nothing but Revenge.

Ethelred join'd them; and he open'd the Scene by a very terrible Blow. The *Danes* who had come to plunder were abſent upon the Purchaſe of the juſt mention'd Tribute; but there were mix'd among the People a vaſt Multitude of *Daniſh* Families, many of whom liv'd perfectly peaceably among them; tho' others were at all Times ready to join and aſſiſt the Ruffians of their Country who came to plunder.

A great Diſtinction there was between theſe and the others in their Actions, and in the Cauſe the *Britons* had to hate them; but the King made none.

In the Year of his Marriage, to ſtrike a Terror into that Nation for ever, he order'd a general Maſſacre of the *Danes* throughout *England*. Letters were diſpatch'd to every Part of the Kingdom appointing the Day, commanding Secrecy, and ordering all to fall on at the ſame Moment.

The ninth of *July* 1002 was the Day; and ſo univerſally hated were the *Danes*, that ſcarce one eſcap'd. Men, Women, and Children; the Guilty, and the Innocent, all fell together: a People bled.

Ethelred triumphing in his Succeſs, ſeem'd not to remember it would be reveng'd. *Swane*, King of *Denmark*, himſelf led the next Year a vaſt Body of his People to avenge the Blood of their Countrymen murther'd by the *Britons*. He demoliſh'd *Exeter*; and march'd thro' *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire*, and the adjoining Counties unoppos'd by *Ethelred*, and committing the moſt horrible Barbarities. Thoſe who ſhould have acted for the King in theſe Parts were treacherous: no Sovereign was ever ſo unhappy in the Appointment of Officers for the moſt important Services.

The *Danes*, after they had ſated their Revenge and Avarice, return'd for the Winter; and made new Preparations for another Invaſion in the ſucceeding Spring.

In 1004 they came more numerous, and more deſperate than ever. They landed in *Norfolk*: the *Yare* was at that Time navigable: up that River *Swane*, again preſent in Perſon, led his light Veſſels; and anchoring at *Norwich*, ſack'd and burnt that City.

The Duke of the *Eaſt Angles* ſaw his Condition in the Power of *Swane*, and being unable to oppoſe, he made a Treaty with him. The *Dane* ſwore; but Oaths were of little Force with him when Intereſt pleaded for their Violation.

The Peace was but of ſhort Continuance, *Swane* led out his Men by Night, fired and plunder'd, and murder'd all before him; and was retiring with the Booty to his Ships, when the Duke, to whom he had engag'd himſelf, at the Head of a ſmall but reſolute Party, ſet upon his whole Body.

The *Danes*, terrify'd at the Boldneſs of the Attack, ſtood aſtoniſh'd for ſome time, and with their beſt Endeavours could hardly maintain their Ground. Many fell on both Sides; but *Swane* was victorious; and determined to puſh his Succeſſes the next Year, he remained all Winter in *Britain*.

In this he defeated his own Purpoſes, for the Terror of his Arms, added to the Slaughter of the preceeding Summer, ſtopped all the common Affairs of Life: no Fields were tilled, no Care taken for Proviſion, and in the Year 1005 was a Year of Famine.

The *Danes* returned: driven by Want of Neceſſaries from that Country where they had in former Years found ſo much Plunder, and raiſed ſuch Contributions.

Ethelred now ſaw, and his People ſaw it with him, that his great Expectations from his Alliance with *Normandy*, had not the Conſequences they had imagined. They ſaw *Britain* muſt depend upon itſelf for its Defence. They could not but expect the *Danes* would repeat their Devaſtations another Year, and 'twas propoſed to uſe the preſent Opportunity in preparing for oppoſing them.

A Fleet was talked of, but nothing more than talked of: the next Spring might bring the *Danes* upon their Coaſts, and no Armament could be ready in that Time of any tolerable Expectation to reſiſt them. This therefore was declined; all Meaſures were taken to raiſe a conſiderable Land-Force; and the King himſelf propoſed to lead them, and to give the *Danes* Battle.

The Troops were ready, and the Enemy did not decline their Viſitation; but fighting was not their Buſineſs, therefore they always avoided that as much as they could: their Intent was Plunder.

The whole Body of them early this Year 1006, landed at *Sandwich*, and began to lay waſte the Counties of *Kent* and *Suſſex*.

Ethelred marched againſt them; and they ſaw his Force, they avoided coming to an Engagement by ſhifting faſter than ſo vaſt a Body could follow them; and after ſpending the whole Summer before his Face, in plundering and burning his Towns, and ſlaughtering his People, they got ſafe with the Booty to their Ships.

Perhaps *Ethelred* whoſe Spirit was not of the martial Kind, had no Deſire of coming to an Engagement with them; however that were it is certain they had not.

They effected all their Purpoſes in the Sight of a powerful Army, and returned in full Glory to their Country. This was a terrible Inſtance of that Truth ſo often inculcated, that a Navy is the Support in *Britain*.

CHAP. III.

A great Naval Preparation is made in Britain.

THE Army which had been ſupported at a vaſt Expence, and had done no Service, was diſbanded at the Cloſe of the Year, and Councils again were held what Courſe to take.

The King ever moſt ready for the eaſieſt Way, propoſed to offer the Enemy again a Sum to be quiet the next Year. This was the great Tranſaction of 1007.

The *Danes* accepted the Offer, but again raiſed the Price. They now demanded Six and Thirty Thouſand Pounds; and the whole Kingdom, beggar'd as it was before, was taxed to pay it.

Another miſerable Miſtake of *Ethelred*'s, characteriſed alſo this unhappy Year. It was the raiſing *Edric* into Power. The Conſequences of this could not ſo eaſily be ſeen, as of the other publick Meaſures; but 'twas altogether wrong in itſelf, becauſe the Man had nothing to recommend him, but Wealth obtained by the moſt diſhoneſt Methods: he who had been ſo bad a Man in private Life, it might be expected would not make a good publick Officer, and he ſhewed ſuch Preſages as are moſt true.

The King ſold to him the Dukedom of *Mercia*, and he acted as one who had bought the Dignity.

Ethelred was at length awakened in earneſt from his fatal Lethergy, by the News of a mighty Preparation of the *Danes*. He had no Cauſe to doubt the Truth of the Intelligence, and all was at Stake: For the avowed Purpoſe of the Enemy was to land in a much larger Number than ever, and to keep Poſſeſſion.

An Army had been found ineffectual to reſiſt them. A Naval Power had been underſtood throughout all theſe Calamities the true Redreſs, and only poſtpon'd becauſe of the Difficulty.

The Neceſſity was now become abſolute, and all Difficulties gave Way to it. 'Twas determined a great Fleet ſhould be built, and the whole Kingdom was taxed for it. The Land was taken into Account according to Hides, each Hide being as much as one Yoke of Oxen could conveniently till, and every three Hundred and ten Hides of Land, were to furniſh out one Veſſel.

This was a moſt rational Propoſal, and promiſed a great deal. 'Twas pity but it had been ſet on Foot while the Kingdom was in better Condition to bear the Expence; however, all contributed willingly not only to this, but to a farther Tax for Arms.

The Builders were ſet to work, Expedition was promoted by every Encouragement, the Buſineſs went on proſperouſly, the Sailors were got in readineſs, and the general Rendezvous of the Ships was appointed off *Sandwich*. Every Veſſel was to carry a ſufficient Number of picked Men as Soldiers, beſide the Sailors: theſe were armed at the Expence of the Contribution; and early in the Year 1008 every Sea-port was full of them.

Ethelred now thought his Dominions ſecure. A vaſt many Veſſels were actually fitted out during the Summer, but the firſt Squadron ſet off as Pirates. *Wulnoth* Commander in Chief of the South *Saxons*, was accuſed of Treaſon; 'tis ſaid wrongfully and out of perſonal Pique: He ſaw his Fate determined, and to eſcape the Malice of his Enemies he put to Sea independent and to live by Plunder.

Intelligence was ſent of this, and *Bitbric* his Accuſer took fourſcore Veſſels and went after him.

The People ſaw their Contributions ſerve to an ill Purpoſe. Veſſels fitted out againſt the common Enemy, were employed in party Quarrels; and Soldiers raiſed againſt the *Danes*, were ſent to cut the Throats of one another.

The Event was more miſerable than could have been expected; the leſſer Party it was ſuppoſed would be deſtroyed; but this proved the Fate of the greater. About one Hundred and Forty Veſſels were fitted out at this Time; and a Hundred of them were thus employed againſt each other.

Ethelred was diſheartened at the Accident; but the Event threw him into abſolute Deſpair.

Bitbric who was no Officer, had accuſed the other out of Envy.

Wulnoth knew the Man he had to deal with: he led him by a pretended Flight into a dangerous Sea, at as dangerous a Time, and the whole Fleet was wreck'd. He purſued his Succeſs and ſet Fire to them. The whole Eighty were reduced to Aſhes.

Thus the Preparation of a long Time, was overthrown in a few Days; and the Hope of Security loſt to the Kingdom, by the Quarrel of two of her People.

More than half the Veſſels that had been fitted out were deſtroyed: Twenty, of the remaining Sixty, were in the Hands of an Enemy, for *Wulnoth* had openly declared himſelf ſuch now; and the Kingdom inſtead of ſecuring itſelf by this Expence and Labour, became involved in more Dangers.

Ethelred terrified at the Proſpect, put himſelf at the Head of his remaining Veſſels, not to ſeek *Wulnoth*, but to retire from him. He went directly to *London*.

CHAP. IV.

The Londoners *diſtinguiſh themſelves by their Loyalty and Courage.*

THE *Danes* had Intelligence of all that paſſed in *Britain*, and they purſued their Purpoſe. The Year 1008, was ſpent by them in making Preparations for their grand Deſign; and it was waſted in *Britain* in this miſerable Manner.

In *June* 1009, *Turkill*, a *Daniſh* Earl, came with a very large Fleet, to the Iſle of *Thanet*, and ravaged all the Country.

The Terrors of the *Britons* made this Armament appear greater than it was; but in two Months more, the real Danger became greater than their Fears: *Turkill*'s was but a Part of the *Daniſh* Preparation this Year. 'Twas ready firſt; and as he knew it of Strength enough to ſtand alone againſt any Oppoſition in the Power of the *Britons*, he had ſet off with it firſt, to make what Uſe he could of it to his own Purpoſe, till the other came.

This ſecond Fleet was twice as great as the firſt, and was led by two eminent Commanders *Heming* and *Kaf*; it join'd *Turkill*'s, and they proceeded together.

The firſt Deſign of the united Force was to attack *Canterbury*.

The People ſaw they could not oppoſe them, and following the Royal Example they offered them Compoſition. The Sum was fixed at three Thouſand Pounds; and the *Danes* bent their Courſe to *Hampſhire*.

The King ſaw his broken Navy in no Condition to cope with the joint Fleet of the *Danes* under their ſeveral Commanders; Recourſe was therefore again had to Land Forces: The *Danes* went on plundering at Will, and carrying Fire and Sword wherever they paſſed: they returned to their Ships after every Excurſion, and made for ſome other Part of the Coaſt.

All that could be done, was to place large Bodies of Troops where the Enemy were expected to land, but this was of no Effect; for it only determined them to go for ſome other Place. They came to plunder, not to fight; and they landed where they could do it with leaſt Moleſtation.

One Opportunity offered that Year, and only one, of attacking them, and every Thing in that made for it.

While the King at the Head of a large Body of Troops, was on his March to the Coaſt, the *Danes* not knowing he was near, had ventured far into the County: Chance gave an Opportunity to cut them off, for *Ethelred* had a much larger Force, and he got in between their Ships and them.

A Wood preſented the Advantage of an Ambuſh, and every Thing ſeemed to promiſe the *Britons* their Fill of Revenge. Certainly had the Opportunity been properly uſed, not a *Dane* of all that Party had eſcaped.

The King tho' not of an active or martial Diſpoſition, ſaw the Advantage, and determined to uſe it to the full: but *Edric*, the late made Duke of *Marcia*, adviſed, to let the *Danes* for this Time paſs undiſturbed; and watch their future Landings.

Edric was famous for an artful Speaker. It could not be eaſy to perſuade the King and the Body of the Nobility then with him to let ſuch an Opportunity ſlip; but he effected it.

Indeed the Nobility were like the King, ſoftened by Luxury, and averſe to Fighting. Partly by their Fears, and partly by his Influence with the King, he prevailed.

The Army looked on, and ſaw the *Danes*, who had burnt and deſtroyed eight Towns in this Expedition, march to their Ships and embark with their Booty.

What can be ſaid to ſuch an Act of Sloth and Cowardice, but that the Kingdom was devoted to Deſtruction.

The *Danes* never entertained ſo mean an Opinion of the *Britons*, as from this Incident. They purſu'd their Intent of wintering here, and ſailed up the *Thames* for that Purpoſe. While they were there they laid the whole Country on both Sides under Contribution; and they made repeated Attempts upon *London*, but all unſucceſsful. The braveſt People of the Iſland were center'd there; and they had moſt to defend.

The *Danes* were not diſheartened, though repulſed: they had punctually followed their Plan, they had paſs'd the Winter in *Britain*, and rais'd Contributions for their Support; and as ſoon as the Spring came in the ſucceeding Year 1010. they left their Ships in their full Body, and marched to *Oxford*. They plunder'd and burnt that City, and waſted all the Country about.

Returning from this Expedition they divided into two Bodies, and held their March on the two Sides the *Thames*, waſting all before them.

Ethelred ſaw what he had feared approaching: a victorious Enemy ſettled in his Kingdom, and plundering all before them. He addreſſed the *Londoners*, who had ſo bravely defended themſelves, requeſting them to riſe in Defence of the Kingdom: he propoſed to add to them whatever Forces were then under his Command; and the *Londoners* readily conſenting, a very conſiderable Body was immediately on Foot, and marched toward the *Danes*, returning with their Booty; determining, if poſſible, to take the Advantage of the Diviſion of their Force, and fight each Party ſingly.

This was an Advantage the *Danes* were as much afraid to give them, as they were earneſt to deſire: they had Intelligence of their March, and they on the North Side paſſed the *Thames* at *Staines*, where they joined the reſt.

The *Londoners* had ſet out on the North Side of the River, and were therefore to croſs it alſo, to follow them. This demanded ſome Time; and the *Danes*, whoſe conſtant Policy was to avoid a Battle if they could, marching off as faſt as their Plunder would permit them, reached their Ships in Safety.

CHAP. V.

Turkill *remains with his Ships.*

THIS Exploit was early in the Year. When they had lodged their Booty ſafe Aboard, they ſet to work to refit their Veſſels; and after about ſix Weeks, ſail'd for the Coaſt of the *Eaſt Angles*.

They landed at *Ipſwich*, and here their Intelligence having failed them, they were drawn into the Neceſſity of an Engagement. *Ulſketel* lay in the Neighbourhood, with a conſiderable Force, and he marched againſt them as ſoon as they were landed. They were now obliged to fight, and when that was the Caſe no People did it more deſperately. The Engagement was going in Favour of *Ulſketel*, when one of his Officers turning his Back, ſet an Example, Thouſands follow'd; the *Danes* puſh'd their Advantage, a general Rout enſu'd, and more fell in the Flight than had done in the Field. *Ulſketel* enraged, enquir'd into the Cauſe; and found he who firſt gave Ground was a *Dane*.

This was one of the many Inſtances in which Treachery brought Ruin on a Party to whom every thing promiſed Advantage.

Many of the Prime of the Nobility were with *Ulſketel* in this Action, and few of thoſe eſcap'd. The *Danes* gave no Quarter to any; and in Conſequence of this Action over-run all the neighbouring Country three Months without Oppoſition.

This Year they burnt *Cambridge*, *Thetford*, and many other conſiderable Towns; and then return'd in Safety to their Ships.

No Year had ſeen ſo much Devaſtation or ſo much Cruelty as this; they made ſeveral Excurſions, beginning early in the Seaſon, and continuing them to the ſetting in of Winter, every where making their Progreſs with utter Ruin.

The utmoſt Fears of *Ethelred* could not exceed the Conſequences of the Expedition: they wintered in the *Thames*, ſupporting themſelves as before, by vaſt Contributions from the neighbouring Provinces; which, as ſoon as Spring opened in 1011. they pillag'd and deſtroy'd.

Ethelred ſaw there was no Hope for him but in the old Propoſal, Money to depart. Early in the Year he made the Offer, and the *Danes* accepted it, but they again enlarg'd the Sum. The Condition was, their immediate Departure, and People thought that would now be purchaſed at any Price. They would have thought right, if it could have been purchaſed at all; but they now found they had to deal with a Body of People whom no Ties could bind.

The Sum was ſcarce ſettled when they fell upon *Canterbury*. The City was well defended, but a dignified Clergyman, of *Daniſh* Extraction, betray'd a Part of it to them, which they plunder'd and afterwards burnt; deſtroying the miſerable Inhabitants with the moſt cruel Tortures, in Wantonneſs and Sport.

This Year they repeated their uſual Devaſtations, and winter'd again at *Greenwich*.

Among the few the *Danes* ſpar'd when they ſack'd *Canterbury*, was *Alphage* the Archbiſhop; not in Mercy but in Hope of Ranſom. They brought him to *Greenwich*, the Station of their Ships; and in the Beginning of 1012. calling him forth, demanded three Thouſand Pounds for his Life; which he declaring himſelf unable to raiſe, they inſulted him, beat him, and delivered him out to the People to be ſton'd. The Church at *Greenwich* was built upon the Spot, and conſecrated to his Memory; and the Tranſaction is recorded in an Inſcription on the Wall preſerv'd to this Day.

The firſt Buſineſs of *Ethelred*, who, to the Miſfortune of the Kingdom, ſtill ſway'd the Scepter, was to raiſe the ſtipulated Sum, now ſtated at eight and forty Thouſand Pounds. This was the fifth

Tribute to the *Danes*; and this he ſummon'd his Nobles early in 1012, to conſider Ways of raiſing. The Country was tax'd high for it, but it was obtained; and paid.

The Oath was now more ſolemn than ever; and the *Daniſh* Fleet ſeparated upon it; the great Part making homeward. *Turkill* remain'd with forty-five Veſſels, and ſaid he had a Propoſal to make to the Government: that he meant nothing but good Faith; and that if it were accepted he ſhould rejoice; if otherwiſe, he would immediately follow the two other Leaders home.

All Ears were open to hear this Propoſal, and it was in brief an Offer of his Friendſhip and his Services. He propoſed to *Ethelred* to remain in *Britain*, ſwearing Allegiance to him; and to keep his People with him, who ſhould be ready to defend the Nation againſt any new Attack, even if it ſhould be by their own Countrymen: requiring nothing but a Stipend to feed and cloath them.

Ethelred, deſpairing of his Fortune, and afraid to diſoblige *Turkill* by a Refuſal, conſented, though he ſuſpected Treaſon.

The Chief and his People ſwore Allegiance. They from that Time receiv'd their Pay; and all was quiet for that Year and the Beginning of the next.

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CHAP. VI.

Britain *is yielded to the* Danes.

As the *Danes* had been accuſtom'd to come early in the Seaſon; the People when *Midſummer* was paſt, and no hoſtile Force appear'd, began to be in Spirits: but toward the Middle of *July*, News was receiv'd that a *Daniſh* Fleet was ſeen off *Sandwich*.

The next Intelligence was, that *Swane* the King of *Denmark*, ſo dreaded in *Britain* for his former Cruelties, commanded it; and 'twas now not doubted but *Turkill* had betray'd the Kingdom; that his Pretence for ſtaying had been falſe, and his real Deſign to give his King Intelligence, when he might come moſt opportunely, where land moſt ſucceſsfully, and what Courſe it was beſt to take in his Progreſs.

Swane made a ſhort Stay at *Sandwich*, and thence went up the *Trent* and *Humber*, waſting and deſtroying every Thing before him.

The Plan ſeem'd now deeply laid indeed. After the moſt cruel Devaſtations, *Swane* encamp'd at *Gainſborough*; and thence ſent out Proclamations every Way, that he was ready to receive all who choſe to join him as Friends; but for all others he ſhould treat them as Enemies, of whatever Rank, Province, or Denomination.

This was a terrible Blow to *Ethelred*, and ſeems to have been the Execution of a Plan laid by *Turkill*, who had now been long enough in *Britain* to know the Minds and Opinions of the People.

Immediately upon *Swane*'s Proclamation the *Northumbrians* came in, with their Earl *Uthred* at their Head: the People of *Lindſey* follow'd, and in a few Days thoſe of *Fiſburg*; and afterwards at once, all thoſe of *Watling-ſtreet*, the great Highway from Eaſt to Weſt.

Thoſe who were near came crowding in; thoſe more remote ſent Deputies, with full Power to act as themſelves. He took Oaths of Allegiance from them: from ſuch as he leaſt truſted, Hoſtages; and from all, ſome Body of pick'd Men were incorporated into his Troops.

Canute was in this Expedition, the Son of *Swane*: he had the Care of the Fleet and Baggage with a ſtrong Party; and *Swane* having ſettled every Thing, and knowing who were his Friends, and who his Enemies, march'd his Courſe to the *South Mercians*.

The Cruelty of his Soldiers, added to the great Number of his Army, ſpread univerſal Terror. He took *Oxford* and *Wincheſter*; and thence turning his Courſe toward *London*, over-ran all the Country with an incredible Expedition.

Here was a Beginning that promiſ'd every Thing to the *Danes*; but they were a very unpoliſh'd and rude People. They were deſperate in their Courage, but raſh beyond all compariſon. *Swane* had the *Thames* to croſs in his Way to *London*; and without taking Bridge or Ford, when he came up to the Side, he leap'd in, and bad his Army follow. He got over ſafe, but he loſt a vaſt Number of his People.

His Attack upon *London* was made with the ſame unthinking Haſte, and here he met his firſt Repulſe. *London* was not impregnable; but 'twas not to be taken like ſmaller Cities. Its Inhabitants had often diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their Valour, and they acted on this Occaſion very well up to their former Character.

Miſſing Succeſs againſt *London* he turn'd another Way, ſack'd *Wallingford* and *Bath*; and after the utmoſt Cruelties, for this was his Policy to fright People to Obedience, he publiſh'd another Proclamation; and in conſequence of this, *Ethelm*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, and almoſt all the Weſt came in, and ſwore Obedience.

Ethelred who ſaw all this, unable to oppoſe it, now heard the utmoſt of his Fears accompliſh'd. *Swane* cauſ'd himſelf to be proclaim'd KING OF BRITAIN, and threaten'd utter Deſtruction to all who ſhould not inſtantly pay him their Allegiance.

The *Londoners* now ſent Deputies, and made their Peace with him; they had oppoſ'd a *Daniſh* Army, but they could not propoſe to ſtand againſt a Sovereign who commanded the reſt of the Kingdom.

Ethelred, when *London* ſubmitted, gave up all; he fled. *Turkill*'s Veſſels ready for that Service, carry'd firſt his Queen and Sons, and afterwards himſelf to *Normandy*; where he threw himſelf into the Protection of *Richard* II, Duke of *Normandy*, and *Emma* his Queen's Brother. Thus was *Britain*, at the End of the Year 1013, yielded to the *Danes*, under *Swane* their King.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Ethelred *is called back by his Nobles.*

SWANE now had all his Wiſh: the Kingdom yielded to him, and he was not born to govern mildly. He ſaw his Right was Conqueſt, and he behaved in all Things like a Conqueror. He impoſed inſupportable Tributes on the People, and put all to Fire and Sword where the Demand was not obey'd.

Turkill had been quiet all this Time, but he now acted openly, and he plunder'd all the Country about *Greenwich*.

Swane conniv'd at this. He took up his Reſidence at *Gainſborough*, planing out the Form of Government; but here he fell into a Fever, and dy'd in a few Days. His Poſſeſſion of the Iſland he had conquer'd was very ſhort, *Ethelred* did not leave it till the very End of the Year 1013, and *Swane* dy'd in the Beginning of 1014.

This was a Death of great Importance. It waken'd the Attention both of the *Danes* and *Britons*. The *Danes* immediately ſet their Crown on *Canute*; but the *Britiſh* Nobility dreading a *Daniſh* King, of whoſe Government *Swane* had given them a ſad Preſage, ſent Deputies to *Normandy*, inviting *Ethelred* to come once more to his Kingdom; encouraging him to act againſt the *Danes* with Spirit; and promiſing him their Fortunes and their Lives, whenever requir'd, for his Service.

Ethelred, who tho' he had not Spirit to defend a Crown, had Ambition enough to aſpire at one again, accepted the Propoſal with the utmoſt Joy and Gratitude: he ſent his eldeſt Son *Edward* over to promiſe every Thing in his Name, to ſtrengthen their Union, and tell them he was ready to return.

A few Weeks finiſh'd this Negotiation: the Nobility arm'd their Dependants to keep the *Danes* at bay, who were all this Time preparing for ſpreading the Terror of their Arms over the Provinces that held out againſt them; and went in a Body to *Normandy*, to bring back their King.

Ethelred again ſet his Foot on *Britiſh* Land as Sovereign, in the Beginning of *April* 1014.

This was conducted with ſo much Care and Secrecy, that the *Danes* knew nothing of it. *Canute* called in his new Subjects of the neareſt Provinces to aſſiſt in the Reduction of the reſt, and of theſe none came ſo readily as the People of *Lindſey*. With theſe, and his own Forces, he ſet out to waſte the reſiſting Provinces toward the End of *April*.

Thoſe who had invited and brought over *Ethelred*, acted vigorouſly in ſupporting him.

In a Fortnight after his landing, he ſaw himſelf at the Head of a very great Force, and with this he upon the general Council march'd againſt *Canute*.

The Aſtoniſhment of the *Danes* half conquer'd them; they had heard of Preparations, but they held them light: they little expected to ſee ſuch an Army, much leſs to ſee a King at their Head. The Nobles led the Men to the Attack, and kept up ſuch a Spirit in them, that after the firſt Shock the *Danes* ran away. They ſeparated from their Aſſociates the People of *Lindſey*: their Ships were their Refuge, and thoſe would hold none but themſelves, ſo that they left thoſe their Allies to the Mercy of their Sovereign.

They loſt a great Number in getting to their Veſſels, and the *Lindſey* People were all taken Priſoners.

Ethelred now did nothing but by the Advice of his Nobility, and the general Voice condemn'd theſe Priſoners to the Sword; a Warning to the other Provinces, that they ſhould fall in the Defence of their Country, or they might ſave themſelves to periſh by its Juſtice.

The Veſſels under *Turkill* lay all this Time at *Greenwich*, and were the only Naval Power in the Command of *Britain*. *Ethelred* order'd them to be ready at an Hour's Notice, he raiſed Money from a cheerful Contribution of the People to pay them; and *Turkill* profeſſed his Readineſs to ſerve him even againſt his Countrymen.

This cunning *Dane* had play'd his Part ſo evenly, that whether *Ethelred* or *Canute* had ſucceeded, he ſtood clear of Imputation: if he had plunder'd in the Time of *Swane*, it was becauſe his Pay was ſtop'd, and his People muſt eat. 'Twas not a Time to enquire into Things too ſtrictly.

Canute was too ſtrong at Sea to be attack'd by *Turkill*'s Fleet, and he knew there was no other in the *Britiſh* Service: he ſaw the People crowd to *Ethelred*'s Banners, thoſe who had ſwore Allegiance to his Father firſt: the Hate of *Daniſh* Maſters, and the Fate of the *Lindſey* People join'd to ſend them in. He found ſo many of his Men had fallen in the firſt Engagement, that he could not face the Army of *Ethelred* any more in his preſent Circumſtances; and he determined to ſail back.

He firſt called together his chief People, and in their Preſence ordering up the Hoſtages left with his Father for the Obedience of the ſeveral Provinces, he order'd their Hands to be cut off, and their Faces to be mangled, and ſet them on Shore, as an Example of his determin'd Puniſhment of their reſpective Provinces.

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CHAP. VIII.

The Treachery of Turkill *is at length fatal to* BRITAIN.

EARLY in the Year 1018, the King prepared againſt the expected Return of the *Danes*, by raiſing a very powerful Army; and he was not ready before the Enemy appear'd.

Canute return'd in all the Pomp, as well as Force of Majeſty. He brought two hundred Veſſels richly decorated and glittering with Gold. He anchor'd off *Sandwich*, and prepared to land his Forces.

Turkill, who had remain'd with *Ethelred* only as a Spy, decamp'd in the Night with what Power he could command, and join'd *Canute*. He told him the Force of the King, and every Circumſtance of Diſcouragement or Hope; and *Canute* committed to him the Conduct of the Enterprize. He remain'd on board while *Turkill* drew up the Forces on ſhore. They march'd toward the King's Army, who makeing up to them alſo, met them at *Sherſton* in *Wiltſhire*.

Here was fought one of the bloodieſt Battles that happened in this long Diſpute. The *Britons* were more than twice the Number of the *Danes*, and every Man fought as if himſelf were to decide the Fortune of the Kingdom.

They bore down the *Danes* after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, and drove them from the Field.

'Twas the Advice of the Nobles to purſue the flying Enemy, but *Ethelred* now firſt croſſing their Purpoſes, ſaid he had done enough. His Obſtinacy and Folly loſt him the Advantage.

Turkil conſider'd his Condition, and he found it deſperate: he ſaw the Enemy ſtop Purſuit, and he rallyed his Forces. He told them they fought for a Kingdom, and in the Cauſe of a King who would reward every Man with a Part of it. He led them up, and charg'd ſo deſperately, that the Part of the *Britons* againſt whom his Attack was made, gave Way.

His People ſet up a Shout, 'twas ecchoed from the reſt; and the Effect was a new Spirit in the whole Body of the *Danes*.

The *Britons* yielded before them, and *Turkill* after a Fight of ſix Hours was Maſter of the Field.

This Action, however, did not decide the Controverſy. *Turkill* led the *Daniſh* Forces through *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, and *Wiltſhire*, committing all Barbarities; and encouraging his Soldiers with a large Share of the Plunder.

Ethelred this Time was ſick, but he commiſſioned *Edmund* his Son, and *Edric* his faithleſs Favourite, to raiſe Forces. They ſucceeded, and joining their two Corps, formed an Army that was again able to face the *Danes*.

The Plan of Operation was laid, and they were marching toward the Enemy; when an Officer intruſted by *Edric* with his Secrets, betrayed to *Edmund* a Deſign againſt his Life.

Edmund immediately drew off his Corps; and the *Danes* rejoiced to ſee an Army ſeparated, which when entire threatened them with Ruin. *Turkill* tho' he carryed off with him to *Canute* a Body of his Men, could not get off the Veſſels he commanded in the Service of *Ethelred*: but what this treacherous *Dane* could not do, the Treachery of *Edric* effected.

He found Means to poſſeſs himſelf of theſe Veſſels, and with them and his Power, which was one half of the Strength of *Britain*, he revolted to *Canute*.

This was a dreadful Blow; the Terror of the *Danes* began to ſpread as at firſt; and the *Weſt Saxons* ſubmitted to *Canute*, who impoſ'd a Tax, they willingly paid; and demanded Horſes to mount a conſiderable Part of his Troops, which were ſent in.

The Winter paſſed in raiſing of Troops on both Sides; and in the Spring 1016, *Canute* having largely rewarded *Turkill*, took the Command of his Forces himſelf, and with *Edric* and his Powers, he entered *Mercia*.

All this Time *Ethelred* lay ſick, or frightened enough to pretend it.

Edmund, Heir to the Crown, ſaw it was his own Cauſe he was fighting, and having full Power from his Father, he took every Meaſure to ſupport it. He entered *Mercia*, againſt the *Danes*, with the ſmall Force he then had ready, and calling upon the *Mercians* to join his Army; told them, that if they would follow, he would lead them on to Victory. They came in very freely, but they ſaw the *Danes* powerful. As they came nearer they were terrify'd, and they repreſented to the Prince the Danger of an Action: his Anſwer was, Friends, I have no Fear — why ſhould you? — we will conquer — the more the Danger, the greater will be the Glory.

Words could not ſupport the Spirit of the daunted *Mercians*; they complain'd that the whole Defence of the Kingdom ſhould be left to them; and declared that unleſs the King, and the *Londoners*, join'd the Army, they would not ſerve.

The Prince diſpatched Meſſengers to his Father, who promiſed to raiſe a Force and come; but the *Merciant* were tired of waiting: the *Danes* approached and threatened Battle; and they every Man went Home.

Edmund was now left with a very ſmall Force to oppoſe a numerous and victorious Army; and he ſhewed a Spirit that would have done Honour to the greateſt Heroe of Antiquity: he kept the *Danes* at Bay five Weeks, every where facing them; ſtoping their Depredations, and expoſing himſelf to their Attack. They feared his Spirit, and delayed falling upon his little Party, till upon his repeated Diſpatches, repreſenting the Neceſſity of the Service, the King came up with a large Body.

Prince *Edmund* by this hardy Bravery, obtained the Sirname *Ironſide*.

Treachery had always more Share in the Deſtruction of *Britain*, than Valour in its Enemies.

The Forces now collected were ready for Action, and had a fair Proſpect of Succeſs; when Whiſpers were brought to the King, that Part of the Army was not to be truſted; that he muſt be upon his Guard, or he would be given up to the *Danes*.

His own natural Timidity, and the Inſtances he had already ſeen of Perfidy in thoſe he moſt truſted, gave Credit to the Report. Nothing could threaten him ſo nearly as this; and when Victory was in his Reach, he diſbanded great Part of his Army; and marched back with the *Londoners* to that City.

Canute ſeeing the Army diſperſed, purſued his Conqueſts; and *Edmund* joining *Utbred*, at the Head of the *Northumbrians*, fell upon all the Provinces that had aſſiſted the *Danes*; and upon ſome for ſtanding neuter.

Utbred ſtood by the Prince ſo long as there was any Hope; but when he had left him, and *Canute* entered *Northumberland*, finding Oppoſition impoſſible, he ſubmitted, and gave Hoſtages to the *Danes* for his future Fidelity.

Canute received his Submiſſion, and took the Hoſtages; but hearing of his former Services to the King, he had him murdered privately, and appointed a *Dane*, *Iric*, Earl in his Stead.

Prince *Edmund* was not long arrived at *London*, when *Ethelred* his Father died, this was in the Summer of the Year 1016.

CHAP. IX.

The Reign of Edmund, *ſirnamed* Ironſide.

Ethelred was buried in Saint *Paul's* Church, and *Edmund* by the Nobles named King. But the Clergy, and ſome of the principal of the People who were guided by them, declared for *Canute*. They ſaw no other End of their Country's Miſeries, and they ſubmitted to the fatal Neceſſity.

Theſe went in a Body to *Southampton*, where *Canute* then lay; and ſwearing Allegiance to him, renounced in the moſt ſolemn Form the Race of *Ethelred*.

Edmund ſaw the terrible Diſadvantages under which he was to begin his Reign; but a redoubled Spirit grew from the Danger. He went to the *Weſt Saxons*, whom he knew moſt firm to his Intereſts; and they receiv'd him with Acclamations; vowing to die his Subjects: this Spirit, and the general Reſpect for *Edmund*, induced many other Provinces to follow the Example. Thoſe whom Fear only ſway'd, went to the *Danes*; but in the braver Part of the People there was Hope of ſhaking off thoſe bloody Maſters.

Thoſe who had Wiſdom as well as Courage, ſaw that the Timidity of the late King had been the Cauſe of their ill Fortune: they ſaw there was now a Chance again, and promis'd themſelves Victory.

Edmund by his Courage and his Virtues, won more and more upon the People.

A good Part of the Summer yet remain'd, and *Canute* determin'd to make his beſt Uſe of it. While *Edmund* was in the Province of the *Weſt Saxons* he march'd to his Ships, and came up the *Thames* to *London*. He called himſelf King, and urg'd the free Voices of the People: but the *Londoners*, firm to the Royal Line, refuſed to acknowledge him. Upon this he threaten'd Fire and Sword, ſurrounded the City; and attack'd it in four Parts at once: but his Powers were every where repulſed; and the City ſaved with Honour.

It would have been a great Step to have made himſelf Maſter of *London* while *Edmund* was abſent; but failing in that, the next Hope was to cut off the Powers of *Edmund* before they were too far ſtrengthen'd by Recruits. To this End *Canute* march'd for the *Weſt Saxon* Territories.

Edmund with that hardy Bravery, which was his Character, inſtead of intrenching himſelf with his ſmall Force, march'd them againſt the numerous Enemy; they met near *Pen* in *Somerſetſhire*; and *Edmund* conquer'd againſt four-fold odds. He drove the *Danes* after a great Slaughter from the Field.

Canute was not diſhearten'd by theſe Loſſes, the Game he play'd was large, and he was determin'd not to give it up. He ſummon'd all his Friends, made up the greateſt Power he could, and again took the Field.

The Courage of *Edmund* in a manner created Soldiers. He was reinforced largely after the laſt Action; and ſeeing the *Danes* gathering new Strength, he march'd againſt them, and came up with them at *Sharſtan*.

The Fight was deſperate, and laſted out the Day. Night parted the Armies, each thin'd by a terrible Slaughter, but neither claiming Victory.

Edmund encourag'd his Soldiers walking the Rounds all Night, and at Day-break led them to the Charge again. The *Danes* gave Ground, and all was going favourably to the King; when a Stratagem of *Edric*, who fought among the *Danes*, had like to have turn'd all againſt him.

There was in the Enemies Service an Officer of the Name of *Oſmer*, often remark'd to have been like *Edmund* in the Face. *Edric* cauſed him to be killed; and placing his Head upon his Spear called out to the *Britons*; for whom are ye fighting? ſee your King is ſlain!

It was indeed the Name and Spirit of *Edmund*, that kept up his Force, for all now were turning to flight: but he recover'd all. He rode forward, where *Edric* was carrying the Head of *Oſmer*; and calling out to his Soldiers, I will ſhew you *Edmund* is alive; let fly his Spear: *Edric* eſcaped the Stroke, but it went through two behind him.

The Soldiers ſhouted and returned to the Charge; and this Battle like the former, laſted till Night.

Victory was doubtful, till the Flight of the *Danes* declared to whom it was due. *Canute* decamp'd in the Night, and made the beſt of his Way to his Ships; and *Edmund* full of Glory, return'd into the Province of the *Weſt Saxons*.

There is ſome Confuſion in the Accounts of this Action, and of the other we have named, in the Hiſtories which deliver them. Some confound the two; others ſay *Canute* was not in the Field in this latter; but upon the fulleſt Examination it appears that there were, as we have named them, two diſtinct Actions, and that *Canute* commanded in the latter.

Edric, who had ſeen ſuch Proofs of *Edmund's* Courage, and ſaw the Terror it created in the *Danes*, ſoon after this Action came over to him. It was not *Edmund's* Buſineſs to refuſe him: he accepted his Oath of Fidelity, but kept him from his Councils.

This Summer of 1016, was the moſt bloody that *Britain* ever ſaw; the Crown was the Object of Quarrel, and the two Kings, for both *Canute* and

Edmund had been acknowledged ſuch, one by one Part and another by another, determined to end the Diſpute at once.

Canute having failed of taking *London* by Aſſault, laid Siege to it; and was now before it, when the Succeſs of *Edmund* filled his Ranks with new Soldiers. He marched them againſt the Beſiegers, fought *Canute* and his Party again before the Walls of the City, and obtained a Victory. He raiſed the Siege, and ſent the *Danes* with great Loſs to his Ships.

There he was impregnable; not by his own Strength, but from the miſerable Neglect of the *Britiſh* Navy.

Edmund having relieved *London*, marched back into the Territories of the *Weſt Saxons*: and *Canute*, a true *Dane*, whom no Diſtreſs could diſcourage, immediately returned with his Forces before *London*. The Inhabitants now defended themſelves ſo well, that the *Dane* ſuſpecting *Edmund* would be again upon his back, raiſed the Siege, and again returned to his Ships.

'Twas now Autumn, but neither Party ſhewed the leaſt Thought of cloſing the Campaign. *Canute* went up the *Orwell*, then called the *Arenne*, with his Ships; and making Deſcents upon *Eſſex* on one Side, and *Suffolk* on the other, he waſted a vaſt Tract of the Country.

Having got all that was to be had there, he ſent his Foot by Sea to the *Medway*, and marching with his Horſe acroſs the Country, met them in *Kent*.

Edmund impatient at the Diſtreſs of that Part of his Kingdom, and finding his Army numerous and ready to follow him, croſſed the *Thames* at *Brentford*, and marched to meet *Canute*: he came up with him at *Otford*; the *Dane* not flying, but waiting his Attack.

Edmund was again victorious; and *Canute* had great Loſs, not only in the Field, but in the Retreat he made, which was too precipitate to be at all guarded. The Soldiers of *Edmund*'s Army were in high Spirits; and they purſued with all the Fury of *Britons* fighting againſt *Danes*.

Edric, who had inſinuated himſelf by this Time into *Edmund*'s Favour, prevailed with him moſt unhappily to ſtop the Purſuit. His Soldiers grieved at the Orders, but they obeyed. A Veteran had the Courage to tell the King, he thought they ſhould be permitted to make the beſt of ſuch a Day; that the *Danes* were far from their Ships, and abſolutely in their Power, and that he might repent for ever the interpoſing in the Courſe of his own Fortune. *Edmund* pardoned the old Soldier's Boldneſs. He did not follow his Advice; but he lived to find him a Prophet.

Canute thus permitted to get over the *Thames* with his Army, fell upon *Mercia* with more Fury than ever. He was returning loaded with Plunder to his Veſſels, when *Edmund*, now conſcious of his Error, attacked him at *Aſſingdon*.

His uſual Fortune attended him; but he was betrayed. The Day was going in his Favour, when *Edric*, whoſe pernicious Councils had before miſled, now deſerted him, carrying over the Corps, with which the unſuſpecting Temper of *Edmund* had intruſted him, to *Canute*.

This gave new Spirit to the *Danes*, and diſcouraged the *Engliſh* ſo, that they began ſoon after to give Way. *Canute* puſhed his Succeſs, and won his firſt Victory againſt *Edmund* with the Effuſion of much *Engliſh* Blood. The principal of the Nobility were with *Edmund*, and moſt of them fell in the Action.

Edmund made the beſt Retreat he could, and was preparing a new Force to try again the Fortune of his Kingdom, when an Offer was made to him of dividing *Britain*.

He liſten'd to it, at the Entreaty of thoſe whom to have diſobliged would have been to give up all; and Commiſſioners met by mutual Appointment, the Kings waiting at the Head of their Armies.

The Commiſſioners returning, and having ſettled the Diviſion of the Iſland, *Edmund* and *Canute* on a ſmall Iſland interchang'd Profeſſions of everlaſting Friendſhip; and parted to their ſeveral Provinces.

Some have written, that they met on this Iſland to diſpute the Kingdom by ſingle Combat; but the Circumſtances ſhew that to have been a Romance.

All this was done in one Summer; and *Edmund* fell a Sacrifice a few Months after. He was murther'd privately in ſuch a Manner, as was ſuppoſed leaſt likely to betray the Fact, in the End of *November*; and *Canute* then claimed the whole. He called the Clergy and Nobility to vouch for him, that the Agreement was abſolute between him and *Edmund*, and terminated with their Lives; no Heir on either Side interpoſing to bar the longer Liver from taking all.

Canute was too terrible to be offended; the very Clergy were frighted into acknowledging what they knew to be falſe; and *Britain* defended ſo nobly by the Heir of *Ethelred*, fell at his Death into the Hands of a *Daniſh* King.

CHAP. X.

The Reign of Canute, *called* Knute *the* Dane.

FIVE hundred and ſeventy Years had now paſſed ſince the *Saxons* Invaſion, when their Power devolved to the *Danes*. *Canute* was in the Year 1017 crowned King of *England*; and the Nobility and Clergy having renounced with the moſt ſolemn Oath the whole *Saxon* Line, *Edwi* the Brother of *Edmund* was ſentenced to perpetual Baniſhment.

The Sentence was deferr'd; for 'twas but a Pretence. *Canute* could content himſelf with nothing but his Death, though he did not care to exaſperate the Nation by deſtroying him openly. *Edric* recommended for this Purpoſe *Ethelward*, a deſperate Perſon, who after ſome Time performed the terrible Command.

Two Sons of *Edmund*'s yet croſſed the Purpoſes of *Canute*. He had the ſame Reaſon for not diſpatching them openly, and he would not commiſſion the Murtherer of *Edwi* to do it, leſt it might bring his Death more into Suſpicion. He ſent them to *Sweden*, hinting his Purpoſe to the King, with whom he was in a ſtrict Friendſhip; but he not caring for the Office, they were ſent into *Hungary*. There one of them died, and the other named *Edward* married honourably.

Canute now ſitting more at Eaſe upon his Throne, began to reward his Officers; to the three principal of whom, *Turkill*, *Edric* and *Eric*, he gave the Superintendency of three Parts of the Iſland, keeping the fourth under his own immediate Eye; and to ingratiate himſelf, he married the Widow of *Ethelred*, whoſe Sons and Grandſons he had murther'd.

Canute though he promoted *Edric*, feared him. He had ſeen how ready he was to change Sides, and how deſperate being an Enemy; he therefore determined to ſave himſelf from his Treachery by diſpatching him; and accordingly without a Tryal, or even a Shadow of it, he ordered him to be beheaded; his Body to be thrown over the Walls, and to lie unburied; and his Head to be fixed upon a Pole in the moſt publick Place of *London*. This was a Sacrifice that not only quieted his own Fears, but pleaſed the People, for no Man was ever hated ſo univerſally.

This Execution was followed by many others of the ſame Kind; and every Man of Conſequence trembled. The King was ſevere and abſolute: he ſet it as his Purpoſe to rule by Terror; and though he now enjoyed full Peace, he kept up his Army. This could not be ſupported without a great Expence; and for this Purpoſe, in the Beginning of 1018, the *Danegelt* was demanded. Eleven thouſand Pounds were charged upon the City of *London*; and upon the reſt of the Kingdom ſeventy-one thouſand; the whole Sum Eighty-two thouſand Pounds.

Diſputes at this Time happened between the *Scots* and the *Danes* upon the Borders, *Eric* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Malcolm* Son of *Keneth* King of *Scots*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſeveral Conflicts; and the Kingdom was in many Places greatly diſturbed. *Canute*, ſevere and tyrannical in his natural Diſpoſition, yet could give Way to gentler Meaſures when Policy required it. He found himſelf, after many bloody Struggles, abſolute King of *Britain*, and he reſolved upon every Method of eſtabliſhing himſelf. He called a grand Council of the Nation: laid before them the Cauſes of the Diſturbances; and it was reſolved that to prevent the like for the future; the Kingdom ſhould be governed according to the Laws of *Edgar*: this was concluded at *Oxford*, and both the King and People bound themſelves by Oath to the Performance.

Britain was not now ſo likely to ſuffer for want of a Naval Power, for the *Danes* knew the Value and Uſe of Shipping.

Canute kept all quiet here during the Year 1018, but he had the Mortification to hear, that while he was conquering abroad, his Dominions were ſuffering at home; the *Swedes* taking Opportunity from his Abſence, enter'd his Kingdom, and were returning upon the *Danes* the Barbarities they had exerciſed upon the *Britons*. *Canute* ſailed into *Denmark* in 1019, and found himſelf under the Neceſſity of remaining there the Winter.

Among the *Engliſh* he took over was a gallant Officer Earl *Goodwin*: this Nobleman commanded in Chief under *Canute*. The *Swedes* were drawn up againſt the *Danes*; and *Goodwin* fought them early the next Morning, and obtained a compleat Victory: he had engaged unknown to *Canute*, but the Succeſs juſtified the Action; and he obtained Rewards and Honours for doing that, which if the Chance of War had gone the other Way, he muſt have loſt his Head.

Canute, after quieting every Thing in his own Country, returned to *Britain*, where by the Terror of his Arms he kept the *Engliſh*, and by frequent Examples the *Danes*, in Subjection. Many Years of Peace followed, in which he governed reſolutely; but, to do Juſtice to his Character, not ill.

In the Year 1020, *Turkill* his great Favourite fell into Diſgrace, and was baniſhed; and the next Year the ſame Fate befel *Eric* Earl of *Northumberland*. In the mean Time he courted Popularity by many Acts of Liberality and Piety: he built a Church at *Aſſington* in the Year 1020, and ſix Years after he founded the Monaſtery of St. *Edmundſbury*, in Honour of the King of that Name, now made a Saint. Two Years after he took up the Remains of St. *Alphage*, whom his People had murther'd, and interr'd them with great Pomp at *Canterbury*.

By theſe, and many other Tranſactions of his Reign, *Canute* appears to have been a prudent as well as a valiant Man. He does not ſeem to have had any real Good in him; but he had the Art to pretend it well; and ſuch Diſſimulation is the next Thing to Virtue.

The enterprizing Spirit of this Sovereign appears in a ſtrong Light from his Attempt on *Norway* in the Year 1029; but it is more to our Purpoſe to remark in this Tranſaction the Condition of the Naval Force of our Iſland at that Time. It was now ſo many Years the *Danes* had been ſettled here, that the Fleet might more properly be called *Engliſh* than *Daniſh*.

Canute order'd new Ships to be built from Time to Time; he practiſed the Sailors by frequent Expeditions; and in this Year 1028, he was able to go with a Fleet of fifty large Ships to an Attempt upon a new Kingdom; and at the ſame Time to leave a very ſufficient Power at home for the guarding of his own.

The Weakneſs and Effeminacy of *Olaus* King of *Norway*, had occaſioned his Subjects to expel him his Dominions, and led *Canute* to his Enterprize. The unfortunate Monarch ventur'd back in the Year 1030, when they roſe upon him, and murther'd him; but they had no ſooner done this, than they reverenced his Memory: though they thought him unfit for a King, they canonized him for a Saint.

We ſee by this Expedition the powerful State of the *Britiſh* Navy in the Beginning of the Reign of *Canute*: and let us mark carefully the Conſequences, Peace at Home, and perfect Security, from any Attempt from Abroad: a Leſſon one would think to all ſucceeding Generations.

In the Year 1030, *Hacun* a powerful *Dane*, married to *Canute*'s Niece, fell under the Suſpicion of Treachery to his King: 'twas not the Way of *Canute* to bring ſuch Things to an open Hearing. He ſent his Couſin *Hacun* upon an honourable Embaſſy, and order'd him to be thrown overboard in the Paſſage: this was his conſtant Practice with all who were guilty, and all he but ſuſpected: it was very well underſtood; and though he was hated for it he was alſo fear'd, ſo that it perfectly anſwer'd his Purpoſe. 'Twas a barbarous Policy, but not unnatural in a Conqueror.

When he had thus eſtabliſh'd himſelf by Crimes, he thought it Time to make a publick Repentance.

In the Year 1031, he went the Round of his Sea Ports in *Britain:* ſaw his Navy every where in good Condition; gave command of his Land Forces to truſty Officers; and leaving all ſafe here embark'd for *Rome*.

There he made his Submiſſions to the Pope, and received earthly Pardon for all his Sins. He carry'd great Treaſures, for 'twas a deal of Abſolution he had to purchaſe; and in his Way thither and back, he ſhew'd many Acts of Liberality and Piety.

Canute, tho' not religious at the Heart, ſeems to have thought the Favour of Heaven his beſt Eſtabliſhment; and this his ſhort Way to purchaſe it. Weak Man to imagine the Bounties of the Hand could be accepted for Charity, where the Heart was murtherous.

In 1032 having ſettled Matters as he ſuppoſed with Heaven, he return'd to the Care of his worldly Affairs; and firſt he thought of *Scotland*.

We have named the Diſputes between *Malcolm* and *Eric:* but *Eric* who had been ſucceſsful being now replaced by a leſs ſpirited Governor, the *Northumbrians* were worried at every Opportunity by the *Scots*, who did not acknowledge *Canute* King of *England*.

He went to *Scotland* early in 1032, and ſoon convinced them he was a King. They ſubmitted, and ſwore Homage to him.

Peace was now eſtabliſh'd in this as well as other Parts of *Britain*, and *Canute* thought of *Norway*; he appointed in 1035 *Swane*, his Son by *Algina*, King there; and *Hardicnute*, his Son by *Emma*, King of *Denmark*.

If we cannot allow *Canute* a good, we muſt acknowledge him a great Man, who thus, though born to but one Kingdom, was abſolute Lord of three.

Harold, his Son by *Algina*, he intended to ſucceed him in the Throne of *Britain:* but it is ſuppoſ'd by moſt of the Writers, that both *Harold* and *Swane* were ſuppoſitious Children; for that *Algina* never was with Child, tho' ſhe pretended it to pleaſe him; and that ſhe got theſe Children ſecretly convey'd to her at the Time ſhe had counted for her Labour.

He did not judge amiſs in giving his three Kingdoms to his three Sons, for few could have ſingly manag'd them. He did it; but he knew himſelf and human Nature too well to think every Man a *Canute*.

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CHAP. XI.

The Reign of Harold.

CANUTE dy'd peacefully in 1035, and *Harold*, according to his Appointment, was declared King immediately after. The Churchmen were at this Time bold even in Oppoſition to their Kings; *Ælnot*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was an Inſtance.

When the Nobility of the Land, the *Mercians*, and the *Londoners* in a Body demanded the Royal Veſtments for the Coronation of *Harold*, of this Prelate; he told them no Will of the Dead could ſet aſide the Inheritance of living Heirs. The Sons of *Emma* he declared to be *Canute*'s proper Deſcendants, and he refuſed to acknowledge this Son of a Shoemaker, for ſo went the Story, as one of them.

Harold was elected King againſt this ſingular Oppoſition; and though he did not think it proper to begin his Reign with a violent Meaſure againſt the Archbiſhop, he hated for his Sake the whole Body of the Clergy.

The Spirit of the Archbiſhop conjured up a Rage of Oppoſition in many others. The Story of the ſuppoſitious Children was very freely talked of; many of the People did not chuſe ſuch Sovereigns, and the famous *Goodwin* declared for *Hardicnute*, the Son of *Canute* by *Emma*.

The *Mercians* and *Weſt Saxons* follow'd his Example, and had *Hardicnute* been on the Spot, probably he had ſucceeded: but he was in *Denmark*.

The Diviſion in the Kingdom threaten'd a great deal of Miſchief, the *Londoners* were grown *Daniſh* in their Hearts, from their long Intercourſe with that People; they, and the *Danes* in general, kept firm to *Harold*; but the Generality of the reſt fell off.

The Parties were diſtinguiſh'd by the Names of *Danes* and *Engliſh*, the *Londoners* being included under the firſt Denomination; and the Diſpute ran ſo high, that *Harold* was obliged to ſubmit to a Compromiſe: he gave up half to ſecure the reſt, and *Emma* receiv'd the Allegiance of the Eaſt and ſouthern Parts of the Kingdom in the Name of her Son *Hardicnute*, to reign till he came; and *Harold* took the reſt.

This was a temporary Compliance; and *Harold* was too much a *Dane* to bind himſelf by any Agreement. *Emma* involved herſelf in Wretchedneſs by her Care for her Son's Intereſts; and the *Engliſh* ſaw that every *Dane* was a *Canute* in Perfidy, if not in Courage.

Harold no ſooner had an allow'd Poſſeſſion of half than he took the whole. He laid his Hands upon his Father's Treaſure at *Wincheſter*, and there fix'd his Reſidence; and the firſt Act of his Power was baniſhing his Mother-in-law, and ſeizing all.

Harold was cruel and ſuſpicious. He not only fear'd *Hardicnute* from *Denmark*, but there were two others of the Royal *Saxon* Line that croſs'd his Thoughts of Quiet. Theſe were *Alfred* and *Edward*,

ward, Sons of *Ethelred* by *Emma*, afterwards married to *Canute*.

Harold found Means to detain *Emma* in *Britain* after her Sentence of Exile, and ſent a forged Letter in her Name to her two Sons then in *Normandy*, requeſting their Preſence.

The Youths ventured with a few Ships and a ſmall Guard, and ſurprized their Mother who knew nothing of the Letter.

Emma had ſeen enough of *Daniſh* Treachery to underſtand the Occaſion of their coming. She embraced them tenderly, but bid 'em haſten away again. *Edward* got off; but Earl *Goodwin* ſtopp'd *Alfred* with a Meſſage of Compliment from the King, full of Profeſſions of Reſpect, and deſiring he might ſee him.

Emma knew, and *Alfred* gueſs'd the full Meaning of this Invitation: but it was not to be reſiſted. They parted as thoſe do who never expect to renew their Meeting.

Goodwin took Charge of *Alfred* under the Name of Civility, and brought him to the King; who ſent him bound to *Ely*, with proper Inſtructions; his Eyes were put out by the Way, and he was deliver'd there to the Care of ſome Monks; among whom he dy'd ſoon after.

Emma's Sentence of Baniſhment was now no longer ſuſpended: ſhe went to *Flanders* with a few honeſt Attendants; and was there honourably received and nobly treated by the Earl, who aſſign'd her a Place of Reſidence ſuitable to her Dignity at *Bruges*.

Harold terrify'd his Subjects of *Britain* into Obedience; but he was hated univerſally. What he did worthieſt of Note was, keeping up a powerful Navy.

The *Danes* who ſaw they won *England* through the Neglect of this great Article of Safety, determin'd not to loſe it in the ſame Manner; and they conſtantly kept up a very formidable Force. People ſubmitted the more willingly, becauſe though they were ſtripp'd by exorbitant Taxes, they were free from thoſe terrible Incurſions to which they had ſo long been ſubjected.

Harold, after a Reign of about five Years, dy'd at *Oxford* in the Year 1040.

CHAP. XII.

The Reign of Hardicnute.

THE Right of *Hardicnute* ſo difficultly ſet aſide in favour of *Harold*, now was univerſally allow'd, and no other Succeſſor named or thought of to *Harold*.

The News of his Brother's Death, and an Invitation of all the *Britiſh* People were deliver'd at once to him, as he was on a Viſit to his Mother at her Seat in *Bruges*. He was requeſted to come over and take his Right, which none diſputed.

Hardicnute accepted the Invitation; but he took Care to let Men know, that it was his Right and not their Favour placed him upon his Father's Throne.

Harold he treated dead as an Uſurper; and to revenge the Injuries done by him to himſelf and his Mother by the only Indignity he could, he order'd his Body to be taken out of the Grave by the common Hangman, and thrown into the *Thames*.

He next called to Account *Goodwin*, and *Leving*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, concern'd in *Alfred*'s Death. On one he impoſed a great Fine, and the other he deprived of his Biſhoprick, giving it to the Perſon who had diſcover'd his Crime.

The Love of Money ſoon ſhew'd itſelf in *Hardicnute* ſuperior to all other Conſiderations; even to Revenge. He impoſed a very heavy Tax, and very injudiciouſly laid its principal Weight upon the Navigation of his Subjects; and in the next Year he receiv'd a Sum of Money from the late Biſhop of *Worceſter* to reſtore him to this See.

Goodwin's Fine was a very exceſſive one, he was oblig'd to fit out a pompous Gally with fourſcore Soldiers, loaded with Bracelets of Gold upon their Arms, and a great deal of Gold upon the various Parts of their Armour. With this he took an Oath that 'twas by the Command of *Harold*, not of his own Will, he blinded *Alfred*: and in the ſame Manner every one accuſed of Crimes of that Kind in the late Reign, laid by Oath the Weight of all upon the King.

In the Year 1041 all was quiet; and the Subjects, who choſe to ſubmit to the monſtrous Exactions of the Crown, had nothing elſe to fear. They were not in a Humour to diſpute, for they had ſeen too much of *Daniſh* Fury to call it wantonly upon them.

This gave the King, whoſe Avarice was unbounded, Opportunities of demanding the moſt exorbitant Sums; and his Officers who collected them grew inſolent in the ſame Meaſure as the People were humble; but at length they try'd the Patience of the *Britons* beyond what it could bear: two of them, whoſe inſupportable Inſolence provoked the People's Rage, were killed at *Worceſter*.

Hardicnute ſaw this as the Beginning of a terrible Miſchief, which he choſe to ſtop in Time: ſo far he was right; but the Cruelty of the *Dane* here broke in upon the Juſtice of the King. The Puniſhment was unmeaſurably too great for the Offence. A large Party was diſpatch'd with Orders to extirpate the whole Race of Inhabitants of that City, and of the Province.

Leofric, and *Seward* Earl of *Northumberland*, were commiſſion'd to this Deſtruction; and for the Fault of two or three People, a whole County was devoted, the Inhabitants to be deſtroy'd, and the Towns plunder'd and burnt.

The People who knew the ſavage Spirit of the *Danes*, and knew the Character of the Officers employ'd, fled with their Families; and the cruel Precaution of the King was near creating the Miſchief which he fear'd, an Inſurrection.

The Citizens retired to an Iſland in the *Severn*, with Arms and Proviſions; they fortify'd themſelves; and by the natural Advantage of the Place, and their deſperate Courage, they defended themſelves againſt this Force; and held out till Terms were offer'd, and they had Pardon and Leave to return in Safety. They ſav'd their Lives by this reſolute Conduct, but they found the City plunder'd and burnt.

This was the laſt Exploit of *Hardicnute*, for the next Year he died. An Apoplexy took him off at a Feaſt.

It happen'd *Edward*, the Brother of *Alfred*, was at this Time in *Britain* in the Court of *Hardicnute*, who had treated him with ſincere Friendſhip and Reſpect. The Death of *Hardicnute* was News of Joy to the People, who celebrated the Anniverſary as a great Feſtival four Centuries after.

Earl *Goodwin* on the King's Death immediately attach'd himſelf to *Edward* his Brother, and the only proper Heir; more dear to *England* alſo as a *Saxon*, for the Name of *Dane* was dreadful.

Edward intreated of *Goodwin* the Means of Flight, but that Nobleman bade him know himſelf better, as being the Son of *Ethelred*, and Brother of *Canute*, tho' by a different Father, and the undoubted Heir of *Britain*: he bade him not think of flying but of reigning; and engaged his Heart and Soul in his Service; demanding only an Oath of Friendſhip, and his Word of Honour to marry his Daughter.

There was not at that Time a Man in *Britain* of equal Power with *Goodwin*; he adviſed the Calling an Aſſembly of the States, he diſpoſed the People in *Edward*'s Favour, and brought him there to plead his Right.

The Aſſembly met at *Gillingham*: *Edward* appeared before them; and they ſhouted their Conſent to place the Grandſon of *Edgar* on the Throne of *Britain*.

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CHAP. XIII.

Foreign States ſue to BRITAIN *for Protection.*

THE *Britains* never ſhew'd more Tranſport than at this Incident, which freed them without Bloodſhed from the *Daniſh* Yoke.

The great Aſſembly, when they had elected *Edward*, ſwore never to let a *Dane* again reign over them. The Coronation was performed at *Winchester* by Archbiſhop *Eadſige*, who cloſed the Solemnity with a Sermon; the firſt that we know of on this Occaſion preached in *Britain*.

Edward ſoon after his Coronation in 1043, married, according to his Promiſe, *Egith* Daughter of Earl *Goodwin*, by whoſe ſole Advice from a determined Fugitive he became a King.

The *Saxons* had ſeen the Misfortunes attending a Neglect of the Naval Power of the Iſland; and the *Danes* had ſhewn the World, as well as their Subjects, what was in the Power of *Britain*, well ſupported by that her natural Strength.

Edward profited from both Examples: he gave immediate Orders for fitting out a powerful Fleet; and in the Beginning of the Year 1045, ſaw a very numerous and well regulated Navy at his Command. He had eſcaped domeſtick Broils; but he was threaten'd from *Norway*.

Swane King at this Time in *Denmark*, had found the King of *Norway* Employment, happily for *Edward*, though not out of any good Will to him, till his Fleet was ready; and now he did not intend to reſt on the Defenſive, but to viſit this deſigned Invader. The Rendezvous of the Fleet was at *Sandwich*; but upon more mature Counſel the King was content to reſt at Home; leaſt the *Danes*, ſcarce reconcil'd to his Sovereignty, ſhould attempt ſome Miſchief in his Abſence.

They had in the Reign of *Hardicnute* carried their Inſolence to an intolerable Height. They conſider'd themſelves as Conquerors, and thought the *Britons* Slaves. They expected Homage, even the meaneſt of them; and in Diſputes, frequently riſing on ſuch Occaſions, they were ſure to be ſupported.

Edward determin'd to bring this Spirit into Subordination: he made his People know the *Danes* were no longer Lords. He had more Prudence than to engage himſelf at once in a general Quarrel with them, but he favour'd the *Britons* in every thing againſt them as Occaſions offer'd, and baniſhed ſome of the principal People, amongſt whom was the Niece of *Canute* and her Sons, out of the Iſland.

Denmark now ſued to *Britain*. *Swane* had engag'd with *Magnus* King of *Norway*, but he had been beaten. He ſent to requeſt the Aid of *Edward*, and it was once determin'd to aſſiſt him with fifty Veſſels, for in ſo good a Condition was the *Britiſh* Navy at this Period, more might have been ſpar'd; but the Council was over-ruled, and they were kept at Home.

Magnus's Death ſoon after eaſed *Swane* of his Terrors; and *Harold Haneager* ſucceeding, ſaw too well the Power of *Britain* to wiſh a Quarrel with its Sovereign. He ſent Embaſſadors, diſclaim'd the Deſigns of his Predeceſſors, and deſired the Friendſhip of *Edward*.

The very Sight, the very Account of a *Britiſh* Fleet, wrought this Change in the King of *Norway*; but this was the leaſt of the Conſequences of *Edward*'s Naval Preparation. The Fleets of this Iſland ſo long neglected became the Terror and the Protection, when required, of every Power in *Europe*. *Britain* now held the Balance; and gave Laws to the Nations.

It was in 1048 the King of *Norway*, whoſe Predeceſſor had deſigned to invade *Britain*, ſued Peace with *Edward*: and in 1049, the Emperor having a Diſpute with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, ſent to requeſt that *Edward* would interpoſe by Sea. To ſuch a Height of Power and Glory did one well regulated Naval Preparation raiſe this Iſland from its loweſt Diſtreſs. *Edward* behaved as became a King of *Britain* in ſuch a Juncture, he put himſelf on board his Fleet, and aw'd both Sovereigns into a fair and honourable Peace.

While *Edward* was thus mediating between foreign Kingdoms, the Island suffered by a Power contemptible in Comparison of his own, which had been lucky enough to eſcape him, and bold enough to fall upon his Coaſts. This was a Fleet of *Daniſh* Pirate Veſſels, twenty-nine in Number, who had ventur'd, as in the ſame Times, to fall upon the Coaſt of *Eſſex*: they had plunder'd many Towns, and were thinking to return, when *Godwin* was ſent out with a large Force to take or to deſtroy them.

The Terror of this Fleet firſt ſhew'd them the Folly of their Undertaking. In running from him they were wrecked among the Rocks. The Ships periſh'd, but the Plunder was in Part recover'd, and little Mercy was ſhewn to the People. This happened in 1049.

Edward had vow'd in his humbler Fortunes to make a Journey to *Rome*, if ever he became King of *England*. He was now King; but he was leſs in a Diſpoſition to viſit *Rome* than when he made his Vow; he knew not whether he ſhould find *Britain* ſecure to him at his Return: he wrote for Abſolution to the Pope, who granted it upon good Condition; he was to give in Charity as much as his Journey would have coſt him; and to repair, enlarge and beautify *Weſtminſter Abby*: all this he religiouſly performed. Great Part of that venerable Gothick Structure roſe on the Purchaſe of this Abſolution; and this is the King whoſe Portrait is preſerv'd there at this Time.

The Expedition of the *Daniſh* Pirates, miſerable as it had been to themſelves, gave Origin to another. The *Iriſh* fitted out a hoſtile Fleet, which joined and aſſiſted by a Prince of *South Wales*, ventur'd up the *Severn*, and afterwards running up the *Wy*, burnt and plunder'd *Dunedham*, and many other Towns.

To ſtop the Progreſs of this Miſchief, *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* headed a ſmall Body raiſed in Haſte, but enough for ſuch a Purpoſe. They march'd againſt the *Iriſh*; but not ſuſpecting that the *Welch* ſuccoured them, they were aſſaulted by thoſe People unexpectedly, and cut to Pieces.

Edward ſent out a proper Squadron, but the light Pirate Veſſels expecting it, were gone; enrich'd with a very conſiderable Booty, and leaving behind them great Marks of Rapine and Deſtruction.

CHAP. XIV.

The Normans *about the King become favour'd at the Expence of his Subjects.*

THE King was extremely concern'd to hear of ſuch Rapine and Miſchief by ſo mean a Force, and he took Meaſures to prevent like Accidents for the future; ordering his Veſſels in detach'd Squadrons to watch the ſeveral Parts of the Coaſt from Time to Time, and awing the whole by the moſt ſevere Menaces.

Two Years were ſpent after this in reducing the Kingdom to better Government and Order than before; and the Character of *Edward* grew more and more eminent, and his Perſon more beloved.

In the Year 1051, He remitted the *Daniſh* Tax called *Danegelt*, firſt paid about thirty Years before by *Ethelred*, and ever ſince levy'd upon the Kingdom in a heavy Manner: but all theſe Arts of Popularity ſunk ſoon after in one, of all Things a King can do the moſt unpopular, the *favouring of Strangers* at the Expence of his Subjects.

Edward, while an Exile, had been kindly treated by the Duke of *Normandy*; and by many of his People. Thoſe who had laid moſt Obligations on the diſtreſſed Prince, came now to *England* to be rewarded by the powerful King; and *Edward* not alter'd, except for the better by his Exaltation, diſappointed none of them. Hence aroſe his Favour to them, which at firſt diſpleaſed his Subjects; and in the End utterly alienated their Hearts from him. Gratitude was the Origin of his Fault; but tho' ſprung from this noble Principle it was indeed a great one.

He had become himſelf almoſt a *Frenchman* by his long abode in *Normandy*, and by converſing only with *Normans*; and he introduced the Manners and the Language of the People he ſo much lov'd and reſpected into his Court, and thence into the better private Families in his Kingdom.

French was the polite Language, *French* Attendants were preferr'd to *Engliſh*, who were underſtood to be Clowns and Fools; *French* Dreſſes were the only faſhionable ones, and the very Trades People were obliged to diſcard their Shop Servants, and take *French* ones. BRITONS beware! this led the Way to the *Norman* Conqueſt.

Edward not only provided for all thoſe *Normans* who had followed him, but ſent for all others to whom he could recollect to have Obligations, and advanced them all to Dignities. There were now *Norman* Judges, *Norman* Privy Councellors, and *Norman* Biſhops.

The *Britons* took Umbrage at this; and before he, whoſe ill conducted Gratitude was the Cauſe, was aware of the Miſchief, the Kingdom was divided into two Parties. The *Danes* and *Britons* never had been more hateful to one another, than were now the *Britons* and the *Normans*.

In this Condition were the Minds of the People; and thus blind was the King to the Danger that threaten'd him from it, when *Euſtace* Earl of *Bologne*, Father to the famous *Godfrey*, viſited *Britain*.

The Favour with which his People were received, and the Honours and Diſtinctions paid to himſelf, were hateful to the Nobles of *Britiſh* Birth; and they ſwell'd, if not the Earl himſelf, at leaſt his Attendants, to an unmeaſurable Pride and Inſolence.

Returning loaded with Complements, and Offers of Friendſhip from the King. The Earl of *Bologne* lay at *Canterbury*, in his Way to *Dover*. His Attendants diſperſed themſelves about the Town; and one of them ſtruck with the Beauty of a Tradeſman's Daughter, demanded Lodging in his Houſe.

The Man who ſaw the Occaſion refus'd: the other inſiſted, and took Poſſeſſion; commanding an Apartment: at length the Tradeſman, impatient at his Inſolence, ſaid, "Are *Danes* come "out of *Normandy*," and ſtruck him a mortal Blow.

News of the Accident was carry'd to *Euſtace*, he drew up his People before the Houſe; and the Tradeſman, with about twenty of his Friends, ſtood on his Defence. The Party of the *Normans* overpower'd him, and in Defence of a Daughter's Virtue he fell, and all that were with him.

The Towns People roſe upon this; they fell upon the *Normans*, and they left the Earl but two to attend him back to the King with his Complaint.

Edward was enrag'd; and in the Madneſs of his Favour to theſe Strangers, he order'd a Body of Forces to march againſt *Canterbury*, and plunder, deſtroy, and burn the City.

The Commiſſion was ſent to *Goodwin*, who decently refuſed to execute it; he adviſed the King to hear the Cauſe before he gave ſo terrible a Sentence; and ſuch was his Intereſt, that *Edward* could not abſolutely refuſe him.

This was the Ruin of Earl *Goodwin*. He was baniſh'd, and the King put away his Wife only becauſe ſhe was his Daughter.

The Conduct of ſome other of the King's Officers difficultly prevented this Diſpute with *Goodwin* from ending in a Civil War: the whole *Britiſh* People were upon *Goodwin*'s Party, who had indeed, at the Hazard of his own Fortune and his Life, oppoſed the Reſentment of the King in their Favour; he truſted that the Juſtice of his Remonſtrance, and his Intereſt with *Edward*, would have ſet him right again; but he found his Error; His Place was too much envy'd; and too many Mouths were open againſt him to give fair Play to Juſtice.

CHAP. XV.

William, *Duke of* Normandy, *makes a friendly Viſit to King* Edward.

THE Year 1051 was famous for another Incident, which led the Way to a vaſt Scene of Action: a much greater Viſiter than the Earl of *Bologne*, *William* Duke of *Normandy* came to ſee the King of *Britain*.

Edward took every Method of ſhewing his Gratitude to a Prince, who, in his humbler Fortunes, had ſo greatly favour'd him; and they met upon Terms of the ſtricteſt Intimacy, and the moſt perfect Friendſhip.

William, whoſe Turn to Government and Policy led him to examine every Thing, was by *Edward*, carry'd every where: he explain'd to him the Laws by which he ruled, ſhew'd him his Strength, and told him of his Revenues: the Number of his Forces, the Strength of his Naval Power, now a little ſunk from its greateſt Glory, and the ſeveral Fortifications, were Subjects on which the unſuſpecting *Edward* anſwer'd as plainly as the *Norman* queſtion'd ſubtly.

Here *Edward* was too frank; unhappily for his People: no Saint ever gave a more full Account to Heaven of his Actions, than he did of his Strength to the Duke of *Normandy*. He ſpent ſome Time in *England*, and return'd fully pleas'd with the Honours and Civilities that had been ſhewn him.

In the Year 1032 dy'd *Emma*, the Queen Mother, celebrated for the famous Proof of her Innocence, the paſſing the Ordeal. She was accuſed of Incontinence with *Alwin*, then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, perhaps by ſome that envy'd him more than they hated her.

The old Superſtition of the Ordeal was then freſh in Peoples Minds; and *Emma*, with all the Dignity of Innocence, more noble than that of Royalty, offer'd to paſs the Trial: nine Plow-ſhares made red hot, and ſhe blind-fold, paſs'd over 'em unhurt. Thus ſay the Hiſtorians; but there is ſome Confuſion and Contradiction in the Events of this Period.

This famous Tranſaction is by ſome placed the Year after that in which *Emma* certainly dy'd; and the Baniſhment of *Goodwin* is by the *Saxon* Annals thrown back as far as 1048; but all Circumſtances concur to prove it muſt have been otherwiſe, and to ſhew that there is no Hiſtory or Record to be depended on alone.

The Naval Power of *Britain* now began to be neglected; and the Conſequences certainly attendant on that Neglect to follow. *Edward* was too much employ'd in ſettling the private Animoſities of *Britons* and *Normans* about his Court, to attend to publick Meaſures with that Care and Spirit he had firſt ſhewn.

The ſame Favour to thoſe Strangers ſhew'd itſelf at greater Diſtances, and gave the ſame Diſturbance to the People. *Norman* Officers commanded *Norman* Soldiers: the Garriſon of *Hereford* conſiſted of no other; and 'twas the ſame in many more Places. This we particulariſe to ſhew the miſerable Conſequences.

The Prince of *South Wales*, *Griffin*, who had eſcaped too lightly for his former Fault, now ſally'd with a Party of his People into *Herefordſhire*. The Garriſon of *Hereford* join'd the Country People, who roſe againſt the *Welch*, and ruin'd the whole Procedure.

Griffin's Party was ſmall, and the People who roſe could have eaſily driven 'em back, but now there aroſe new Diſſentions. They would not be defended by *Normans*; and the *Normans* ſaid they were the King's Subjects, and would join in the Defence of the Country.

Griffin, who heard of their Diſſentions, attack'd both; though he would have fled in other Circumſtances almoſt from either. The Conſequence of their Quarrel was his abſolute Succeſs: he killed many, remain'd abſolute Maſter of the Field; and after continuing his Depredations ſome Weeks longer, retired with a great Booty.

The *Scots* for many Ages follow'd this Practice as well as the *Welch*; and they reconciled it to their Conſciences by underſtanding the People they plunder'd as *Saxons*.

They had not been conquer'd; many of the *Britons* from other Parts had join'd them; and ſo good Sophiſts were they, when Plunder aſſiſted their Logick, that they could allow none to be *Britons* but themſelves.

However, it is certain, that during the latter Periods of the *Saxon* Kings, many, nay the great Part of the *Britons* had join'd their People, and became one Nation with them.

The Land was inhabited, not as theſe Plunderers pretended, by *Saxons*, but by a mix'd People; conſiſting partly of one, partly of the other Nation, who were our proper Anceſtors.

The *Welch* were not the only People who took Advantage of the Neglect of publick Matters; nor was *Britain* plunder'd only by her Children.

The Sons of *Goodwin*, *Leofin* and *Harold*, hating the Kingdom for the Ingratitude of the King, came toward the End of the Summer 1052, with eighteen Ships. They went up the *Severn*, and landing the deſperate Band that came with them, led them through a great Part of *Somerſetſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, plundering every Village.

The People of the neighbouring Towns arm'd themſelves and went out to oppoſe them; but the Party of *Goodwin*'s Sons were too powerful. They were Maſters of the Field after a ſharp Conflict; and they purſued their Courſe with more Fury afterwards, enriching themſelves with a great deal of Spoil, which they carry'd ſafe to their Ships.

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CHAP. XVI.

Earl Goodwin *diſtinguiſhes himſelf*.

EDWARD ſaw now the Folly of employing his Mind upon private, to the Neglect of publick Concerns: he gave Orders for Preparation both at Sea and Land.

News came that *Goodwin* was upon the Seas; and *Edward* who knew his Power, Spirit, and Intereſt in the Country, fear'd his Deſigns were larger than thoſe of the other petty Plunderers.

The Naval Power, tho' now leſs regarded, was not ſo entirely neglected, but that upon a ſhort Notice ſixty Veſſels were got ready, and rendeſvouz'd at *Sandwich*.

Goodwin was indeed upon the Seas; and he knew them ſo well, that he could evade the Enemy he was not of Force to engage.

The King lay on board his Fleet, and beſtir'd himſelf with all poſſible Aſſiduity: Veſſels of Obſervation were continually out; but the firſt News he now heard of his Enemy was, that he was upon the Coaſt; not plundering, but forming a Party, which all the chief People of *Kent*, *Surry*, *Suſſex* and *Eſſex* favour'd.

The Conduct of the Royal Fleet was given to *Normans*, *Odo* and *Randulf* were the two Commanders; and their Ignorance of the *Britiſh* Coaſts expoſed the Veſſels to Danger, not the Enemy.

Edward ſet ſail to find out *Goodwin*'s Veſſels, but he came up the *Thames* without Tidings of him; nor heard any till News was brought that he and his Sons had join'd their Fleets, lay off the *Iſle of Wight*, and civilly addreſſed the neighbouring Counties, alarming them with their Danger from theſe *Norman* Favourites.

The Name of *Goodwin* was now reverenced; and his Conduct commanded every where Reſpect and Eſteem: the *Saxon* Annals ſpeak of his plundering the Country; but this all other Hiſtory contradicts; nor is it probable, for it was not his Purpoſe; he came on greater Views; and 'twas his Buſineſs to win, not to offend the People. The more probable Accounts ſay he form'd all his Conduct on this Principle.

He bought the needful Proviſions for his Soldiers; and by this, when it was in his Power to plunder, and by his whole Conduct, he ſo ingratiated himſelf into the Affections of the People, that all would have dy'd for him.

Having ſecured his Intereſt there, he, with the united Fleet, his own, and both his Sons, ſailed for *Sandwich*: here by the ſame Meaſures he created Friends, and got vaſt Reinforcements both of Sailors and of Soldiers. *Goodwin* was called the Guardian Genius of *Britain*. All Hearts were for him, and all look'd on *Edward* as a Tyrant and an Enemy.

He ſaw his Danger, and did not ſuppoſe *Goodwin* would accept of Terms; his *Normans* were not ſufficient to defend him, tho' they had been enough for all the Offices of Profit in the Kingdom. He ſent Orders to raiſe Forces againſt the Enemy; but in every Country they were receiv'd with Coldneſs and Contempt: People would have thought themſelves, in ſerving their King againſt *Goodwin*, Traitors to their Country.

Edward trembled; and *Goodwin* improved every Incident with a calm Temper, and without Triumph. The King's Strength now lay in the *Londoners*, and *Goodwin* had more Reaſons than their Courage to wiſh not to oppoſe them as Enemies. He ſaw the King in no Condition to reſiſt him, and he ſailed up the *Thames* with his whole Fleet.

The Shores that us'd to be deſerted on ſuch Occaſions, were crouded with ſhouting Thouſands; *Goodwin* took the Advantage of a full Tide, and came up to *London*. Then from the largeſt Veſſel in his Fleet he harangu'd the People gather'd for that Purpoſe: he told them the *Danes* had not been more inſolent than theſe *Normans*, and that their Pride was more excuſable; "Theſe *Normans* have "no Right of Conqueſt: the Favour of the King "alienated by evil Counſellors, gives all from you, "my Countrymen; and me, becauſe I refuſed to "treat you as Enemies, in a *Norman* Quarrel, ſentences to Baniſhment. Are you *Britons*, or are

“ you *Normans?* will you be Slaves or free? tell “ me, brave and generous *Londoners*, am I, who “ plead the Cauſe of *Britons* againſt *Normans*, to “ look on you as Friends or Enemies.”

The Anſwer was an univerſal Shout. The King's Veſſels were now in Sight, and every Eye was upon 'em, dreading a bloody Action. They went on the North Side of the *Thames*, and *Goodwin* on the South. He ſtood prepared to receive them, and they to receive him, but neither was inclin'd to begin the Action.

This was their Condition two Hours: at which Time a Land Force was raiſed in favour of *Goodwin*, and furniſh'd with Officers from their Ships, they march'd down in regular Order to the Shore.

The Forces of *Edward* were not diſtant, nor were they ſlow: they came down to the North Shore, and it ſeem'd that the Veſſels were to engage, and the Army on either Side look on. Thoſe who feared the Event were happily diſappointed; *Goodwin* had conducted this bold Enterprize with the deepeſt Policy; he had Emiſſaries in every Veſſel of the Enemy, and they underſtood one another perfectly well.

When all was ready he gave the Signal to attack; a Signal himſelf had order'd not to be obeyed. None ſtir'd to the Action. They declared they would defend Earl *Goodwin*, if he were attack'd, to the laſt Drop of every Man's Blood; but otherwiſe they were all *Engliſh*, and they would not fight againſt *Engliſhmen*.

The oppoſite Force made the ſame Declaration; and *Edward* ſaw himſelf deſerted by his Forces when he requir'd their moſt immediate Service.

Goodwin had now carry'd his Point as he intended, the two Armies were no Enemies to one another; both were Friends to *Goodwin*; and the King's Party were divided *Engliſh* againſt *Normans*.

Edward ſaw he was in the Power of *Goodwin*; and it was a Power the other was too wiſe to deſtroy by a raſh Uſe. He ſtaid for Offers from him, but being made, he readily liſt'ned to them.

The firſt Propoſal was the reſtoring himſelf and his Sons to Favour, and to Offices; and the King added to the Weight of this Propoſal, by acknowledging that he was ſenſible *Goodwin* had acted from a Principle of Honeſty in his firſt Diſobedience; and that he had found great Want of his Council during his Abſence.

Flatteries or Promiſes of Favour to himſelf or Family weigh'd nothing with *Goodwin*, he accepted them with Reſpect, and anſwer'd by declaring his Gratitude; but for the King's Sake and the Peoples, for the Honour and the Intereſt, nay, for the Safety of the Nation, he deſired that its natural born Subjects might be employed and entruſted.

The King promis'd all that was aſk'd, and the Cloſe of this Year 1052, was very favourable to the *Britons*.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a *Norman*, was removed, and a *Briton* appointed in his Place; the Biſhops of *London* and *Lincoln* follow'd this Condition, for no Crime, but they were *Normans*: a ſtrict Enquiry was made into the Conduct and Behaviour of the *Norman* Nobility moſt about the King; and thoſe who had given Offence by Acts of Oppreſſion in themſelves, or by apparent ill Council given to the King, were baniſh'd: the Guiltleſs were ſuffer'd to remain.

Thus *Goodwin*, who had ſet the Crown upon the Head of *Edward*, ſecured it there againſt his own Practice, which muſt have ended in the forfeiting of it; and did all that Man could do againſt the Blow which he foreſaw, and which in Spite of all his Precaution follow'd.

He happily liv'd not to ſee the Stroke he could not prevent; he dy'd in the Beginning of the Year 1053, ſeiz'd with an Apoplexy as he ſat at Dinner with the King. All Care was taken of him, but he linger'd five Days in Convulſions, and then expired.

'Tis of him the Story is related, that wiſhing if he had been inſtrumental in the Death of *Alfred*, his next Morſel might choak him, and his Eſtate be ſwallow'd by the Sea, both happen'd; that he dy'd with the Morſel in his Throat, and that his Eſtate ſunk into the *Goodwin Sands*. But theſe are Tales to be attributed to the Stile and Manner of the Times. Monks were the Hiſtorians, and 'twas their Trade to deal in Miracles.

C H A P. XVII.

Edward *gains the Affections of his People.*

THE Beginning of the Year 1053 was very favourable to *Edward*: he was under the Guidance of better Councils; and his Subjects more reconciled to him: the Conſequences were Succeſs every where againſt greater Powers than had before baffled his Fleets and Armies.

Griffin, the *South Welch* Prince, whom we have named before, wiſh'd to repeat his Outrages, but he was afraid. He had a Brother *Rheſe*, as bold, but not ſo prudent.

Rheſe ventured into *Herefordſhire*; but ſeeing his Brother's Caution, he took three Times the Number that had gone with him. He puſh'd his firſt Succeſſes, and was too forward for Retreat when the King's Forces came up with him. He had not like his Brother a diſaffected Army to engage. Every Man loved his King; and they hated him ſo heartily, that the Cauſe ſeem'd his own. They fell on like Men ſent to puniſh, not to diſpute the Victory; and they cut off without Quarter two thirds of *Rheſe's* People; himſelf, according to their Inſtructions, they took alive, and he was beheaded on a publick Scaffold.

Britain was now arrived again at that Height of Power, that far from being attack'd, it was the Refuge of the diſtreſs'd, and Arbiter of the Fate of other Kingdoms.

The *Scots* were at Variance among themſelves, and they apply'd to *Edward*: his Mediation offended the ſtrongeſt Party, and brought upon his Borders *Macbeth*, then on the Throne, join'd by many of the *Normans*, who had gone thither when *Goodwin* clear'd the Court of them. Theſe committed Devaſtation for ſome Months in the Year 1054.

Edward heard their Strength and Number, and he prepared a ſufficient Force againſt them, he ſent a ſtrong Fleet thither; and placed at the Head of a large Army, *Seward*, Earl of *Northumberland*, with full Commiſſion of Revenge.

Seward was ſucceſsful to the utmoſt of the King's Wiſhes: *Macbeth* was conquer'd; and *Malcolm*, Son of the *Cambrian* King, was appointed in his Place. Some ſay he was abſolute in *Scotland*; others, which is more probable, that *Edward* gave him the Crown ſubject to himſelf.

The Victory coſt *Edward* very dear, but it was compleat: and it is likely he would make the moſt of it, for his and the Nation's Honour.

The Year 1055 was not without its Troubles.

Algar, the Son of *Leofric*, being baniſh'd for treaſonable Practices, for which his Death would have been a fitter Puniſhment, prepared to revenge the Indignity, and to enrich all that ſhould follow him with the Plunder of many Provinces.

He knew the Power of *Edward*, and he prepared accordingly: he raiſed a very conſiderable Force in *Ireland*, and falling with them to the Coaſt of *Wales*, invited *Griffin* to join him, and ſhare in his Succeſſes.

This *Welch* Prince wanted nothing but a Proſpect of Succeſs to lead him to his former Practices: it was here offer'd him, and he accepted it: he raiſed in haſte a large Body of his *Welch*; and putting himſelf and them under the Conduct of *Algar*, they committed dreadful Outrages.

Herefordſhire was the Scene of theſe Devaſtations, and it was ſome time before *Edward* could ſend thither, an Army of Force to oppoſe them. Happy had this been all the Difficulty. *Goodwin* was dead; the King was ſway'd by other Counſellors; and the Commander of theſe Forces was a *Norman*.

His firſt Miſtake was mounting the *Engliſh*, more accuſtom'd to fight on Foot; and he compleated by his Cowardice the Miſchief he had begun by his Miſconduct.

This General, who had neither Skill nor Valour, was *Rahulf*. He fell on with Fury like a *Frenchman*, and he was like a *Frenchman* terrify'd at the ſtubborn Valour of the *Britons*, whom he oppos'd.

He fled: his *Norman* Officers copy'd his Example, and the reſt follow'd; the Rout was univerſal, and the Slaughter very great: the Succeſs in this Action gave the Ravagers Spirit for farther Devaſtations; and thoſe who fell in the Field were but a ſmall Part of the *Britons* ſacrificed to this Expedition.

The King ſaw his Error: he lamented the Death of *Goodwin*; and, as if the ſole Hope lay in the Family of that great General, he ſent for *Harold* his eldeſt Son, now Earl of *Kent*. Him he loaded with the Praiſes of his Father; promiſed him all that he could wiſh; and actuated him to be to him what his Father was.

Harold kneeled to accept his Commiſſion, and promiſed to acquit himſelf as became the Son of *Goodwin*. He had the Command of a very conſiderable Force, and the very Name of an Earl of *Kent* was dear to them.

He chaſed the Robbers into *Wales*, and purſued them at the Heels as far as *Snowdon* in *Carmaerthenſhire*: he terrify'd them to the Deſire of Peace: they ſent Offers of their Submiſſion to the King, and engaged themſelves to ſwear and keep good Faith and Loyalty.

Harold kept them in Awe while he diſpatched Meſſengers to acquaint the King with their Propoſal; and with that Spirit of Moderation which had ſo happily diſtinguiſh'd the laſt Year of his Father's Life, offer'd his Advice that it ſhould be accepted.

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CHAP. XVIII.

The Navy of BRITAIN *is put on a good Footing.*

EDWARD liſten'd to his ſucceſsful General; and *Griffin* and *Algar*, upon their Oaths of Faith and Duty, were pardon'd, and admitted again to favour.

Algar continu'd faithful; but the *Welchman* ſeem'd to think no Faith need be kept with a *Saxon*; and according to the Cuſtom and Opinions of his Country, took the firſt Opportunity to ſhew himſelf an Enemy. He was again in *Herefordſhire* in the Beginning of the Summer 1056, and committed great Havock.

The King in Perſon march'd a Force againſt him; and animated the People to defend themſelves. He reduced *Griffin* to Peace, and the Effect of his Admonition laſted long.

In 1054 ſome Sickneſs that ſeem'd to threaten the Life of the King, threw all People's Eyes upon the Succeſſion. He had no Children; and the only one of the Royal Line remaining was, another *Edward*, the Son of *Edmund*, firnamed *Ironſide*.

This Prince was then in *Hungary*; he was invited into *England*, and not only the King of *Hungary*, but the Emperor were engaged in the ſending him over.

He was received when he came, which was not till 1057, with the utmoſt Favour and Reſpect; but tho' he had fallen into none of the Dangers he fear'd, by the Sword or Poiſon, he loſt his Life by Sickneſs very ſoon after he ſet Foot in *Britain*.

Thus the Royal *Saxon* Line which had in an aſtoniſhing Manner come into Poſſeſſion of the *Britiſh* Scepter, after the Interruption of the *Daniſh*, was again in Danger of being loſt in the Succeſſor it offer'd to the Throne of *Edward*; who himſelf dying thus ſuddenly, left but one Male Deſcendant, *Edgar Atheling*, and he not deſtined to ſucceed him.

In the Year 1057, *Leofric*, the Father of *Algar* dy'd, and *Edward* ſhew'd that he had received the Son into favour ſolely on his Account; for he baniſh'd him in a few Months after.

In this he acted imprudently a ſecond Time. *Algar*'s firſt Fault might have been puniſhed with Death, without ſtamping upon the King a Character of Tyranny; he ſhould then have condemn'd him to Death, or have pardon'd him. This he ſaw ſoon after; and 'twas a ſtrange Blindneſs that led him to baniſh him, as appears, without any new Fault; he ſhould have fear'd a Youth, who could before have compell'd him to Terms.

What was to be expected happen'd; *Algar* rais'd Forces in *Norway*; he took *Griffin* into his Confederacy again, and repeated the ſame Outrage.

Edward ſaw his groſs Error, and he meanly aton'd for it: he offer'd Terms, which *Algar* accepting, was again reſtor'd to his Honours and to Favour.

In 1059 the King of *Scots* viſited *Edward*; *Toſti* Earl of *Northumberland* accompany'd him, and there grew between them a great Intimacy. *Toſti* depending on this, left his Province ill defended two Years after when he went to *Rome*; and *Malcolm*, ſacrificing Friendſhip to Plunder, waſted a great Part of it. *Edward* interpoſed in this Matter; and whether Duty or Gratitude prevail'd, the King of *Scots* acknowledg'd his Error, and drew back his Forces.

Griffin, often nam'd in the preceding Pages for his Robberies, for they indeed deſerve no better Name, in 1062, enter'd farther than ever into the King's Provinces, and committed more Cruelties and Devaſtations: the King again ſent againſt him *Harold*, now Duke of the *Weſt Saxons*.

He was preparing a conſiderable Force, but *Harold* did not wait for it; he ſaid a few honeſt and brave Fellows would cut off a Robber. The King admired his Boldneſs, and bade him follow his own Courſe.

The Royal Seat was then at *Gloceſter*; and *Harold* inviting every Man who had Spirit to redreſs his Country's Injuries to follow him, a large Party of Horſe was got ready in a few Hours.

Griffin was near; the *Uſk* then navigable to Veſſels of ſome Burthen, had his Gallies placed along its Banks, ready to take in the Booty, and himſelf was at ſome Diſtance from the Town of *Ragland* in *Monmouthſhire*.

The Name of *Harold*, terrible to the Ears of *Griffin*, flew before him: 'twas whiſper'd, that he came attended by the Prime of the *Britiſh* Nobility; and *Griffin* did not ſtay to ſee how many there were of them. He fled with his beſt Expedition, not to his Ships, for he could not truſt to them to carry him down the River quick enough; but as he could by Land to the firſt Sea Port, where there were Veſſels that could be ſooner off at open Sea.

Harold, though he could not follow him there, burnt his Palace at *Ragland*, and all thoſe Veſſels that had brought him up the *Uſk*. He returned upon the Spur to the King, who ſcarce could imagine he had reach'd the Quarters of the Enemy, when he deliver'd the Story of his Succeſs.

This and the two preceding Years *Edward* had in a great Meaſure employ'd in putting his Navy upon a good Footing.

In the Year 1063, *Harold* had the Command of a Fleet, and Directions to bend his Courſe to *South Wales*, the Country of this *Griffin*. He was as terrible to the Subjects, as to their Prince; they ſent Deputations, offering their Faith and Subjection; and promiſing to baniſh *Griffin*, who had offended the King ſo often, and ſo often broke Faith after Mercy. He abſconded that Year, but the next, 1064, he was taken and ſlain by a Prince of the ſame Name, Sovereign of *North Wales*.

Edward's Reſentment went no farther than the Perſon of his Enemy: he made his two Brothers Princes, ſubject to himſelf, in his Stead; and commiſſioned *Harold*, then upon their Coaſts, to take their Allegiance in his Name.

CHAP. XIX.

The Kingdom falls into Troubles toward the End of Edward's *Reign.*

EDward, poſſeſſed of a powerful Navy, and ſettled in the Affection of his Subjects, thought himſelf at Peace for the Remainder of his Life; but thoſe are Gueſſes none can make with Certainty.

The Beginning of the Year 1065 brought about Tumults in *Wales*; and as if the Spirit of Diſquiet ſpread contagiouſly, ſoon after in other Parts of *Britain*.

The King having ſettled a good Underſtanding in *South Wales*, had a Houſe at *Portaſketh* in *Monmouthſhire*, where he kept Servants and Proviſions. It was a Hunting Seat: he had yet never viſited it himſelf, when all left in it were deſtroyed.

The two Princes, Brothers of *Griffin*, were not guilty of this, but *Caradoc* his Son. He with a Band of Rioters fell upon the Houſe, cut to Pieces all he found there, in Revenge for the Death of his Father; and his own Diſappointment in the Succeſſion; and carried off the Booty.

If *Edward* could have known where to purſue this Ruffian, Matters of greater Conſequence muſt have drawn off his Attention. *Toſti* the Earl of *Northumberland* had diſpleaſed the People of the Province by large Demands; and they accuſed him of all kinds of Crimes.

They roſe upon him at *York*, where he chanced to be in the Beginning of the Summer 1065, and kill'd two Hundred of his Guard, with all his Servants, and reduced himſelf to fly with great Haſte to preſerve his Life: they then plunder'd his Treaſure, and ſtood out againſt all Terms of Accommodation.

Toſti fled to Court, and requeſted the King that *Harold* might be charged with the Mediation between him and the People. *Harold* accepted the Commiſſion with Readineſs, and ſet out from *London*. At *Northampton* he met a vaſt Body of the *Northumbrians* coming with their Grievances to the King. The Character of *Harold* claimed ſo much Reſpect, and the King's Commiſſion with which he was inveſted, gave him ſo much Authority, that they ſtop'd, and waited his Meſſage.

Harold ſpoke to their Chiefs; rebuked them for this tumultuous Proceeding, and demanded why they were come, or what they meant. They anſwered that they were *Northumbrians*; *Britons* born to Freedom; and taught from their Infancy its Value; that they would not bear the Oppreſſions of their Earl, for that they had learn'd from their Anceſtors to prefer to all other Conditions, Liberty or Death.

Harold, who had himſelf the Spirit of virtuous Freedom, honour'd it in them. He told them, he would hear their Complaints, and he found them ſo many and ſo juſt, that he promiſed them Redreſs. They depended on the ſacred Word of *Harold*, and it was ſacredly kept.

He repreſented the Caſe impartially to the King, and *Toſti* was baniſhed the Province, and all his Followers. This was the more to *Harold*'s Honour, in that *Toſti* was his Brother. He was baniſhed the Kingdom, as well as his own Province, and he went to *Flanders*.

In the Height of *Harold*'s Glory, a ſingular Accident befel him. He had gone out to Sea from his Palace at *Boſeham* in *Suſſex* in a Fiſhing Veſſel, for a Morning's Airing, when a Storm blew up ſuddenly, carry'd him off, and drove his little Veſſel aſhore upon the Coaſt of *Normandy*.

The Earl of *Pontiew*, upon whoſe Province he was caſt, received him with Reſpect, before he knew perfectly how noble a Gueſt Chance had brought under his Roof.

Harold thank'd him for his Courteſy, and told him who he was; deſiring, ſince Accident had thrown him on the Duke of *Normandy*'s Shores, he might be introduced to him.

William received the honourable Stranger with the utmoſt Favour; and there grew an Intimacy of the ſtricteſt Kind between them: *Harold* invited the Duke again to viſit *England*; and gave to him the Title to the Caſtle of *Dover*, at that Time his. This led to farther Conference; in which *William*, ſpeaking with Raptures of the *Britiſh* Iſland, *Harold* charm'd with his Royal Acquaintance, engag'd himſelf by Oath, ſo far as ſhould lie in his Power, after the Death of *Edward*, to procure the Crown for him.

Moſt Hiſtories give the Origin of this Compact to Chance; but it is not impoſſible, nay not improbable, that he went thither purpoſely; nor at all unlikely, that he had *Edward*'s Commiſſion, now grown old, and near his Death, to make this Propoſal to the Duke of *Normandy*; as the Gratitude of a dying King to him, to whoſe Protection and Favour he had ow'd his Life, and his long and not unhappy Reign.

However that be, the Duke parted with *Harold* with the greateſt Marks of Honour: he made him noble Preſents; and betrothed to him his Daughter, too young for being then marry'd, as an everlaſting Bond of Union between them.

Edward had ſhewn ſufficient Regard to the Royal Line, in ſending for his Nephew out of *Hungary*, and adopting him his Heir.

The Death of this Prince had left only *Edgar Atheling*, a Youth of no promiſing Spirit; and *Edward* ſeeing the Miſchiefs that would attend ſo weak a Prince's Reign, perhaps therefore made this Offer to *William*, a Relation by the Mother, his Patron, Protector and Friend, and a Prince of the moſt acknowledg'd Merit.

William alſo, it is ſaid, had a Right of Promiſe from *Edward* while in his Misfortunes, that if ever he came to the Crown of *Britain*, he would leave him his Succeſſor.

Theſe Circumſtances various Hiſtorians differently have ſet down; and there is upon the whole a great deal of Probability from *William*'s Viſit to *Edward*, in the Beginning of his Reign, and from *Edward*'s declar'd Senſe of his great Obligations to him, that ſome ſuch Compact might have been made between them.

In 1066 *Edward* ſicken'd, and after ſome Weeks died. He was bury'd in *Weſtminſter Abbey*; which he had a little before ſeen dedicated, after a prodigious Expence, in the conſcientious Diſcharge of the Injunction of the Pope.

The Piety of this King obtain'd him the Name of *Confeſſor*: and 'twas ſo far reverenced in thoſe Times, that the Monks led People to believe he had a Power of doing Miracles. He is ſaid to have cured the Palſy, reſtor'd the Blind to Sight, and heal'd that dreadful Diſorder the King's Evil by a Touch.

'Tis from him that the Kings of this Iſland have been ſuppoſed to derive that Virtue; but the Thing itſelf was a Fallacy of weak and lying Churchmen, fit to be believ'd in thoſe Days of Ignorance, but an Inſult upon the Underſtanding in theſe Times of better Knowledge.

Thoſe who would bring Kings to the Teſt of Right by their Power of curing this Diſorder, ſhould not limit it here: they ſhould remember Palſies and Blindneſs; and when they have brought themſelves to believe that a true KING of *England* can cure both, it will be Time they ſhould be inform'd of another Miſtake in the Doctrine. It was not from his Royalty, but his Piety, that *Edward the Confeſſor* was ſuppoſed to derive this Power; and that the very Monks, who cry'd up the Power of his Touch, reproach'd thoſe of the Groſſneſs of their Minds, who attributed that to his being a King, which was not owing to that, but to his Sanctity and Love to the Church. Thus writes *William* of *Malmſbury*, an Author who ſhould be read by thoſe who have been ſo credulous as to regard this moſt idle Tradition.

CHAP. XX.

The Reign of Harold.

THE Death of *Edward* left the Field open to two Claimants of the *Britiſh* Crown, *William* Duke of *Normandy*, who pleaded a Right of Compact; and *Edgar Atheling*, whoſe Hereditary Right ſpoke for him; Grandchild of *Edmund Ironſide*: but againſt both theſe the People's Favour to *Harold* prevailed.

He was elected and crown'd King the Day after *Edward*'s Funeral; and enter'd on the great Office with the utmoſt Moderation, accompany'd with great Dignity.

His Duty to *Edgar Atheling* was abſolved by the free Choice of the People; and as to his Promiſe to *William* of *Normandy*, he had not the Reſolution to keep it againſt himſelf; it was like *Edward*'s Vow of Pilgrimage, made when he was no King; and not to be comply'd with when he was.

Harold knew his Title was no more than Favour, and he uſed every Method poſſible to preſerve, and to increaſe that Favour: Ambition never made a Man more virtuous. He became the Father of his People, the Patron of the Church, and the Terror of bad Men in Office. He made good Laws, and himſelf ſaw they were well executed: he order'd the utmoſt Care to be taken every where to preſerve, and defend private Property; and he raiſed Forces, and gave Orders for the fitting out a Fleet to protect the Kingdom.

In this Year a Comet terrify'd the People of *Britain*, and many other Nations: ſo early then was there an Opinion of theſe Appearances in the Heavens foretelling Changes on the Earth; and the dreadful Event that follow'd it in *England*, confirm'd that falſe and fooliſh Fancy.

The firſt Enemy of *Harold* was his Brother. We have obſerv'd before, that he was baniſh'd for his bad Conduct and Oppreſſions in *Northumberland*; and that *Harold* had the Virtue to acquaint the King of all the Truth againſt him.

Toſti was *Harold*'s elder Brother; and partly for Revenge of this Indignity, partly for Envy of ſeeing a younger Brother placed ſo high above him, he came in a hoſtile Manner back. He found Intereſt enough in *Flanders* to procure ſome Veſſels; and he got Soldiers as well as Marines to fill them, with Promiſes of Plunder. He failed firſt to the *Iſle of Wight*, where he demanded vaſt Contributions, and received them; the People being in no Condition of Defence, and holding it better to loſe a large Part of what they had than all.

Thence ſpiriting up his People by a Diviſion of this Money, he went to *Sandwich*, committing many Outrages along the Coaſt.

The King receiv'd the News of this at *London*, and he prepared to cruſh it at once. He order'd out his Veſſels, and a very large Body of Horſe by Land; and ſet himſelf forward at their Head, determin'd to bring the Offender to immediate Juſtice.

Toſti was not without Intelligence. He heard of his Brother's ſetting out, and he took Care to get out of the Way, but he here increaſed greatly his Strength. He had come only with twenty three Veſſels, but ſeizing on all he found in a Condition of Service at *Sandwich*, and forcing the Men on board, he ſet ſail from thence with no leſs than ſixty directing his Courſe to *Lindſey*.

Here he repeated the ſame Outrages; but not with the ſame Succeſs: *Harold* being after him in another Place, *Edwin*, Duke of *Mercia*, here raiſed Men; and calling in the Aſſiſtance of *Morcar*, Earl of *Northumberland*, his Brother, they march'd with their joint Power againſt him.

Toſti, tho' a bold Thief, was a timorous Leader: he did not ſtay to face them; but went in haſte out of the Country, leaving behind him half his Booty.

Not daring to remain in *England*, he went to *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, and the Nation was eaſy on that Head: 'twas in too good a Poſture of Defence to be alarm'd again by a Band of Pirates.

Toſti had few of his Veſſels with him; and the others that had gone to their Homes had made ſo indifferent an Expedition, that they were under no Temptation to return.

This Trouble over, one of a more gigantick Form appear'd, Meſſengers arrived from *William* Duke of *Normandy*: their Addreſs was not to the King of *Britain*, but to *Harold*, Earl of *Kent*. They brought *William*'s Claim to the Crown in civil, but abſolute Terms; and demanded of *Harold* the Performance of his Oath given for that Purpoſe.

Harold return'd a moſt kingly Anſwer. "Tell "the Duke of *Normandy*, his Daughter betrothed "to me is dead. Were ſhe living, I could not, "now a King, marry her, a Foreigner, without the "Conſent of the Realm: our Engagements ſealed "by that Alliance are broken by the Hand of Death "more than of my Fortune. In fine, concluded "he, inform the Duke I have the higheſt Reſpect "for his great Virtues; and in all Things that become a King of *Britain*, will act according to our "former Friendſhip."

William received the Anſwer he expected with great Temper, and prepared for the Part he was to Act: he order'd Forces to be raiſed, Veſſels to be fitted out, and every warlike Preparation to be urg'd with all poſſible Speed, and he told his People the Reaſon: that *Edward* late King of *Britain* had many Years before his Death appointed him his Succeſſor in the Throne; that the Son of *Goodwin*, who now uſurped the Crown, was witneſs of that Compact; and many others who with him, were engaged by Oath to him and to their late King, to aſſert his Title: that he would ſend his Caſe to the Pope; and if he approved the Claim thus made out, he would purſue his Right to all Extremities; if not, he would deſiſt.

All applauded. The Meſſengers were diſpatch'd to *Rome* with Authentications of the Story, and every Thing was got ready.

Harold ſaw all, and he prepared againſt it. The

Pope he honour'd, but not chuſing to hold the Crown as a Gift from him, he ſent no counter Meſſage. He got ready his Forces, and put his Fleet in good Order; and he waited the Invaſion with a fearleſs Countenance.

Alexander II. was at this Time Pope; he was piqued to have no Application from *Harold*, and he confirm'd the ſlender Title of the Duke of *Normandy*.

William diſplay'd the conſecrated Banner which the Pope ſent him by his Meſſengers: he called together every Officer of Valour and Experience; and animated his People, by telling them it was the Cauſe of God, and their Sovereign's Right they were to ſupport.

An Army was ſoon raiſed, and in the Month of *Auguſt* all was ready.

William came down with his full Force to St. *Valerie*, the beſt Port for this Purpoſe in *Normandy*; and *Harold* with as large Preparation march'd to *Sandwich*. His Fleet was in good Order; his Soldiers reſolute; and even his whole Kingdom ready to fight to the laſt Drop in his Service.

Full of Expectation from ſo glorious a Proſpect, he appointed every Thing. 'Twas impoſſible to know where *William* would attempt to land; but *Harold*, to make all poſſible Preparation to receive him, planted large Parties in different Places along the Shores, and ſailed with his Fleet to the *Iſle of Wight*.

From the Middle of *Auguſt* to near the Middle of *September*, all was kept in this Readineſs, and miſerable had been the Condition of the *Norman*, if he had in that Time attempted to land.

This was a Preparation not to be kept on Foot but at a vaſt Expence: it had been raiſed for the Occaſion which People now ſuppoſed to be over; and *Harold* found they began to murmur at the Charge and Fatigue, and to deſire to return home.

Harold repreſented to them there was yet a Month of Autumn, a Time too fit for Action: that *William* was a Soldier of Experience; and tho', over aw'd by this glorious Preparation he did not embark, yet all was ready; and doubtleſs ſo ſoon as he found they were diſperſed, he would purſue his Purpoſe.

Harold was a true Prophet: but he had not the Fate to be believ'd. As he could not engage the People by his Reaſons, he would not compel them by Violence. The Fleet and Army ſeparated; and the King return'd to *London* to feel the Effects of others miſerable Folly.

CHAP. XXI.

The Battle of Stamford Bridge.

HAROLD was ſcarce a Week in *London*, when Meſſengers breathleſs with fearful Expedition, brought Word, that a vaſt Fleet of foreign Veſſels were ſeen upon the Coaſt, and hover'd about the Mouth of *Tine*.

The People thought theſe the Ships of *Normandy*, but *Harold* ſaid they muſt needs be ſome other; he proved the moſt judicious Gueſſer: the Poſts arriv'd upon the Heels of one another; the Number increaſed in every Account, till at length it appear'd they were five hundred Sail; and that they were the Ships of *Harold Harfager* then King of *Norway*.

Theſe waited the Arrival of *Toſti*'s little Squadron; and when joined by that Reinforcement, ſailed up the *Humber*.

Thence they turn'd into the *Ouſe* as far as *Rical*, and fell upon *York*, as their firſt Attempt.

They were too numerous to be reſiſted, they took the City by Aſſault, and play'd the Conquerors without Remorſe.

Harold aſſembled a great Force, and march'd to them: but before he could reach them, *Edwin*, who had before driven *Toſti* out of *Mercia*, join'd by the ſame Aſſociate, *Morcar*, led up his gallant Followers againſt them. They met near *Fulford*, in the Neighbourhood of *York*, and there was a dreadful Conflict.

The *Britons*, encourag'd by their Leaders, and ſpirited up by a juſt Revenge for the Deſtruction theſe Robbers had made among their innocent Countrymen, fell upon them with a Fury that they could not reſiſt: they cut down the firſt Line, drove back the ſecond; and were purſuing Victory with heavy Strokes, and haſty Steps, when *Harfager* led up a Reinforcement.

Theſe ſtood freſh againſt the half weary'd *Britons*, and they drove them in their Turn: Victory at length declared for the worſt Side; and a Multitude of theſe gallant People who eſcaped the Sword of of the numerous Enemy, were drown'd in their Attempt of a Retreat.

The Enemy proud of their Succeſs, put People of their own into *York*; took Hoſtages; and retir'd to their Veſſels.

Harold, doubly incens'd at the News of this Defeat of his People, made haſty Marches, and in five Days after the Engagement arrived at *York*.

It was the eager Haſte of *Edwin* and *Morcar* that had deſtroy'd them: they had fallen upon an Enemy whoſe Numbers they knew not; and who conquer'd them ſolely from that Advantage: it was not ſo with *Harold*, he brought a ſufficient Force againſt them, ſtung with the Inſult, and burning with Revenge.

Harfager and *Toſti* had Notice of his Arrival: they drew up all their Force, and haranguing their Legions told them, "What they had reap'd was but "the Earneſt of their Succeſs; now they were to "fight the King: that they would now have the "Glory of winning a Kingdom; and that the Oppoſition was nothing for them to fear, for he was "ſupported only by the beaten Party."

The Soldiers ſhouted their Applauſe; the Generals encourag'd them to fall upon the King at once, while his Troops were harraſs'd with a long March, and before they could take Refreſhment or Reſt, A ſecond Shout redoubled the Aſſent, and they march'd on to attack the Royal Army.

It was what *Harold* wiſh'd; and what his Soldiers wiſh'd as much: he ſpirited them more by a juſt and proper Repreſentation of the Caſe; and they received the numerous Enemy with more Fury than they came on.

Stamford Bridge was the Scene of Combat. The Action was deſperate; but though at the Expence of much Blood, altogether favourable to the *Britons*: *Harfager* and *Toſti* both fell: the principal of their Leaders ſhared the ſame Fate; and but a very thin Account of the Reſt got to their Ships, by a Retreat in which they loſt more than in the Action.

Harold tired as his Soldiers were with the March, and with the Action, ſpirited them by his Example and his Words together, to follow them even to the Ships, to end this attempt at once, and to take the Booty they had won in the Field, but which the Veſſels detain'd.

They follow'd; they urg'd one another with impetuous Speed; and they came up with the frighted Troops left as a Guard to the Veſſels: never Victory was ſo quickly won, or ſo haſtily purſued.

Olave, the Son of *Harfager*, and *Richard* Earl of *Orkney*, were in Command at the Veſſels: they had no Spirit to oppoſe ſuch a victorious Army, and they ſubmitted without a Stroke.

Harold, cloy'd with Blood, and in his Nature noble; received their Submiſſion upon Terms. He took back the Booty, with what elſe there was of Value; and then taking Hoſtages for the Performance of their Oath never to return as Enemies, he let them carry back the Remnant of their Force, the Trophy at once of his Valour and his Mercy.

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CHAP. XXII.

The Battle of Haſtings.

WILLIAM all this Time lay at St. *Valerie*: every Thing was ready, and he waited for nothing but a Wind.

The Soldiers diſhearten'd at the News of *Harold*'s great Succeſs againſt the *Norwegians* and the *Scots*, were ſuperſtitious on the averſe Condition of the Elements to their Undertaking: they began to look upon themſelves as the next Sacrifice; and ſaid the Heavens declared againſt their Purpoſe, that deny'd the Wind to carry them to *Britain*.

William, to cure their Fears on this Head, diſplay'd the conſecrated Banner; and the Wind ſoon after becoming favourable, 'twas called a Miracle. So eaſily is Superſtition led to oppoſite Parts; and ſo are they fool'd who are devoted to its Influences.

William ſaw the Eagerneſs in his Soldiers Countenances, as plainly as the Backwardneſs before; and the Wind favouring, embark'd them with all Diligence.

Himſelf in the principal Veſſel got ready firſt; ſtood out to Sea, and while he waited, haſten'd the Preparation.

Nine hundred Veſſels ſailed from the *Norman* Coaſt; and by a favourable Gale came ſafely up to *Penſey*, near *Haſtings*.

William, as eager to land in *Britain* as he was to ſail from *Normandy*, ſtep'd haſtily aſhore; and fell. The Soldiers before diſhearten'd by Superſtition, now were awake to every Omen, and made all Advantages.

At another Time they would have thought this a Preſage againſt them; but one of them had Preſence of Mind enough to call it the Duke's taking Poſſeſſion of the *Britiſh* Shore; and they all ſhouted their Conſent to the Conſtruction.

The Tumult and the Noiſe were more dreadful to the People of *Haſtings* than Thunder; they ſaw a terrible Force landed upon them; and they had been accuſtom'd to nothing but Acts of Violence and Devaſtation on ſuch Occaſions.

William was wiſe as well as valiant. He knew it was his Point to gain, and not to alienate the Affections of a People over whom he came to reign. He kept ſtrict Diſcipline in his Army; and reſtrain'd the Eagerneſs of his Soldiers, by telling them they ſhould have double Rewards after a few Days; but they muſt remember now he came to take Poſſeſſion of his Right, and that they muſt not ſpoil and waſte what was his own.

'Twas now *October*. *Harold* had expected the *Norman* many Weeks, but had by this Time given over Thoughts of him for the preſent Year: he was in the Height of Happineſs and Security when News was brought him as he ſat at Dinner, not of the Appearance of the *Norman* Ships, but of the Duke's being landed and encamped at *Pevenſey*.

Here he ſaw the Misfortune of putting his Ships out of Commiſſion. Nine hundred Veſſels was a vaſt Force for him to have fought at Sea; and though the *Britiſh* Navy was in no mean Condition in the Beginning of his Reign, it does not appear that he could have faced them with a Chance of Victory: however, had this proper Security of the Iſland been well conducted, he would have had Intelligence of the Enemy, and Time to have got ready to receive them.

His Army could have been drawn up to face them as they landed, and his Veſſels might have haraſs'd them behind. This might have been; but was not. The ſeparating and laying up his Fleet we have ſeen was not his Choice, but his Compliance with the People's Deſire; they now found they were miſtaken, as he had told them; and they ſaw too late the Effect of their wrong Conduct.

What they might have been prepared to meet was now a Surprize; 'twas an Attempt that might have given them Terror with the beſt Preparation; and it now gain'd double Force from the unexpected Execution.

Harold took every Meaſure to raiſe a Force fit to oppoſe the *Normans*. *William* built a Fortreſs near *Haſtings*, and told his Men they ſhould have a Fortnight to refreſh before he led them out to Action. He gueſſed *Harold* tired with expecting him, could not be ready in leſs Time; and he choſe to fight with all Advantage.

In this Time he was buſily making Intereſt among the *Engliſh* Nobility; ſome of whom were ready enough to favour his Pretenſions: not out of Hate to *Harold*, for he gave no Man Cauſe; he received the Crown from the free Offer of the People, and the few Months of his Reign had been characteriſed only by Acts of Virtue and of Courage.

Harold with a ſmall Force ſet forward, and gave Orders for the reſt that ſhould be raiſed to join him on the March. He knew the Benefit of Expedition, and ſeem'd to have been born with a Soul impatient of Delay.

He faced the Duke of *Normandy* with ſcarce a third Part of the Force that was raiſed, and on the March to join him. He halted at ſome Diſtance; and ſent out Spies to diſcover the Strength, Number, and Condition of the Enemy.

William had Notice of the Spies, he order'd them to be apprehended, but not for Puniſhment. He gave them Refreſhments, ſhew'd them what they came to ſee, and ſent them back to make Report to *Harold*.

The *Saxons* were ſo far *Britiſh* that they preſerved the Cuſtom and Manners of the antient Inhabitants: they wore the Beard upon the upper Lip; and as the *Normans* ſhaved that with the Chin, the Spies taking it as a Mark of Effeminacy, from this little Incident, held them in Contempt.

Harold told them they would find them Men in the Field, and worthy of their Swords.

Every Thing was now prepared for the Action when *Girtha*, a younger Brother of *Harold*, a Youth of noble Spirit, requeſted him to keep out of the Field.

"You are engaged by Oath, ſaid he to *William*, "but we are free of every Obligation. I grant it "was an Oath extorted in your Time of Con-"ſtraint, and given to gain your Liberty; but "ſtill 'tis beſt unviolated. Let us, againſt whom "no Vow lies in Heaven, fight this Battle: you "may ſtand by to rally our Force, if broken, or "revenge our Deaths."

The People applauded the Spirit of *Girtha*, but they depended on the Arm, the Head, and Heart of *Harold*: the Speech was concerted, and it had a good Effect.

The Soldiers who had heard of an Oath of *Harold*'s to *William*, were now told it was extorted while he was a Priſoner; and whether that be true or not, ſome vouch it; ſaying 'twas abſolute Chance that caſt him on the Shore of *Normandy*; and that all his Obligations to the Duke were enter'd into ſolely to procure Liberty to return.

"*Harold* embraced his Brother, "Mayſt thou "live, ſaid he, to revenge me, gallant Youth; "and to inherit from me this Kingdom, diſputed "by theſe Strangers: but to Day I will fight in "Perſon. I will face this Duke of *Normandy*, who "claims ſuch Obligations, and quit him fairly.

While this paſſed in the *Engliſh* Camp, Meſſengers arrived from the *Norman*: Churchmen bringing his Claim to the Kingdom by Adoption of *Edward*, and by the Oath of *Harold*: they made a long Speech, to which he return'd a ſhort Anſwer, "God be Judge between us."

William had demanded firſt that he ſhould lay down the Scepter: if that were refuſed, the Meſſengers had Commiſſion to ſay he would agree to *Harold*'s holding it for Life dependant upon him: if this were declined, he offer'd to refer it to the Pope's Determination; or, if all theſe Terms were ſlighted, they bore his Challenge to the King, to decide the Controverſy between both Armies in ſingle Combat.

Harold was too wiſe to liſten to any of the former Propoſals, and too much above the Imputation of Cowardice, to fear declining the latter. We have related his ſhort Anſwer to the whole; and this return'd, he bade his Men be merry for that Night, and early out in the Morning.

In the Morning *Harold*, without waiting any more of his Supplies, drew up his Army. The Place was diſadvantageous; but his Spirit impatient of tedious Hours, diſdain'd all Impediment.

His Troops were poſted as well as the Nature of the Ground would allow: the Centre was an impenetrable Squadron, ranked cloſe, and arm'd with Battle-axes and large Shields. Before theſe was diſplay'd the Royal Banner, in which was repreſented the Figure of a Heroe adorn'd with Gold and Gems. By this ſtood *Harold*, and on each Side his Brothers, and the chief Nobility; a Body, whoſe Aſpect ſpoke them worthy to defend the Liberties of *Britain*.

The *Norman* Bowmen were in the Centre, and the Duke before them: and his Horſe were placed a little backward in the Wings. In this Order ſtood the deſperate Armies on that Spot where now ſtands the Town of *Battle* in *Suſſex*, near *Heathfield*; and not far from *Haſtings*, whence the Action is univerſally named.

The Battle began at early Day. Each Army fought, convinced a Kingdom was the Stake. The *Normans* were furious; but the *Britons*, full of their true temperate Courage, ſtood invincible. *William* diſtinguiſh'd himſelf often; and *Harold* was terrible to Squadrons wherever he directed his Fury. No Advantage was to be claim'd on either Side at Noon; the Field was cover'd with the Dead, but equal Fury and equal Reſolution remain'd in the Living.

William had led up his beſt Troops four Times againſt the Center of *Harold*'s Army, and four Times ſeen them weary their Axes with the Slaughter, and ſtop his Way to them with Carcaſſes. He ſaw they were impregnable by Force, and he found no Recourſe could be had but to Stratagem. He pretended Flight; and tho' *Harold* ſaw the Deceit, and called to his People to ſtand, they could not be withheld; they broke in the Purſuit, and the *Normans* ſending in their laſt Reſerve upon them thus divided; and encouraging them with the Promiſe of Rewards and Honours to every Man who behaved well on this great Juncture; the *Britons* were incloſed, and attack'd on all Parts at once.

They ſaw their Error; and they fought with double Fury to recover it. There was a riſing Ground at a little Diſtance, but guarded by all the *Norman* Force. The *Britons* cut their Way through, got the Advantage, and cover'd the Acceſs with *Norman* Carcaſſes.

The falſe Step was recover'd; Victory, tho' it yet hung doubtful, ſeem'd moſt to promiſe the *Britons.* 'Twas Evening; and in all the Blood and Slaughter of the Day none had fainted. A ſingle Stroke now gave the great Deciſion, a *Norman* Arrow, from an unknown Hand, pierced the Head of *Harold.* He fell. His Soldiers who would have fought till Death, under his Eye, loſt all Spirit.

Thoſe whom the Fatigue and Horror of a whole Day's Fight had not diſpirited, loſt all Hope, all Courage at this Accident; and *William* never knew to what Hand he owed the Crown of *Britain.*

Girtha fell with his Royal Brother; and *Leofſwin*, another of the Brothers: the Flower of the *Engliſh* Nobility, fell nobly alſo in the Action; and ſuch a Body of Troops as the World never ſaw perhaps, or ſhall.

William was now Maſter of the Field; and he purſued his uſual prudent Moderation: he ſtop'd the Slaughter; and called the other Force, as well as his own, his Subjects, and his Children. He order'd the Body of *Harold* to be ſought; and honourably carry'd from the Field.

It happen'd that thoſe diſpatch'd in this Office, came up juſt as a *French* Officer was inſulting the great Coarſe; ſtabbing it dead and cold. The Story reach'd the Ear of *William*, and he broke the Officer, declaring him incapable of Service for ever after.

The Body was ſent with every Mark of Honour to his Mother, who had offer'd any Price for Leave to bury him: *William* order'd the Offers to be refuſed; and ſent with the Body a Meſſage of Condolance, and a very honourable Account of his Actions.

Of the *Normans* more than half fell; and the Duke eſcaped by the good Chance of War, by no cautious Conduct. He was every where in the Poſt of moſt Danger, and had three Horſes killed.

The News of the *Norman*'s Victory, and the King's Death, were brought with Speed to *London*; where the Nobility who had not been in the Action were aſſembled, and whither *Edwin* and *Morcar*, diſtinguiſh'd by their Conduct and their Valour in this Fight, as well as by their former Actions, haſted after the Battle.

The Duke of *Normandy* doubted not but he poſſeſſed the Kingdom againſt all Obſtacle; but the Nobles thought not ſo. None choſe Submiſſion to a foreign Sovereign; but unhappily they differ'd in their Choice of a Succeſſor to *Harold.*

Edgar, ſet aſide in favour of *Harold*, was yet alive, and a ſtrong Party eſpouſed, and propoſed him for immediate Election; but this croſs'd the Hopes of the Deſigns of *Edwin* and of *Morcar.* They had ſeen *Harold* raiſed to the Royal Dignity for his Courage, and they expected the Chance ſhould fall on one of them for the ſame Reaſon.

They did not want Friends to propoſe them, but the Number were on the other Side: it was carry'd in favour of the lawful Heir; and in conſequence of this, theſe withdrew with their Forces.

A King was thus appointed; but the Arms that ſhould eſtabliſh and confirm the Choice, were gone. After the Loſs at *Haſtings*, the principal Force was in the Hands of theſe diſcontented Brothers, who ſtood aloof.

William claiming the Crown now by the double Right of Compact and of Conqueſt, loſt Patience at hearing of another King; he gave his Soldiers leave to plunder, declaring he ſhould conſider *Britain* not as his Kingdom, but a hoſtile Country, till ſhe acknowledged him her Sovereign.

He drew together the Remainder of his Forces, and march'd for *London*, determin'd on Severity.

The Nobles terrify'd at his Approach, and the timorous *Edgar* moſt of all, met him upon the Way, and paid him their Submiſſion. He now laid down the Terror of a Conqueror, which he had only aſſumed for the Time of this inconſiderate Oppoſition, and continued his Way to *London.* *Edwin* and *Morcar* ſaw it was in vain to ſtand againſt him, and they came in; thus *Britain* ſubmitted wholly to a Conqueror.

The ſhort Reign of *Harold* had been a Scene of War and Slaughter; and within a Year from the Death of *Edward the Confeſſor*, *William* Duke of *Normandy* was crown'd at *Weſtminſter.*

The Battle was fought on the 14th of *October* 1066. and *William* was crown'd on *Chriſtmas Day*, by *Aldred*, Archbiſhop of *York.*

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SECTION II.

From the Norman *Conqueſt to the End of the eleventh Century.*

CHAP. XXIII.

The Eſtabliſhment of the Norman *Race.*

FIVE hundred Years had paſſed from the Eſtabliſhment of the *Saxons* in *Britain* to the Extinction of their Line in *Harold*; a Sovereign whoſe Virtues promiſed Glory to the Kingdom, and whoſe Death is ſcarce more to be lamented than envy'd.

The *Britons* ſaw that to the Death of *Harold* *William* owed his Victory, but that he owed the Crown to their Diſſenſions: had they been unanimous in the Choice of *Edgar*, or had they placed the Crown on *Edwin*, the Forces under his and his Brother's Command, would have been quickly reinforced; and ſoon in a Condition to diſpute the Crown, moſt probably with Succeſs, againſt the broken Forces of the *Normans*.

This Opportunity was loſt, and they were now Subjects of another foreign King. The *Saxons* had uſurp'd their Crown, the *Danes* had unlodged the *Saxons*; and theſe laſt had in a ſtrange Manner aſcended the Throne again: now a *Norman* poſſeſſed it, and without their Hope of his Removal.

The next Hope to this was, that he would deal well by them, and this they ſought not by Oppoſition but Obedience: they repreſented to him by the Archbiſhop, who perform'd the ſacred Office, that they moſt fear'd two Things; the Inſolence of the *Danes* made them dread their *Norman* Conquerors; and their Value for the Laws by which they had from Age to Age been govern'd, made them moſt earneſtly deſirous they ſhould not be aboliſh'd.

William, whoſe Character ſtands diſtinguiſh'd by Prudence as much as Valour, ſilenced their Fears at the Altar; he ſwore to govern by the *Saxon* Laws; and to make no Diſtinction, nor to ſuffer any between *Normans* and *Britons*: that he would protect and defend the eſtabliſh'd Church, that he would govern with Equity, and that what new Laws ſhould be needful, ſhould be made with Juſtice.

The Death of *Harold* gave his Treaſures into the Hands of King *William*, for ſo we are now to ſtile him. Theſe were very conſiderable, and he uſed them generouſly and wiſely: he gave large Rewards among his Officers, and omitted no private Man who had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the Action. This took about two thirds of what he found, and the reſt he gave to Monaſteries.

He knew the Power and the Avarice of Churchmen: he took this prudent Meaſure to buy their good Opinion, and their Friendſhip.

William was prudent even in his Liberality: he did not employ the publick Coffers by this Generoſity without a Scheme for filling them. When every Mouth was full of his Applauſe for theſe noble Acts of Beneficence; it was whiſper'd, that his Heart had been too great for his Reſources: that he had left himſelf nothing: and that it would not be improper if all the Corporations in the Kingdom ſent him voluntary Preſents.

'Twas done freely, nay cheerfully; and 'twas accepted with Profeſſions, ſo well ſupported by Actions, that the People ſcarce regretted their old Kings.

William had the Command of *Britain*, but he wanted to confirm the good Opinion and the good Will of the People. He could look back with Eyes of Wonder upon the Succeſs of his bold Adventure: he knew how eaſy it would have been for the People to have oppoſed his little Force afterwards; how impoſſible for him even to have taken *London*, if defended againſt him: and with this Remembrance, how eaſily he might have been kept from the Crown, he entertain'd a juſt Senſe of the Danger that it might be ſnatch'd from him. He ſaw the People's Approbation was his only Aſſurance, and he uſed every Means of obtaining and confirming their Affections.

He gave Orders upon pain of his Diſpleaſure, and the ſevereſt Puniſhment, that no *Norman* ſhould inſult or injure a *Briton*; he encouraged the *Britons* by every little Indulgence; and he renew'd from the Throne, by a publick Edict, the Promiſe he had made at his Coronation, that all their Privileges ſhould be preſerv'd; and that he would ſtudy in all Things their Intereſt and Honour.

They believed him; and he then declared his Intention of leaving them a few Months, to viſit his *Norman* Dominions.

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CHAP. XXIV.

The Behaviour of the Conqueror gains the People's Affection.

AS well ſatisfy'd as the People were with their new King, there were not wanting among the Nobles, ſome whom Ambition, or perhaps ſome few whom a patriot Spirit led to think of Advantages that might be taken of his Abſence.

Edwin who had aſpired to the Throne, thought of this Step in their new King as favourable in the higheſt Degree to his Intentions; and there were thoſe who eſpouſed them.

The King, tho' he kept an even Hand, yet had offended many of the *Britons* in the Neceſſity of obliging the principal *Normans*, to whom he had given Poſts and Honours. They met; they conſulted Means; and certainly the Conqueror ſtood in Danger.

He ſaw it; but he was not raſh in his Determination: he would not apprehend them, becauſe he dreaded the Conſequences; nor would he omit his Journey, for his Heart was in *Normandy*: and 'twas with a Child's longing, the great Man ſigh'd to ſhew himſelf before his old Subjects in his new Dignity.

He thought of a very happy Expedient, that without betraying his Suſpicion, deſtroy'd the very Thought of Danger. He fixed the Time of his Departure, and he named thoſe who ſhould attend him. He choſe the moſt faithful and the moſt brave of his *Normans*; and he added to the Liſt *Edwin*, and every *Briton* he ſuſpected. They ſaw, but it was not their Buſineſs to ſay they ſaw it. They went with very unwilling Hearts, but none objected to the Journey.

The People underſtood them to be taken as Hoſtages; but themſelves knew they were ſecured as Traitors. However, as no Explanation farther was made upon the Subject, all ended eaſily: and *William* by this gentle Step, at once deter'd them from any farther Plots; and ſecured himſelf againſt all Danger in the preſent Criſis.

It would have been happy if he had left thoſe in

Power who could have manag'd as well at home as he abroad. The Truſt of the Adminiſtration of Affairs in his Abſence muſt be repoſed in ſome; and it was great. He had need to be ſure of their Fidelity whom he inveſted with it; and he fixed upon two of whom he was ſure, *Odo* his Brother, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and *William Fitzoſborn*, a Stateſman, and a ſteady Friend.

Odo had *Dover Caſtle* for his Reſidence, and had the Care of *Kent*, the adjoining Country, and the Southern Provinces.

Fitzoſborn had the Command of the Northern Provinces, and had his Reſidence at *Winchester*.

The King was not miſtaken in his Opinion of theſe Perſons Fidelity, but he ſhould have conſider'd that there was a Duty to be diſcharg'd to his People as well as to himſelf: theſe thought only of the latter.

Far from the mild and gentle Conduct of the Conqueror, they were inſolent, rapacious, and oppreſſive. They favour'd *Normans* in every Inſtance; and every where, on every Occaſion inſulted and injured the *Britons*. They ſhew'd no Care of any Thing but enriching themſelves, and thoſe who depended upon them, at the Expence of Honour, Juſtice, and Humanity.

The *Britons* were impatient under this delegated Tyranny, they murmur'd, they caball'd, they threaten'd, and at length they roſe in Arms.

The *Kentiſh* Men led the Way, to whom the Churchman was univerſally and deſervedly hateful. Others in ſeveral Places follow'd their Example; and they called in the Aſſiſtance of a foreign Power againſt a foreign.

Euſtace, Earl of *Bologne*, was addreſſed in the moſt melancholy Terms, and offer'd any Recompence to free them from the *Norman* Yoke: in one Thing he was deceiv'd, for he ſuppos'd the Addreſs was from the whole Iſland, whereas it was but from the *Kentiſh* People and their Friends.

Euſtace fitted out a large Naval Force, committed it to the Care of an experienced Officer, and gave him Inſtructions to defend the *Britons* againſt their Oppreſſors.

The firſt Expedition was an Attempt on *Dover Caſtle*: and as it frequently happens that a firſt Stroke is deciſive to an Action depending on many, ſo it happen'd here.

The Attempt was unſucceſsful; and in conſequence of the Repulſe, the *Kentiſh* People were left to the Mercy of the Biſhop. The Commander of the Foreigners ſaw 'twas but a Party, and not the Body of the People he eſpouſed, and he return'd. What Mercy the others found in an offended Churchman, veſted with full Power, may be conjectur'd; a Revolt was never more ſeverely puniſhed.

The Puniſhment of theſe Traitors increaſed that Spirit of Sedition it was intended to have dampt. *Edric*, an *Engliſh* Lord upon the Confines of *Wales*, refuſed to acknowledge *William*'s Title! by the Command of the Vicegerent's Forces march'd againſt him, his Lands were waſted, and his People murther'd. He join'd in his Cauſe ſome of the unconquer'd *Welch*; and beating back the Forces, fell upon the *Normans* ſettled in *Herefordſhire*, and ſhew'd no Mercy.

William, alarm'd at this, return'd to *England*; and not conſidering the Cauſe of the Diſturbances, attributed them to the unſettled Temper of the *Engliſh*; of whom from that Time he entertain'd great Suſpicion.

Soon after the King's Return, *Matilda* his Wife arriv'd, whom he crown'd Queen on the *Whitſunday* following; and who ſoon after was deliver'd of a Son, *Henry*, diſtinguiſh'd from his Brothers as *Britiſh* born, they having been born in *Normandy*.

CHAP. XXV.

William *puts on a new Conduct.*

WILLIAM, diſpleaſed with his Subjects, and better ſettled on his Throne, now put on a new Conduct; or rather he laid aſide the former, which had been aſſumed for the Occaſion. His Prudence had made him conceal his natural Diſpoſition; but he now appear'd ſevere, and ſuſpicious; partial to the *Normans*, and hard upon the *Britons*.

In 1068 he impoſed a heavy Tax upon the whole Nation. He had receiv'd from the Corporations a vaſt Sum before, but the Demand was now much greater; and no Terms were to be kept with thoſe who would not, or who could not pay it: for *Norman* Collectors were ſo far like modern *Britiſh*, they underſtood little Diſtinction between theſe two equally unpardonable Crimes.

The People murmur'd; they called this reſtoring *Danegelt*, a Term hateful to them in the higheſt Degree, and which now brought with it the Remembrance of all the *Daniſh* Cruelties.

William ſaw their Diſſatisfaction, and he ſuſpected what would be their Courſe. He knew a Mob without a Head was nothing; and weighing in his own Mind who was moſt likely to be fix'd upon, he recollected *Edwin*, diſtinguiſh'd by his Birth and his great Qualities, and once before aiming at Sovereignty.

The Popularity of *Edwin* was no Crime, but it was more odious to *William* than the worſt of which he could have been guilty: he was inclined to puniſh by his Severity; but here his Prudence ſtep'd between. He thought it wiſer to palliate than inflame the Diſorder, and he determin'd upon making a faſt Friend of *Edwin*, as the Step more ſafe than taking him off.

He ſent for him privately, expatiated upon his Virtues, and told him, " My Lord, I came to favour, not to oppreſs the *Britons*; for I hold them " equally with the *Normans*, my Subjects, and my " Children. I cannot begin better than with you, "and the Intent of my ſending for you at this "Time is, to offer you my beſt Services; and as a "Bond of everlaſting Friendſhip, my Daughter."

Edwin was aſtoniſh'd, for he knew nothing of the ſecret Motive; and he was full of Gratitude and Acknowledgments.

Edwin was thus moſt effectually taken off from being dangerous; and perhaps there never was a Step of truer Policy: for not a Man in *Britain* could at that Time ſo much have ſerv'd, or ſo much hurt the Intereſt of the King.

A Churchman was the next in *William*'s Fears. *Aldred*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, ſaw the Proſpect of Tyranny and Oppreſſion; he ſaw the Maſk thrown off, and all the Virtues of the King ſacrificed to his natural Avarice and rigid Severity: he declaimed againſt him without Fear, we muſt add, without Diſcretion; and went ſo far as to curſe him and all his Race.

William heard of this; he knew the Miſchief it might occaſion, and he was alarm'd. The Churchman could not be appeas'd by another Daughter; and the Tax could not be levy'd with Safety while he was ſo outrageous in his Exclamations.

The King ſent Meſſengers to promiſe any Thing, offer any Thing, do any Thing to appeaſe him. They knew their Commiſſion in its full Extent; and while the honeſt Prelate was drawing up Terms very favourable to the People, he ſuddenly dy'd, ſo ſuddenly indeed that it became ſuſpicious.

This, and many other Accidents that would have open'd the publick Mouth againſt the King, were happily palliated by the Addreſs and Popularity of *Edwin*; who, by mediating in all great Diſputes ſo kept his Character, that he had the ſame Influence notwithſtanding the Connection he had with the Conqueror.

The People were quieted, and the Tax was levy'd: they were convinced the Archbiſhop dy'd of an Apoplexy, they were made ſenſible that only bad Men called this Tax Danegelt; and all was quiet.

Could the Officers employ'd in collecting this Tax have behaved with Moderation, there would have been no farther Diſturbance about it, but they were *Normans*; they look'd upon the *Britons* as a conquer'd People, and inſulted them even for a Look of Diſcontent.

The Harangues of *Edwin* ſunk before the Exactions of theſe Collectors; People began to open their Eyes, and attribute his Favour to the Conqueror, and Approbation of his Meaſures, as the Effect of his Connection with his Family: they declared againſt his Speeches, and *William*'s Meaſures with equal Vehemence. Every one was ready for a Revolt; and the Queſtion was, who ſhould lead the Way.

The Mother of *Harold* was at this Time in *Exeter*, and ſhe ſpirited the People there to ſet the Example. They follow'd her Advice; they refuſed to ſubmit to *William*, to allow his Title, or to receive a Garriſon from his Troops.

This was in the Year 1068, and toward the Cloſe of it. It was a Thing not to be ſlighted. Though it was Winter the King march'd in Perſon with a large Force againſt the City: the principal Inhabitants were terrify'd at his Approach, and ſent a Deputation with their Submiſſion, and humble Requeſt of Pardon.

William receiv'd them well, and all was ſettled with them; when the Generality of the Towns People refuſed to ſtand to the Terms: they were abſolute in their Refuſal to admit the King, and he was reduced to the Neceſſity of beſieging the City. 'Twas impoſſible to hold out: but in the mean Time the Mother of *Harold* eſcap'd, and left the Kingdom; and the People implored Pardon.

The King thought it would be dangerous to uſe too much Rigour, and he ſubmitted to their humble Requeſt: but he built a Caſtle there, and placed in it a *Norman* Garriſon to prevent any ſucceeding Revolt.

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CHAP. XXVI.

Troubles in many Parts of the Kingdom.

THE Succeſs of *William* had been aſtoniſhing in gaining the Crown; and his Prudence and Addreſs not leſs ſo in the keeping it: no Man ever diſguiſed his natural Self ſo well; nor was it ever more neceſſary to any one. Severity and Extortion would have been ill Recommendations to a People among whom he was to eſtabliſh himſelf by Favour, or forfeit what he had obtain'd by Force. This he had conſulted hitherto, and had conſtrain'd himſelf to appear what it was fit he ſhould have been.

But it was difficult to keep up the Counterfeit long; and he had found Terror take Effect at *Exeter*; and thought it might elſewhere. He grew rigid, ſurly, and untractable: negligent of his Promiſes to the *Britons*, and laviſh of his Favours to the *Normans*. Suſpicious of all but his own People, and harſh to all he ſuſpected: he forfeited the Eſteem and Favour of the *Engliſh*, and they began to plot heavily againſt him.

Edwin perceived this early, and he prepared againſt its Effects with the beſt Spirit his former Conduct left him. He ſaw he had forfeited the Opinion of the People; for the Promiſes of a King, who had only made them becauſe he fear'd him; and who, now he was no longer apprehenſive of his Power, thought no more of his Alliance. Poſſibly *William* had meant nothing more by his flattering the Ambition of *Edwin*, than to make him hateful to the People, and now thought he had effected it: but he triumph'd too ſoon.

Edwin ſaw his Error, the People were ready to receive his Apologies; theſe all ſerv'd to exaſperate them more againſt the King; and the preſent Danger was worſe than that he had avoided.

No ſooner was it known that *Edwin* cooled to the King, than all the *Britiſh* Nobility declared their Abhorrence of his Tyranny: no ſooner *Edwin* eſpouſed the Intereſts of the People, than they were ſtrengthened by a Multitude of others. Many came in becauſe they had been plunder'd; more becauſe they fear'd for their Lives, as well as Fortunes; and all hated the Oppreſſor.

Edwin, when he ſaw how well he was eſpouſed, diſdain'd to diſguiſe his Purpoſes: he ſent to his Brother *Morcar*, Earl of *Northumberland*; and to his Nephew *Blethwin*, King of *Wales*: he raiſed Troops, defy'd the Conqueror, and called on every Man who had the Spirit of a *Briton*, to join him.

William now ſaw his Error. He raiſed a large Force, and march'd againſt them. They were in the North, and moſt of the conſiderable Towns had declared for them.

William in his Way prepared *Warwick* and *Nottingham* Caſtles as Places of Retreat in caſe of Diſadvantage; and purſued his March for *York*; determin'd if the Rebels did not face him in the Way, to beſiege that City. He ſaw all at ſtake: the Revolters were very ſtrong already; and every Day increaſed them: *Edwin*, he could perceive, though he ſpoke of nothing but redreſſing Grievances, aim'd at the Crown.

The Difference between Voices and Hands was never ſeen more than on this Occaſion. Not a Tongue but curſed the King; but they were deceiv'd, who for that expected every Arm would be lifted againſt him: all who murmur'd did not chuſe to hazard themſelves in ſo deſperate an Expedition.

The King had a large Force, and they knew they fought in Halters. Fear prevailed over the Senſe of Oppreſſion; and *Edwin*, who had been eſpouſed ſo ſtrongly in Vows, found every Peaſant could regard his Word as little as a King.

The People in the North had join'd him freely, hoping the whole Kingdom would follow their Example, but it was a vain Expectation. They ſaw it, and they dreaded the Event.

Many left *Edwin* on perceiving he was not ſupported by the other Provinces, and he ſaw his Body continually grow thinner as the King approached. He called his Brothers in the War about him.

"You ſee our Condition: the *Britons* dare not
" fight for Liberty: we are betray'd, and we have
" but this Choice, to leave the Kingdom or to
" make Terms with *William*. If you approve the
" latter, I will lay down my Life but I effect
" it?"

They all prefer'd Submiſſion to a voluntary Exile; and as ſoon as the Council broke up, *Edwin* diſpatch'd a Meſſage to the King. He told him his Party was ſtrong and reſolute; but that he abhor'd the Thoughts of ſhedding civil Blood; that the King knew their Grievances, which, if he would give his Royal Word ſhould be redreſſed; they would return to their Duty, and *York* ſhould own his Sovereignty.

The King had been enough terrify'd at the Preparation to catch at any Offers of Compoſition; he agreed to what they propoſed, which their own deſperate Condition confined to eaſy Terms; and they were receiv'd into Favour, and the Citizens of *York* pardon'd.

However, not to let paſs ſuch a Revolt without ſome Notice to the reſt, of the King's Power, and Reſolution for the future, to puniſh with Severity, there was a Fine laid upon the City; and a Caſtle built there to be garriſon'd by *Normans*.

Thus ended this Preparation, full of Hope at firſt on the Revolters Part, and full of Terror on the King's; and which he would not have accommodated ſo eaſily, had he underſtood why they ſollicited ſo earneſtly.

CHAP. XXVII.

The King's Mercy is ſuſpected.

THE *Britons* of that Period were ſo far like the *Britons* of the preſent, that they were won by Kindneſs, while they deſpiſed Rigour: the King found it Policy to attempt their Hearts this Way; and could he have maintain'd an uniform Conduct he would have ſucceeded: but Humanity, when limited to particular Objects, does not appear genuine; and he brought his Mercy to theſe into Suſpicion by Rigour to others.

While the principal People in this Rebellion were pardon'd, thoſe who had neither Heads nor Hearts to be greatly guilty, were puniſh'd with Severity; Men were impriſon'd but for having ſpoke on that Side, nay, but for a Whiſper or a Look that ſeem'd unfriendly. 'Twas plain the Puniſhment of theſe ſpoke the true Language of *William*'s Heart, and that he was only merciful to the others becauſe he dared not be cruel.

Others ſaw this, but they felt it terribly. There was no Truſt to be repoſed in Favour built on Fear; and *Morcar* who ſaw far, and felt it deeply, fled to *Scotland*. The other *Northumbrian* Lords follow'd his Council, and in a Week *William* ſaw his Policy detected; and his Hope of Revenge deſtroy'd.

Nothing could have given the People worſe Impreſſions than the Flight of thoſe juſt receiv'd into Favour: they remember'd the preceding Years, and they ſigh'd; they ſaw the King build Fortreſſes at *Lincoln*, *Cambridge*, *Huntington*, and other Places, and they trembled: they knew the Sight of theſe was meant to awe them; and they could eaſily underſtand their Uſe.

Prince *Edgar* could not ſee the univerſal Fear without ſharing in it: If theſe are terrify'd, ſaid he to his Mother, what Hope remains for us?

Malcolm Canmore at that Time filled the *Scots* Throne. A Prince, who though not without his Faults, was full of Humanity and Honour. The Reception he had given the northern Lords, pointed him out to this Prince as the proper Refuge for himſelf and his defenceleſs Family. He threw himſelf at his Feet, with his Mother and his Siſters, and he found the Protection he expected.

This which ſeem'd an Act of abſolute Deſpair, was one of thoſe Events deſtin'd to produce the greateſt and the happieſt Conſequences. *Malcolm* treated the Royal Fugitives with the moſt perfect Honour; and charm'd with the Perſon and the Endowments of *Margaret*, the eldeſt Siſter of the Prince, he demanded her in Marriage.

The Mother could anſwer only with her Tears: The Prince ſeized *Malcolm* by the Hand, and ſaid to him, "If I had Kingdoms to beſtow with her, "you ſhould receive her with more perfect Free-"dom."

From this honourable Marriage ſprung *Matilda*, in the Perſon of whoſe Grandſon the ſecond *Henry*, the *Saxon* and the *Norman* Families united. What Prophet could have foretold ſo great an Occurrence! Heaven, from how ſtrange Beginnings doſt thou produce the greateſt, and the happieſt Incidents!

William never knew his Condition, with reſpect to the Opinion of the People, till this Flight of ſo many whom he had pardon'd, nay, had favour'd, ſhew'd it him. He ſaw he was not lov'd, and he deſpaired he ſhould be; he remember'd himſelf a King, and the next Choice to that was to be fear'd. This was ſo neceſſary, that not to make them fear muſt be to fear himſelf. They hated him already, and every Meaſure he could take to ſecure himſelf by their Terror, his only Reſource, increaſed their Averſion.

The Fears of *William* all center'd in one Point, an Inſurrection. He had conſider'd how to ſecure himſelf againſt it in his Caſtles, and he now prepar'd for the preventing it.

The two Articles in all Inſurrections are Council and Arms: he knew they muſt conſult before they could enter on any Enterprize; and that having conſulted, they muſt have Arms to execute their Purpoſe. Theſe became his Care, and he publiſh'd ſucceſſively two Edicts, the firſt eſtabliſh'd *Curfew*. Night he knew was the Time of plotting, for Treaſon hates and fears Day-light. He forbad therefore all unlawful Aſſemblies at any Time, and under a ſevere Penalty all Meetings whatſoever at Night.

Eight o'Clock was the Hour appointed by the King's Authority for all People to ſeparate, and to go to their Beds: Fire and Candles were to be put out at that Time; and that none might pretend Miſtake or Ignorance of the Hour, a Bell was rung in every Pariſh. This Bell was called the *Curfew*, and its Note ſounded Tyranny: the People were obliged to ſubmit, but they did it with Curſes.

If the firſt Edict was hateful, the ſecond was much more; this had ſtruck them with the Senſe of Slavery, the other had plung'd them into abſolute Deſpair: it was the demanding all their Arms.

Britons would be their own Defenders: and they no ſooner found this deny'd, than they felt their King more terrible than their worſt Enemies.

Every Day now brought forth ſome new Oppreſſion; and every Night reminded them by Toll of Bell, that they had ſubmitted to be Slaves. They lamented, but they were reduced to do it alone, and in ſecret: Rewards were given for Information of the laſt Words of Diſcontent, and they were puniſh'd with a tyrannical Rigour: theſe Informations ſtood in the Place of Virtue; and Murther was a leſs Crime, than to remember but in a Sigh, that *Curfew* tolled the Knell of *Britiſh* Liberty.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Attempts in favour of the Sons of Harold.

IRELAND in the Year 1069, diſtinguiſh'd herſelf by an Act of Virtue and of Spirit; and left in it a Memorial to Poſterity, that ſhe was not at that Time weak or fearful; that ſhe poſſeſſed a Naval Force, and dared to employ it againſt the Conqueror of *England*.

Drone was at this Time upon the *Iriſh* Throne; his Subjects held Correſpondence in *England*, and found that *William* was univerſally hated: they perceived him a Tyrant, and they form'd continual ſecret Schemes for Liberty.

Harold, honour'd and lamented by the *Britons*, had left three Sons; their Names *Goodwin*, *Edmund*, and *Magnus*. They were not without Hope, much leſs without a Spirit of Revenge: and they held Correſpondence with the *Britiſh* People, tho' themſelves were abſent.

They diſtinguiſh'd carefully the *Engliſh* from the *Norman* Provinces; for ſo many might be called which were perfectly inhabited by the King's People, and devoted to his Service; his Engines uſed in the Deſtruction of the *Britons*.

With theſe the Sons of *Harold* held no Intercourſe; and they carefully concealed from them the Connection they had with the reſt: they found *William*'s Care was all beſtow'd upon his Land Forces, for he fear'd Inſurrections more than Invaſions; and his Subjects more than foreign Enemies. They knew enough of *Britain*'s natural Strength to be ſecure, that any Attempt might be ſafe, if not ſucceſsful, while her Navy was but a little neglected: and inſpiring Thouſands in *England* with their own Spirit, and their own Expectations, they form'd a noble Plan: no leſs than the wreſting the Sceptre from the Hand of the Conqueror, who had proved a Tyrant.

With their Scheme fully concerted they apply'd to *Drone*: they told him their Deſign, named to him their Friends, and laid before him the Letters, which ſhew'd the Spirit of the People, devoted to them for the Sake of their Father; and deteſting *William*.

The King of *Ireland* promiſed them Aſſiſtance; he gave them ſixty-five Veſſels, and publiſh'd his Royal Proclamation, inviting thoſe who had Courage and a Reſpect for Liberty, to join, and give it to their Friends in *Britain*.

The Fleet was man'd with Volunteers; and had the Ships been twice as many, enough offer'd to have filled them. Courage was always the Characteriſtick of that People.

The Scepter ſhook indeed in the Conqueror's Hand: for while this Preparation was making in *Ireland*, a much larger was on Foot in *Denmark*.

The whole *Britiſh* People were diſaffected; the King had kept them from an Intercourſe, he knew would be dangerous, with one another; but from this Caution there ſprung two Conſpiracies in the Place of one.

While a Part of his Subjects were connected with the Sons of *Harold*, another very powerful Party had invited over the *Dane*. *Swane* was at that Time King: he receiv'd their Invitation with Joy, and his Armament conſiſted of no leſs than two Hundred and forty Ships. Himſelf was not in Perſon on board, but he ſent with them his Brother *Oſbern*, and *Knute* and *Harold* his two Sons.

William paid well for Information; ſuch Preparations, and ſuch Connections, could not eſcape the vigilant Eyes of his innumerable *Argus's*. They found it: and they gave him Information.

The Preparations alarm'd him, but his Terror was from his Subjects Hatred: he received from Day to Day the Names of Men of Power who joined the Enterprize, and correſponded either to *Denmark* or with *Ireland*.

He order'd his Spies to be diligent and ſecret, and himſelf form'd cunning Meaſures. The ſeizing but one of theſe he knew would put the reſt upon their Guard againſt his Emiſſaries: he therefore patiently receiv'd theſe Notices, and ſmiled on thoſe who fawned upon him, while they were aiming at his Crown.

William muſt be allow'd to have been as great, by thoſe who moſt condemn him, as a bad Man; no Sovereign ever acted with more conſummate Prudence than he did upon this Occaſion.

While he conſulted his Reſentment, he alſo concealed his Fears: he gave out that he would review his Ships and his Land Forces, and order'd every Thing to be made fit to come before his Eye. The Orders were diſpatch'd by thoſe who could be truſted; and while the Pretence was nothing more than ſuch a frivolous Deſign, the Intent was Security and Oppoſition.

More Diligence was never uſed; nor more ſucceſsfully: the Land Force was in Order, and needed only calling together: the Shipping had been too little minded, yet not utterly neglected. The utmoſt Aſſiduity was employ'd in every Port to fit out all Veſſels capable of Service, and the Number was induſtriouſly reported to be much greater than it truly was.

Theſe were the Preparations in *Britain* while the *Daniſh* and the *Iriſh* Ports ſwarm'd with Sailors and with Soldiers eager for Spoils and Glory: the Conſpirators in *England* ſaw through the Diſguiſe.

They were concern'd too deeply to be idle Spectators; they knew what *William* had to guard againſt, and they ſaw he knew it alſo. Their own Safety next was their Concern, but they were cautious on this Head too late. They drop'd all Correſpondence with the *Danes* and *Iriſh*, and contented themſelves to ſtand ready to join them when they landed.

William ſaw he ſhould diſcover no more of them, and he diſpatch'd his Officers according to his Liſt received from time to time: every Man was ſeized at the ſame Inſtant, and every Man ſecured in Privacy.

The King gave himſelf no farther Trouble with them for the preſent, 'twas enough they were ſecure: he renewed his Application to his Defence, and *Ireland* received at once the News that the Friends of that Expedition were impriſon'd, and that the Kingdom was guarded well againſt it.

The *Danes* heard not of it, for they were on the Sea: and the *Iriſh* diſdaining Fear, ſet out againſt all Oppoſition.

This was the State of *Britain* in 1069, ſubjected to a Conqueror and a Tyrant; witneſs at once to two intended Invaſions, either of which its People wiſh'd to favour; for even *Danes* were now leſs terrible than *Normans*; yet they were withheld by Fear.

Normans of every Rank were inſolent and oppreſſive, one would have thought each private Man a Conqueror, and every *Briton* a Slave. To complain was fruitleſs, or it increaſed the Oppreſſion: the Magiſtrates, the Judges, and the Sovereign were *Normans*, and 'twas enough he who committed the Violence was of that Nation; it became thence a Virtue.

That Juſtice the *Britons* were deny'd from the proper Miniſters of it they did themſelves; and they inflicted no leſs Puniſhment than Capital; the Streets, the Highways, and the Fields every Day ſhew'd *Norman* Carcaſſes, the Sacrifices of the preceding Night's Reſentments; only the *Britons* knew who committed theſe, and they never betray'd one another.

Publick Concerns for the preſent took off the King's Regard for theſe private Murders; but he promiſed Redreſs and he perform'd his Engagements: 'twas not to the *Normans William* was unjuſt or cruel.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Iriſh *and the* Danes *proſecute their Deſigns on* BRITAIN.

TOWARD the Middle of the Summer 1069, the *Iriſh* Force was ready; the three Sons of *Harold* embark'd on board the three beſt Ships, and led the Way for *England*.

The Kingdom was too well defended for their deſign'd Attack; and thoſe who ſhould have join'd them were in Cuſtody: the Hope of Conqueſt was at an End, but there remain'd for theſe Sons of *Harold*, Revenge; and for thoſe who join'd them, Plunder. They made for the Provinces beſt affected to the King, and they fell firſt on *Somerſetſhire*.

They told the *Engliſh* they were the Sons of *Harold*, Friends to their Rights and Liberties, and ready to aſſert them if they would riſe and join their Force: if not, that they might ſtand by and ſee them puniſh *Normans*.

All Things promis'd Succeſs; and there would have been no Reſiſtance, but for a Perſon in ſome Power and Office, *Ednoth*. He had been in the Service of *Harold*; and he knew that unleſs he oppoſed, he ſhould be underſtood to favour his Sons. He ſaw his Life muſt anſwer if he did not reſiſt them, and he took Arms againſt his Heart and Inclination.

Fear made many valiant; thoſe join'd him, who ſaw the *Iriſh* Sword at their Throats, and perceived they could not fly faſt enough. *Ednoth* found himſelf at the Head of a large, but ill diſciplin'd Body: he led them againſt the Sons of his Maſter; and he fell by the Hand of one of them, Hiſtory ſays not which. His Party were beaten, and they found little Mercy from the Conquerors.

They purſued their Courſe to the richeſt Towns, which they plunder'd; and finding none of the *Engliſh* ready to join them in a greater Undertaking, they embark'd with their Booty, and were fairly off at Sea before the Force came up that *William* ſent againſt them.

Thus ended the *Iriſh* Expedition; not by the Fault of thoſe who conducted it, or thoſe who fought for them, but from the Precautions of the King, in ſecuring ſuch as ſhould have led the People to join them.

The *Danes*, while theſe were carrying Fire and Sword through *Somerſetſhire*, landed in the North. Thoſe who had promiſed to aſſiſt theſe Enterprizes were ſecured as the others; but theſe were in themſelves a much larger Body; and as they were by this Means capable of ſupporting their Attempt the better, others were led to join them. All hated the King; and all were ready to take Arms againſt him, with but the leaſt Proſpect of Succeſs or Safety.

After many Acts of Plunder the *Danes* declared their Purpoſe to depoſe the King; they called upon thoſe who had invited them, and upon all others who were ready to eſpouſe the ſame Cauſe to join them; and they threaten'd Fire and Sword to all who did not.

William knew enough of *Daniſh* Power to fear it: his Hope was, that the Terror of theſe People being ſtronger than the general Hatred to his Perſon, would unite the *Engliſh* to him: he fancy'd alſo that in ſecuring the Leaders of thoſe who were to join them he had prevented the reſt, but in all this he deceived himſelf.

The *Northumbrians* were loud in their Complaints of the King's Meaſures, and bold in oppoſing them. He had ſome time before ſent among them, *Cumin*, a Man of fierce and inſolent Character, as Governor of the Province, with Orders to tame them thoroughly.

His Temper, join'd to the Commiſſion of the King, and his private Inſtructions, had carry'd him beyond all Bounds of Juſtice, or of Reaſon: he could not ſucceed by theſe oppreſſive Meaſures, for they were *Britons* whom he ſtrove to conquer. He doubled their Hatred both to himſelf and his Sovereign; and they joined the *Danes*.

Enemies united againſt *William*: *Edgar Atheling*, who had retired to *Scotland*, now return'd to *England*; he joined the *Danes* with theſe *Northumbrians*, and he inſpir'd new Courage by his Words and Conduct. He, who at another Time would have fought to his laſt Drop againſt the *Daniſh* Power, made one Body with that People againſt an Enemy, whom he conſider'd as more formidable both to himſelf and to his Country.

Here was one Army againſt the King, but there were various Deſigns among thoſe who form'd it. The *Danes* thought of nothing but the Conqueſt of the Iſland; the *Northumbrians* were actuated ſolely by Revenge; and *Edgar* had his Thoughts far different from either. Each ſaw the other as a natural Enemy; but the common Cauſe had join'd, and they ſaw it would keep them firm together.

The firſt Effect of the united Force was againſt *York*, they took the City almoſt without Oppoſition: the Caſtle coſt them ſome Blood, but it was carry'd by Aſſault; and the Garriſon, which was *Norman*, periſh'd without Mercy.

Part of the City was burnt; and in the Confuſion, 'twas not eaſy to ſay who did it.

William ſaw an Army in his Kingdom too powerful to be attack'd with Prudence; and a Force at Sea better than his own, which brought, and which was ready to carry them off when they pleaſed. His Navy was not equal to the *Daniſh*. His Land Force was about equal; and he march'd it againſt them.

The Enemy ſeparated after the ſacking *York*: the *Northumbrians* who had taken their firſt Revenge upon their Governor, by putting him and all his People to the Sword, poſſeſſed themſelves of the City, and bad Defiance to the Royal Force: the *Danes* carry'd their Spoils away, and took their Quarters between the *Ouze* and *Trent*.

'Twas here the Royal Army came up with them; and a dreadful Action was expected. More Hatred, or more Deſire of Deſtruction never inflam'd two Parties; but Prudence, and the Value of the Stake made both averſe to caſt the Die of Battle.

The *Danes* were Robbers; they were unwilling to hazard the vaſt Booty they had taken. They knew this was the preſent Chance, and they had ſettled Meaſures for the enſuing Summer, to attempt the Reduction of the Iſland by new Forces from Home.

The Proſpect of this Supply, and the Value of their Booty, join'd to make them wiſh to decline an Engagement; and for the King's Part, his Stake was nothing leſs than his Kingdom. He could not forget that one ſucceſsful Action had given him the Crown; and he ſaw that if he loſt a Battle, the Event would be the ſame it had then been, and *Swane* be King of *England*.

This was not a Hazard to be run, if it could any Way be avoided.

He thought to awe the Enemy by his Army, but that was a vain Expectation. The *Danes*, tho' they ſhew'd no Deſign to attack, ſtood ready for a deſperate Defence; and knew as well as *William* what would be the Event of their Succeſs.

The Armies on either Side well underſtood themſelves, and one another; and the King found he was in a difficult Circumſtance: to hazard an Action appear'd raſh to Madneſs; and to retire was ſhameful; and might be dangerous.

He recollected enough of the *Engliſh* Story to find an Expedient in preceding Times: he ſubmitted to the mean Conditions of former Periods, and the *Danes* were offer'd a vaſt Sum to depart. They accepted it; and went back; they did not give up their Enterprize: 'twas neither ſtipulated, nor would have been obſerv'd if ſworn; each knew his Purpoſe. They went to raiſe new Force at Home; and *William* bought the temporary Peace, that he might be upon their next Viſitation better prepared for War.

CHAP. XXX.

The King endeavours to gain the Affections of the People.

WE ſee in the authentick Story of this Tranſaction, what was the Naval Force of *Britain* during the firſt Years of the Reign of the Conqueror. That it was not utterly gone to Ruin, appears by the Terror the News of its being fitted out created in thoſe who had join'd the different Enemies; but that it was not very conſiderable is alſo evident, for that he did not attempt to face the *Daniſh* Armament, which might have been attack'd by an inferior Force, while thoſe whom it brought over were on Land. 'Twas plainly therefore under Neglect, but not fallen utterly to Ruin.

William thought not of adding greatly to its Strength, for the Danger that moſt threaten'd him was at Home.

He ſaw he had loſt the Hearts of his People, and he could not be blind to the Occaſion. He remember'd his Conduct when firſt ſeated on the Throne, and its Effect; a right Policy determin'd him to renew it. He follow'd the ſame Courſe; and as he grew leſs worthy to be hated, he loſt proportionably his Fear.

He called the *Engliſh* Nobility to Council; where he talk'd of their antient Laws, and promis'd they ſhould be reſtored. He curb'd the Inſolence of his *Norman* Followers; and by an Act of prudent Lenity, he gained more Hearts than he had done by all the former: he releaſed moſt of thoſe who had been impriſon'd for the Conſpiracies with the *Iriſh* and *Danes*, with Admonition, and no farther Puniſhment.

All this Time *York* was in the Hands of the *Northumbrians*, who aſſerted their Independency, and abjured *Norman* Government. Earl *Walthoff* commanded, and the Report of his Courage, Conduct, and Popularity, gave the King great Uneaſineſs.

His Honour was concern'd to reduce the Place to Obedience; yet he was very averſe amidſt his Acts of Mildneſs to be ſevere. He ſent to demand the Submiſſion of the Garriſon: but the Anſwer was reſolute, that it would be defended: he attempted to ſeduce Earl *Walthoff* by private Negotiations, but in vain; and all gentler Methods failing, he was oblig'd to march againſt it.

The Siege was long, and many fell before it; but tho' the King's Force could not ſtorm, they ſtarv'd the Place. The Garriſon capitulated; and honourable Terms were granted them.

William purſued in earneſt the Steps of his new Policy: inſtead of puniſhing Earl *Walthoff*, he treated him with Reſpect and Honour; courted his Friendſhip; and at length marry'd him to his Siſter.

The *Britons* now had conquer'd their Conqueror; for he found there was no reigning over them but by ſubmitting to them.

He felt this, and it hurt his Pride. He was gently upbraided with it by ſome of his *Norman* Favourites; and the Conſequence of this Expoſtulation was the Effuſion of a vaſt deal of *Engliſh* Blood.

The Leaders had been bought off by Favours, and the Populace were not fear'd. *William*, to ſhew he was a King, while he made the greateſt of theſe Conceſſions; added a terrible Act of Cruelty, ravaging the Country of the *Northumbrians*.

The Pretence was, leſt they ſhould join another *Daniſh* Invaſion; but the true Motive was Revenge; and ſo far was this carry'd, that for ſixty Miles between *York* and *Durham* there was not left a Houſe. *Danes* never had been ſo cruel as the *Normans* were now; Maſters of the Country, and commiſſion'd to revenge.

William follow'd this by other Acts of Tyranny and Cruelty; inconſtant in his Purpoſes as he had been at firſt; and changing with every little Guſt from Mildneſs to the moſt implacable Reſentment.

An Accident at this Time concur'd to ſharpen the Revenge: this was a ſlight Succeſs of one of his Officers againſt a ſecond Attempt of the *Iriſh*.

They had ſucceeded enough in their firſt Invaſion to encourage them to a ſecond; and they found the King was intent upon his Land Force, but ſhew'd little Regard to his Navy.

A ſmall Body might venture upon the Coaſts when there were not Ships to defend it; and 'twas eaſy for thoſe who kept a conſtant Intelligence in the Kingdom, to know where they might land ſucceſsfully.

The ſame Commanders obtain'd this Year from the King of *Ireland*, a Fleet of ſixty Sail, and landed in *Devonſhire*. They follow'd the Dictates of Advantage and Revenge, and plunder'd every where, and put the *Normans* they found in every Town to the Sword: but their Succeſs was not in this Expedition like that in the former.

Brien, Son to the Earl of *Bretagne*, raiſed a Force, and fought them: the Action was in favour of the *Normans*; and *Brien*, after a great Slaughter in the Morning, falling upon them again toward Evening with the ſame Succeſs, they fled to their Ships, leaving their beſt Men on the Field.

William received the News of this with Tranſport. Nothing was more againſt his Nature than Compliance; and nothing could have galled him like Conceſſions. He ſaw, or thought he ſaw they were no longer needed, and he threw off the Maſk, which had been dropping from his Face before.

He had won the principal People from the Enemy's Cauſe; and he thought them now unable to hurt him, tho' neglected: they were diſcarded; the Marks of Favour ſhewn the *Engliſh* were cancel'd; and all wore again the Face of *Norman* Rule, of Conqueſt, and of Tyranny.

He took all Poſts, and all Employment of Honour, or Profit, from the *Engliſh*, and gave them to *Normans*; and he could now declare his *Pleaſure* was ſufficient Reaſon.

His People were too few for the Titles, Honours, and Offices; but they were accumulated on them. One held the Places of ten; and the *Engliſh* ſaw, but they ſaw too late, that the Purpoſe was not as they at firſt ſuppos'd, Favour to particular Perſons, or partial Animoſities, but a plain Deſign that all Power ſhould be *Norman*. With the great Offices the *Engliſh* loſt their Eſtates, and their Inheritance, and *Britain* was made *Norman*. The Year 1070 ſaw this.

The Nobility having been ſtrip'd, the next in order of Sacrifice were the Clergy. Remonſtrances were vain: they found no better Quarter: if they addreſs'd the Throne with Modeſty, they were neglected; if more boldly, they were puniſh'd. Either Way their Revenues left them; and the Stream of Wealth was directed from every Source, thro' every Channel, into the *Norman* Sea.

We have ſhewn, the Clergy were too ready in declaring for the Conqueror after the Battle of *Haſtings*: the Care of their Revenues was their Motive, and who ſhall pity them now they were ſacrificed to the very Hand they had raiſed to preſerve them.

The firſt Step of the King was, in Violation of all Charters, to demand Sums of the ſeveral Monaſteries for the Service of the State: the next was, the ſending his Soldiers to be maintain'd by them at their own Expence; and the laſt was, ſeizing upon their Riches. The Pretence was for this, that thoſe who had rebelled had placed their Effects among the Monks. This carry'd the Search into their Treaſuries, and thoſe who manag'd it took all.

The People were more alienated from the King than ever; but he fear'd them leſs: and as his Fears had been the only Source of his Favour or his Lenity to them, his Severity in every Article increaſed as he felt himſelf more above Danger.

The two Archbiſhops were degraded upon frivolous Pretences; and under the mock Solemnity of an Enquiry. An *Italian*, *Lanfranc*, made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and a *Norman* had the See of *York*.

Every Eye ſaw the Source and the Deſign of theſe Proceedings. The King hated the *Engliſh*, and he fear'd them: every Action of his Life now carry'd the double Purpoſe of puniſhing, and of humbling them: 'twas his plain Deſign to revenge the Pain they had given him in the two laſt Years, and to make them incapable of ever lifting up their Heads again.

The Conqueror has had his Flatterers; and ſome whom the World has been content to call Hiſtorians, have copy'd them: Men read with much Solemnity the Story of his Mildneſs and his Virtues; but we call up againſt ſuch Writers Truth.

Whether theſe ſeveral Acts of Oppreſſion are true, let all authentick Hiſtory ſpeak; and being true, the Reader will know what Rank to allow thoſe Hiſtorians who tell us, that he never behav'd as a Conqueror, but govern'd *Britain* according to her antient Laws.

CHAP. XXXI.

William *is unexpectedly brought into Danger.*

THE *Engliſh* ſaw the Purpoſe of the Conqueror, and they were eager to redreſs their Injuries. A Churchman led the Way, an Abbot of St. *Albans*, his Name *Fretheric*. He was a Man of Intereſt and Virtue; and he drew a Multitude to revolt.

The King was powerful, and theſe knew Secrecy was the Soul of their Deſign: ſo unanimous were the meaneſt now in the Thirſt of Vengeance, that an Army was on Foot before he had received the leaſt Intimation of the Deſign; and *Edgar* proclaim'd King of *Britain*.

This Prince haſted from *Scotland* to head the Abbot's Force, and his Preſence made the Number ten-fold.

This Hiſtory we owe to *Matthew Paris*, for others have neglected to record it. The Attempt was glorious; and the Power that ſupported *Edgar*, capable to make head againſt the King's beſt Oppoſition. Had the ſame Prudence been obſerv'd in the Conduct as the Deſign of it, 'tis probable the Conqueror would have loſt the Crown as ſuddenly as he won it.

The Misfortune to which all was ſacrificed was, that the Abbot quitted the Command. He knew the *Norman* too well to have truſted him; but others were deluded.

William put himſelf at the Head of the beſt Force he had, and went againſt the Rebels. He did not chuſe to hazard an Action, on which his Crown depended, if it could be avoided: the ſame Counſel ſway'd him as in former Accidents, and he had Recourſe to the ſame Methods, civil Words, and large Promiſes. This is not ſtrange; but what muſt be the Reader's Aſtoniſhment to know they were accepted? The Abbot told the People, that the King was falſe; but the general Voice was for Peace. Great Terms were promiſed, and they were confirm'd on the King's Part by Oath.

The Army was diſbanded: the Power that had extorted, as the King ſaid, the Oath, was broken, and that was broken too. Numbers of the principal People ſuffer'd Death: the reſt fled, the Abbot to the *Iſle of Ely*, where Grief put a ſhort Period to his Life; the Prince to *Scotland*, and as many of the reſt as could get off, to *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Ireland*.

Thus was an Attempt, that does immortal Honour to him who propoſed and brought it into Action, ſacrificed to a fooliſh Credulity; and the Conqueror again eſtabliſh'd on that Throne which he had felt tremble.

The People ſaw their Fate, and they were too much enrag'd to ſubmit to it in Peace. The Abbot ſhew'd them by his Retreat where was the beſt Place of Safety: they went in Bodies to the *Iſle of Ely*, a Place ſurrounded with Bogs, and naturally impregnable; and there renew'd their Vows of ſhaking off the *Norman* Yoke.

The *Engliſh* Nobles who had hitherto been ſpared, found by repeated Inſtances how little Oaths could bind the Conqueror; and they join'd the diſcontented Body. *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who look'd upon themſelves as devoted to the Sacrifice, led the Way; and very many follow'd. Happy had it been for *Edwin* if he had remain'd there; but he choſe another Courſe, he went for *Scotland*, where there was a powerful Party.

The King heard of the Danger, and of the Deſign of *Edwin*; and he found Means to bribe his Attendants to his Death. He was murther'd; and Power ſecured the Perſons who had committed the Fact.

Morcar found in the *Iſle of Ely* a Party worth his joining; the Nobles, and the dignify'd Clergy flock'd thither; all reſolute to redreſs the Grievances of their Country, or die free in attempting it.

Among theſe was *Hereward*, a Son of the Earl of *Mercia*, a Soldier of the higheſt Reputation. The common Voice ſaluted him Leader, and he ſhew'd he was worthy of their Eſteem and Confidence. He had been baniſh'd on ſome frivolous Occaſion in the late Reign; and returning full of Glory from Exploits in *Flanders*, he found his Inheritance in the Poſſeſſion of a *Norman*: he demanded Reſtitution, and he drove the Intruder out by Force.

The King, who never failed to favour *Normans*, heard of it; and his Rage was decreeing ſome ſevere Puniſhment againſt *Hereward*, when this Revolt appear'd in the *Iſle of Ely*. The Warrior, led thither more by the common Injuries, than his own private Fortune, was ſcarce ſaluted Leader when the King was on the March to ſubdue the Party.

The Expedition of *Hereward*'s Preparation for him was aſtoniſhing. Moraſſes defended all except one Part of the ſelected Spot, and that was acceſſible but difficultly: here *Hereward* had a Caſtle of Wood erected inſtantly, and by deep digging he render'd the Way more unſafe.

The King appear'd with a large Army, and the Rebels refuſed Submiſſion: he found it impoſſible to force a Paſſage, and he chang'd his Deſign to a Blockade.

The Party in *Scotland* all this Time increaſed; and the King there joining his Forces, they were in a Condition to undertake great Things. The Abſence of *William* before the *Iſle of Ely* gave them more Courage: they enter'd the Northern Counties; and were advancing into the Heart of the Iſland.

William was diſtreſs'd, that he could not march out againſt them: he had hoped to make his Way to the Rebels, but that he had found impracticable: he had then ſat down to ſtarve them, but that proved as fruitleſs an Expectation. They had Paſſages of Communication with the adjacent Country, though he knew them not; and they felt no Inconvenience.

The King, ever ready to fall upon the Treaſures of the Church, was reminded by ſome Sycophant, that the Monaſtery of *Ely*, ſituated upon the Borders of the Iſle, was rich in Plate, and in Poſſeſſions. This was Crime enough, he ſeized them; and by an unexpected Fortune, that Way made himſelf Maſter of thoſe whom he could not elſe have conquer'd.

Thurſtan, the Abbot of the Monaſtery, a Name devoted to everlaſting Shame, made Propoſition to the King, that if he would reſtore the Treaſures of the Monaſtery, and give the Monks aſſured Poſſeſſion of their Lands, he would open him a Way into the Iſle. *William* liſten'd to the Terms, and this brave Party were betray'd.

The Abbot had their Confidence, tho' holy Prudence kept him till this Time neutral: he knew the Paſſes by which they had Communication with the Country round them. Theſe he diſcover'd to the King, who was among the Party with his whole Force before they ſaw the Danger.

All ſubmitted except *Hereward*: he knew what Mercy was to be expected from a Conqueror of *William*'s Spirit. He adviſed them to die like Men, not by the Executioner; and when the Odds made all reject the Propoſal, he ſhew'd them what they ſhould have all attempted; cutting his Way through a large Party, and making his Eſcape.

The King thought he had but half ſucceeded: but he reveng'd the Loſs of the Leader upon the reſt. They threw themſelves upon his Mercy, and they felt he had none: they were executed with Torture Multitudes at a Time; and thoſe who were ſpared Death, were blinded, maimed, or disfigured.

The Biſhop of *Durham* was ſent to Priſon, with Orders that he ſhould be there ſtarv'd; and the Command was executed without Mercy.

The Monks fared as Traitors had deſerv'd. They had covenanted, beſide the Service they were to do the King, to pay a thouſand Marks by way of Ranſom for their Lands: and when they came to pay, by ſome Miſtake, a Groat being deficient, they were fined a thouſand more; and had a Number of Horſemen quarter'd upon them for the future, to watch their ſuſpected Motions.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

The King of Scots *is troubleſome to* England.

WHILE *William* was ſucceſsful againſt the Rebels in the *Iſle of Ely*, his Subjects in the North ſuffer'd under all the Oppreſſions of a conquer'd People.

Malcolm, King of *Scotland*, join'd the Army that was breaking in upon the Northern Provinces, and puſh'd his Way forward with Fury. He frighted the People from Oppoſition by Severities with which he treated all who reſiſted, and he propoſed great Things from the Abſence of the King; but that continu'd not now much longer: the Affair that had detain'd him was no ſooner ended, than he ſet out for this Quarter.

The *Scots* retreated as he advanced; and with a happy Reſolution he follow'd them into the Heart of their Kingdom.

Malcolm knew too well the Conſequence of loſing a Battle there; and he ſent to offer Terms: theſe were readily accepted, for the King of *England* was no more deſirous of an Engagement than he; and there was a ſolemn Treaty made between them.

The Limits of the two Kingdoms were ſettled, and every Thing was finally adjuſted. The two Nations being now upon friendly Terms, all ſort of Intercourſe was permitted between them; and many of the *Engliſh* who at once hated and fear'd their King, fled from time to time to *Scotland.*

William had fear'd his Abſence from *Normandy* would give the *French* too favourable an Opportunity to attack his Dominions there; and every Diſpute in *England* brought this into his Mind. But they had other Buſineſs upon their Hands; and he now thought himſelf ſecure from the Apprehenſion when the Danger appear'd in its full Force. He received Intelligence that the *French* were in his Territories: they had fallen upon *Normandy* without declaring War, and had only made the Miſtake of Time and Circumſtance in the Undertaking.

While *William* was involved in *England*, they might have made themſelves Maſters of that Country; but now 'twas eaſy to diſpute it. The Troubles were ended, for People were at length wearied out with fruitleſs Attempts againſt him; and they ſeem'd wholly to have given up the Spirit of Oppoſition.

'Twas in 1073 this happen'd, and the King determin'd by a ſpeedy Oppoſition to end the War at once. He fear'd the *Engliſh*, and therefore he reſolv'd to take the principal of them with him in the Expedition; and to leave all his *Norman* Troops, in whom he could confide, in *England*; to awe the People into Peace in his Abſence.

He courted the *Engliſh* Soldiery on this Occaſion, and they promis'd him to be faithful in his Service: the Naval Force of the Iſland, tho' neglected, was not wholly loſt; enough could be immediately got in Readineſs for the tranſporting his Forces, and covering that Expedition, and he carry'd over a large Army to *Normandy*.

The *French* King found he had *Engliſh* now to fight, not *Normans*; and he was ſoon weary'd out by their hardy Virtue: he propos'd Terms, and the King of *England*, as deſirous of ending the Matter as he could be, readily came into a Treaty. Thus *William* recover'd *Normandy* by the Help of the *Engliſh*, whom he all the while oppreſs'd at home in the ſevereſt Manner.

He had indeed Reaſon for all his Fears, and all his Precautions; he left *England* in ſeeming Peace, but he knew they were but ill ſecure who rule by Force; his *Normans* might keep down the Attempts of any open Attempt, but they could not prevent Conſpiracies. The Abſence of the King was too favourable an Opportunity to be loſt; and Plans were laid to depoſe him. Theſe were carry'd on in Secrecy among the *Engliſh*; and as if Treaſon were contagious, the very *Normans* caught it: they who were favour'd in every Thing conſpir'd againſt their Sovereign, by as violent Meaſures as the *Engliſh*, who were oppreſs'd for their Sakes.

Thus was the Kingdom divided into Parties, and full of the boldeſt Deſigns, when the King's Return ſucceſsful from *Normandy*, aw'd every one to Peace.

Edgar, weary'd with his Misfortunes, and with the fruitleſs Attempts of his Adherents to place him on the Throne, was now in Friendſhip with the Conqueror, and dependant on his Bounty.

The Treaty the King of *Scots* had made with *William*, had thrown him into an abſolute Deſpair of his Fortune: he had apply'd to the King, renouncing his Claim, and ſuing Favour and Protection, and he had been receiv'd with Honour.

There was not a greater Bar to the Deſigns of the Conſpirators, *Engliſh* and *Norman*, than the Condition of *Edgar*: his unſucceſsful Attempts made every other appear deſperate; and the King's Favour to him ſeem'd to ſpeak him leſs a Tyrant and Oppreſſor, than thoſe who form'd theſe Parties wiſh'd to repreſent him.

While *William* thus aw'd his Enemies at Home, he was ſurpriz'd with a new Trouble from Abroad; the Pope, *Gregory* the VIIth. ſent to demand him to do Homage for his Crown. His Anſwer does him Honour; "Tell him, ſaid he, I hold my "Crown only of God, and my Sword, and will "not make it dependant upon any one."

Popes at this Time were not us'd to be control'd, and this *Gregory* was one of the boldeſt that ever filled the Chair: he did not quit the Claim; nor did *William* ſtop the Courſe of his free Determination. Upon ſome Boldneſs that gave him Offence from *Rome*, he order'd his Subjects by Edict to acknowledge no Pope but whom he ſhould approve; and to receive no Orders from *Rome* as authentick, till his Voice confirm'd them.

The Pope ſubmitted; for he was wiſe as well as bold, and knew when the Coward was a better Character than the Brave. To do the Conqueror Juſtice on this Head, is to do him great Honour: no Scene of a publick Nature was ever better conducted. Beſide the Demand of Homage, there was one of Money: the Peter-pence then paid by this Kingdom, among others to the Pope, had been neglected.

William would hear nothing of this till he had ſettled the greater Point; but when that was over, he comply'd with the Demand in this other Part punctually, "Acquaint his Holineſs, ſaid he, the "Money is his Right, and God forbid I ſhould "withhold it from him; but my Crown is mine, "and I will hear no Claims againſt my abſolute "Sovereignty."

Here was Spirit guided by Moderation: an Example worthy to be follow'd, but ſhamefully forgotten in ſome ſucceeding Reigns.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A Norman *Conſpiracy grows dangerous to the King.*

THE Conſpiracy of the *Normans* which had ſeem'd for a Time to have been drop'd, was only reſerv'd to more favourable Opportunities: the King's Severity to two particular Perſons was the Occaſion of it. Theſe were of the firſt Condition in the Kingdom, an Earl of *Suffolk*, and an Earl of *Hereford*; and the King had incur'd their implacable Hatred by interfering in the Matter of a Marriage.

'Twas during his Abſence in *Normandy* the Plot was form'd, and nothing leſs was projected than the oppoſing his Return: but 'twas a drunken Scheme, too raſh for ſuch immediate Execution.

The Marriage was ſolemniz'd while the King was away, and both Families dreading his Anger, thought there was no Way to avoid it but by depoſing him. They invited to the Wedding all the prime Nobility of the *Normans*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*.

The Bridegroom, who was a bold Speaker, and a popular Man, took occaſion when they were all inflam'd with Wine, to propoſe his Deſign. He curs'd the King for his Oppreſſions and his Tyranny over them, whom he ſeem'd to favour; but from whom, by abominable Exactions, he took with one Hand all he gave with the other: he pity'd the *Engliſh*, a brave, and a free People, reduced to this miſerable State of Subjection; and he declared, he held it beneath Men of their high Birth and Honour, to ſubmit to the Government of a Baſtard, who had uſurp'd his firſt Throne as well as this latter.

The Hall rung with Acclamations, and every Man ſwore by his Honour upon *Suffolk*'s Sword, the King ſhould not, ſo long as he liv'd, return to *England*.

Earl *Walthoff*, whom *William* for his Gallantry as an Enemy in the Defence of *York*, had marry'd to his Niece, and had ever ſince favour'd, was one who took this Oath; but he was one of thoſe whom Wine alone had led to Treaſon. No Plot was ever form'd upon ſo little Conſideration: 'twas never conſider'd who ſhould ſucceed to the Throne, nor were there any Cautions taken to conceal the Matter.

Walthoff in the Morning perceiv'd the Madneſs of the Propoſition: he ſaw *England* about to be involv'd in Blood without the ſlighteſt Hope of Advantage; and his Senſe of Honour, his Love to his Country, and his Gratitude to the King, all join'd to make him abjure the whole Conſpiracy. He did ſo, and he ſet an Example to all ſucceeding Time, of what an honeſt Man ſhould do when bound by a fooliſh Oath. He declared all to the King, and excus'd the reſt as well as himſelf, by the Raſhneſs of the Propoſal, and their Condition when it was made to them.

The principal Conſpirators ſaw their Condition, when they found *Walthoff* was gone in haſte to *Normandy*: they knew themſelves were the only Perſons who ſhould ſtand inexcuſable; and as they deſpair'd of Pardon, they collected Forces.

The Buſineſs was to unite the Numbers they could raiſe; and invite others to join the Enterprize by the Encouragement of their Force: but they ſucceeded ill, for they were never able to join their Troops; and the Earl of *Suffolk* ſeeing the Danger of his Condition, retir'd to *Norwich Caſtle*, where he defended himſelf againſt the Forces rais'd by thoſe empower'd in the King's Abſence ſome time; but finding there was no Hope of Succeſs, or of Pardon, he eſcap'd to *Denmark*.

Such had been the State of the Conſpiracy in the Abſence of the King; and he ſuppos'd his Return had utterly ſuppreſs'd it: but *Suffolk* was a Man of too much Enterprize to ſit down ſo quietly.

He had eaſy Acceſs to the King of *Denmark*: he told him the Condition of the Kingdom; he ſwell'd his own Force to many Thouſands; and he added, that the whole People, *Normans* and *Engliſh*, deteſted the King, and would no longer endure his Oppreſſions. He perſuaded him that the whole Kingdom was ready to riſe in a Rebellion, and that himſelf was only wanted with ſome tolerable Aſſiſtance to head them.

The *Danes* never wanted Inclination to invade *Britain*, when there was but a plauſible Pretence for it: they knew the Riches of the Iſland; and they knew they could eaſily diſcard this factious Nobleman when they had conquer'd by his Aſſiſtance.

They ſet in earneſt about the Expedition; and prepared a great Force.

England had forgot her natural Security and Strength, her Fleet. This Iſland, ſo few Years before the Terror of the World in her Naval Strength, was ſunk ſo low in this Reſpect, that a foreign Nation could on a few Months Notice brave her Ports, and ravage with Impunity.

The *Daniſh* Force put to Sea in the Autumn of 1074, conſiſting of two hundred Ships; and the furious *Suffolk* leading them, they bent their Courſe directly to the Heart of the Kingdom. He enter'd the *Thames* Mouth; and there the two *Daniſh* Chiefs, *Knute*, and Earl *Hacune* ſtop'd to know the Condition of the Kingdom.

They ſent on Shore, and courted the People to join them, but the Application was fruitleſs. *Suffolk* was ſenſible he had deceiv'd himſelf; and they ſuſpected he had deceiv'd them: but this was certain, there was no Hope with their Force to do any Thing effectual. They called a Council; and return'd.

William had News of their Appearance, and he prepared for them on Shore; but where was that Spirit gone that had dignify'd preceding Reigns? where that Wiſdom? ſuch an Inſult as an Attempt like this could not have been ſuffer'd, while *Britain* had a Navy of any tolerable Force.

The King, tho' he was in no Condition to puniſh the Attempt of the *Danes*, ſaw he had both Power and Opportunities to revenge himſelf upon his rebellious Subjects.

He march'd an Army to the Weſt, where ſome yet held out againſt him; and tho' they ſubmitted at his Approach, he treated them with *Norman* Cruelty. Many were executed; and others remain'd living Examples of the Inhumanity of his Nature; they had their Eyes put out; or Hands chop'd off; and were then permitted to go at Liberty, as Memorials of the Puniſhment of Treaſon.

William could diſſemble, but he could not forgive: an Oath ſtood between him and his Revenge againſt his Nobles; for he had ſworn to Earl *Walthoff*, before he diſcover'd the Conſpiracy, that every Life ſhould be ſpar'd, and every Man forgiven. But Oaths to a King, a *Norman*, and a Conqueror, were of no Force.

He ow'd his Crown in this Inſtance, perhaps, to *Walthoff*, for the *Engliſh* would have join'd the Conſpiracy had he appear'd at the Head of it, and it would have been impoſſible for him to return. Gratitude ſhould have bound him more than his Oath to this noble *Briton*; but he broke through the Obligations of both; and order'd him to Execution.

Many of the *Normans* ſhared the ſame Fate; and the *Engliſh*, of whoſe Plots he had alſo receiv'd Intelligence, fared as hardly. He had long look'd on them as unwilling Subjects; and ſeeing he muſt rule by Force, he now determin'd to increaſe his Severity.

They do him Injuſtice who accuſe him of this Rigour without Cauſe; for he had the Provocation of knowing, they, like his own Nobles, were conſpiring againſt him: but he puniſh'd them too ſeverely; and what was the greateſt Fault of all, he took no Pains to diſtinguiſh the Innocent from the Guilty.

The *Engliſh* had offended him, and he puniſh'd all the *Engliſh* for it. He took away the Eſtates of many; he impriſon'd ſeveral; and ſome upon the moſt ſlight Pretences ſuffer'd Death. Here his Cruelty was its own Puniſhment; he wiſh'd to reign peaceably, but this Courſe he took to it by Terror, could not effect the Purpoſe.

The Earl of *Suffolk* miſſing his Aim in *Denmark*, and finding his Eſtates confiſcated in *England*, went to *Normandy*; where he boldly took Poſſeſſion of his Inheritance: and tho' the King went over in a manner purpoſely to reduce him to Obedience, he held out till the *French* were coming to his Relief; and the King was oblig'd to raiſe the Siege of *Dol*, where he had fix'd his Reſidence.

William, though uneaſy at the Condition, made Terms with the Earl of *Suffolk*, and he then fancy'd all was at Peace: he found *England* quiet at his Return, and promiſ'd himſelf a ſettled Tranquillity.

He in this flatter'd his Hopes too far: he left in *Normandy* a Son *Robert*, who in 1077 claim'd the Sovereignty: he pleaded an Engagement, by which his Father was bound to reſign it to him; and when the King went over to diſpute it, faced him boldly.

The Armies were in the Neighbourhood of one another; and frequent Skirmiſhes happen'd, tho' no great Action. In one of theſe the King was preſent, and being ſurrounded with Enemies, he fought deſperately.

Robert ſeeing the Bravery of a ſingle Perſon keep up the Spirit of the oppoſite Party, encounter'd him ſingly, not knowing him to be his Father.

The Son was Conqueror, *William* receiv'd a Wound, and was unhors'd: and 'twas not till that Inſtant *Robert* perceiv'd who it was. He threw himſelf to the Ground, ſet the King upon his own Horſe, and took him from the Field with a filial Care. He was ſo ſhock'd at the Incident, that he gave up his Pretenſions, and ſued for Pardon; and *William* granted it in Words: but he hated him for ever after.

Robert attended his Father to *England*, where he was employ'd, but never truſted.

The Abſence of the King on this laſt Occaſion was not attended with any abſolute Rebellion, but he receiv'd Whiſpers of Diſcontents. The *Welch* were the moſt accus'd; and the next after theſe the Inhabitants of *London*.

The King undertook the *Welch* in the Field, and they ſubmitted to pay an annual Tribute: he aw'd the People of *London* by harſh Menaces; and he built the Tower as a Fortreſs againſt their Inſurrection.

This Fabrick has been attributed to *Julius Cæſar*, but idly; 'tis not a *Roman* Building. The Founder of it was this *William the Conqueror*; *Gundulph*, Bp. of *Rocheſter*, was chief Surveyor, and the firſt Stone was laid in the Autumn of the Year 1077.

The Succeſſes of the King againſt the *Scotch* and the *Welch*; and the Severity with which he puniſh'd all treaſonable Practices at home, gave him now ſome time of Peace. In this Period, the predominant Paſſion of his Soul, which had been ſuppos'd to be Ambition, ſhew'd itſelf to be the Love of Wealth: he was ambitious, only that he might be rich. He took the Eſtates of ſome away entirely; others he loaded ſo deep with Exactions, that the Poſſeſſor was no more than nominally ſuch; the Profits being the King's: Money purchas'd Honours, Titles and Offices, and Fines were the Penalty for all kinds of Crimes.

To know what he could demand; that is, what any Man would be able to pay; he in the Year 1078, order'd an Enquiry to be made into the Eſtates and perſonal Effects of every Subject.

The Furniture, Money, and Debts of every Man were enter'd in this Account, together with the Number of Acres of his Land: and the Book in which they were regiſter'd, obtain'd from the ſtrict Enquiry made into every Article, the Name of Doomſday Book.

This Book was laid up in the King's Exchequer;

and from the Accounts enter'd in it, he knew what he was worth; for he called every Man's Effects his own, and made what Demands he pleas'd within the Compaſs of this Account.

His Vices were not the only Curſe of *Britain:* his very Pleaſures took the ſame Courſe of Oppreſſion. Hunting was his chief Amuſement, and he waſted whole Counties to make Foreſts; and ſecur'd the Game by Laws of an unpardonable Severity.

The new Foreſt in *Hampſhire* took in the Extent of thirty Miles; and Towns, Churches, and all Kinds of Buildings, publick and private, were pulled down to make Way for it. His Pleaſure was the Law, and none dared to aſk Amends.

When he had ſettled himſelf in Peace, and provided Means for Pleaſure, and for amaſſing all the Wealth that could be drain'd from among his People; he began to conſider the Glory of his Conqueſts, and the Honour of his native Country.

His Succeſs appear'd imperfect while *England* retain'd any Thing of its antient Character; he had deſtroy'd the Liberties of the People, and he now made it a Point to baniſh the very Language out of the Country. The great Step to this was, to reduce all Perſons to a Neceſſity of ſpeaking the other; and this he effected on a very important Subject.

He erected Courts after the *Norman* Manner, for the determining private Controverſies; and in theſe he oblig'd the whole Proceeding to be in the *Norman* Language. This has been generally called *French*, but it was in reality a Mixture of the *French* and *Daniſh*. It became very general among the People of many Parts of the Kingdom, but not univerſal.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The laſt Deſign of the Danes *upon* England.

WILLIAM was waked from his Slumbers of Security in 1084, by the News of a great Preparation. The *Danes* were at the Head of this, but not alone in it: a more conſiderable Force never threaten'd the Iſland.

We have ſeen throughout the Courſe of *William*'s Reign, that little regard was ſhewn to the Affair of Shipping. This Neglect gave Courage to Invaders at all Times; and nothing but ſuch Neglect could have encourag'd an Attempt of that Kind now.

The *Danes* had been once poſſeſs'd of the *Engliſh* Crown; and they yet claim'd a Title to it, which they never intended to give up: they watch'd Occaſions of exerting themſelves, and there never wanted thoſe who were oblig'd to leave *England*, and had fled to them, to give them Intelligence of all Opportunities that favour'd.

Knute was now King; and he had the Policy to receive kindly every *Engliſhman* of Conſequence, that threw himſelf into his Protection. From theſe who had Correſpondence in the Iſland he learn'd its State and Changes; and theſe at this Time ſpirited him up to attempt what had ſo often failed.

They repreſented to him the miſerable Condition of the Naval Force of the Kingdom, which gave them Opportunity of landing Troops unoppos'd; and they painted the King more hateful to his People than he really was, to encourage them to attempt his Overthrow.

Knute knew how much to believe, and how little, of what he heard: he ſaw the Strength of the firſt Propoſition, and he hop'd there might be Truth in the ſecond. He was not ſo ſanguine as to expect the People would riſe againſt their King, and join him; but he imagin'd, that ſo diſaffected as they were, their Oppoſition would be faint, and that he could little depend upon them.

Knute weighing this, determin'd upon the Enterprize; but he conſider'd it more deeply than former Invaders. *England* was not now to be over-run by a few deſperate People, as it had been in the Time of his Anceſtors. He prepar'd a vaſt Force; he invited all the neighbouring Powers to join him; and he promiſ'd large Rewards to all who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in the Service.

Such a Preparation could not be made without the Knowledge of King *William*, nor could he ſee it ſo conſiderable without being alarm'd. 'Twas with great Uneaſineſs he found that all the Ports of *Denmark* ſwarm'd with Soldiers, as well as Sailors; with Aſtoniſhment he heard the *Daniſh* Veſſels amounted to a Thouſand; and with Terror he found in a few Days more, they were reinforced from the Earl of *Flanders* with ſix Hundred.

A Fleet of ſixteen Hundred Sail was a deſperate Power againſt an Iſland unprovided of Oppoſition to them at Sea; and the King knew he could not prepare any Thing to face them till they ſhould land.

He doubted his *Engliſh* Subjects as much as they could: and he did not place in them the Confidence they imagin'd. He was as buſy as his Enemies in Preparation, tho' of another Kind.

He brought over *French* and *Norman* Soldiers; and form'd very conſiderable Armies at once in different Parts of the Kingdom.

As he could not defend the Coaſts, he laid them waſte for many Miles: and having thus taken Care the Enemy ſhould have no Suſtenance but what they brought with them, he kept a conſtant and careful Watch to know where they ſhould land.

The *Danes* called their Fleet invincible; and indeed it was not beaten; but 'tis not the only invincible Armada, that has vainly threaten'd the Coaſts of *Britain*.

The Enemy had Notice of the King of *England*'s Preparations, as well as he of theirs, and they found them ſo judicious, and ſo conſiderable, that it appear'd Madneſs to attempt any Thing againſt them. Two Years was the Iſland threaten'd with this Invaſion; and ſo long did the Veſſels lie with all their

Preparations in the *Daniſh* Ports; at the End of this Time they were laid up, or employ'd for other Purpoſes; the Deſign of an Invaſion of *England* was wholly drop'd, and never taken up again by that People.

All this Time *Edgar Atheling* liv'd; but *William* was in no Pain from him. His Subſiſtence was upon a Penſion allow'd him from the Crown; and his Submiſſion to the Conqueror had loſt him the Hearts of his People. In the Year 1085 he went into the Eaſt, and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf as a Soldier.

The fruitleſs Deſigns of an Invaſion by the *Danes* gave Credit to the Kingdom, whoſe Poſture of Defence had frighted them from the Attack; and the King became more formidable by his Precaution, than many have done by Victories: it is very ſingular, that without a Navy an Enemy ſo powerful at Sea, could be deter'd from the Enterprize.

Let not this appear to juſtify the Neglect of that more wiſe and natural Preparation; for nothing can. Had the Navy of the Iſland been in a State of Defence, the *Danes* had not dared to affront her with the Intent; and had the needful Expence not been ſpared in the preceding Years, that of the Preparations in this particular one had been avoided, which were enormous.

The waſting the Maritime Places was a ſecure, but a very diſhonourable Step: how much more glorious would it have been to have defended them by their proper Security, the Shipping; and to have ſeen Proſperity upon our own Shores, at the ſame Time that Fear confin'd the Enemy to theirs.

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CHAP. XXXV.

Deſigns of William *againſt* France.

THE quieting the Alarm from *Denmark*, all thought had eſtabliſh'd Peace in the Heart of *William*; but it was far otherwiſe. War was his Talent, his Delight; and he no ſooner ſaw his own Kingdom ſafe from Invaſions, than he meditated War on others.

His Deſign was bold, and the Preparation for it anſwerable to its Character, great and ſudden: his Troops being ready, he embark'd for *Normandy*, and thence carry'd the War into *France*. He did not want an Excuſe; for *Philip*, then King, had aſſiſted the Earl of *Suffolk* againſt him in his own Dominions; an Indignity he only bury'd in Silence, never in Forgetfulneſs, till Time ſhould ſerve for ſhewing his Reſentment.

Now was his Time, and he took the Opportunity. The King of *France* choſe the gentler Method of ending their Difference, and offer'd Terms. A Truce enſu'd; and a Sickneſs of the King delay'd his Operations; he would have eaſily liſten'd to an Accommodation, had not a Piece of Wit coſt *France* many Lives.

Philip reflecting in ſharp Terms upon the Perſon of *William*, then very corpulent, provoked him to an Anſwer, in which he threaten'd to carry Fire and Sword through many of their Cities: he did ſo, and was according to his Nature, cruel in his Orders of Deſtruction.

The Seaſon was the Midſt of Summer; and the King ſtood perſonally to ſee the burning of a Church in one of the *French* Towns, ſo near, that the Heat of the Fire, added to that of the Weather, brought on his Illneſs again. He continued his Operations notwithſtanding; and in his Eagerneſs leaping a Ditch, hurt himſelf dangerouſly againſt the Pummell of the Saddle. The Inflammation and Pain increas'd his Fever; and he was carry'd in a Litter to *Roan*.

There his Diſorder increas'd to the moſt dangerous Extremity, and the Approach of Death waken'd Repentance. He acknowledg'd many Crimes; and the Uſurpation of the *Engliſh* Crown the greateſt. The Blood ſpilt in that Tranſaction he charg'd all upon himſelf.

What a Death-bed Repentance could avail he had; and he made all the Reſtitutions in his Power. He ſet at Liberty thoſe he had detain'd Priſoners; a long Liſt of noble Names; he bequeathed vaſt Sums to pious, and to charitable Uſes; and he declared his Wiſh, that his ſecond Son *William* might ſucceed to his Honours; tho' ſo ſenſible of his own ill Claim to them, that he did not preſume to bequeath them.

Thus ſettling his Concerns, *William the Conqueror*, twenty-one Years after his firſt Succeſs in *England*, dy'd at *Hermentrude*, a Village near *Roan*, whither he was removed for better Air. He was in the ſixty-fourth Year of his Age, and had been Duke of *Normandy* fifty-two Years.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

The Succeſſion of William Rufus *to the Throne.*

THE Conqueror had taken every poſſible Meaſure in his Life-time to ſecure the Crown of *England* to his ſecond Son *William* called *Rufus*.

He diſpatch'd him with Letters to the Archbiſhops from *Hermentrude*, a little before his Death; requeſting in the moſt preſſing Terms, their Intereſt in his Succeſſion; and the Prince had ſo haſted, that tho' his Father liv'd only a few Days after the writing them, he was negotiating his great Concern ſucceſsfully.

William Rufus, whom, according to the Succeſſion, we are to call *William the Second*, had many

Difficulties wherewith to ſtruggle in his Way to the *Engliſh* Throne.

The Title of his Father was very ill acknowledg'd, and himſelf dying, had mark'd it with an indelible Stain, acknowledging it an Uſurpation. This was his firſt Difficulty; the next was, that he had an elder Brother; *Robert*.

How *Robert* forfeited his Father's Favour we have ſhewn. He left him *Normandy*, and ſo far as was in his Power, excluded him from *Britain*.

William, who came over with a due Senſe of all theſe Diſadvantages, threw himſelf upon the Council of Archbiſhop *Lanfranc*, promiſing to be in all Things guided by him; and if he ſucceeded to the Throne, always to keep his Friendſhip in Remembrance.

Lanfranc undertook his Cauſe: the Letters of the Conqueror while yet living, authoriz'd his acting in it; and he beſtir'd himſelf perfectly. The Advice he gave to *William* was, not to ſpeak of the Buſineſs to any but thoſe who ſhould name it to him; and to ſuch to promiſe every Thing. The Severity and Avarice of the King his Father had been the great Complaint, therefore he promis'd Lenity, and a Remiſſion of many Taxes.

The Archbiſhop read the King's Letter firſt to a few, and then to Numbers; and in his private Diſcourſe repreſented *Robert* as ſavage, cruel, and unnatural; and *Rufus* as diſtinguiſh'd by Mildneſs, Virtue, and filial Piety.

Robert was in *Normandy*; and his Abſence favour'd this Tranſaction greatly. The King dy'd while it was in Agitation; and the Archbiſhop's Policy was very ſucceſsful. The Nobility were perſuaded by his Reaſons, or brib'd by Promiſes, and all declared for *Rufus*; and the People weary'd out with War, wiſh'd nothing but a peaceable Succeſſion.

They ſaw the Diſpute would lie between this *William* and his Brother *Robert*; and it was nearly equal to them by what Son of the Conqueror they were govern'd. They thought leaſt Bloodſhed would ſupport him who was preſent; and that if any Thing, 'twas better to have one who was of amiable Character, who promis'd them Indulgences, and who came in by their Favour, than one who ſeem'd cruel in his Nature, who had not condeſcended to ſollicit them, and who would take the Crown as matter of Right, and think nothing of their Kindneſs.

This reaſonably enough gave the Turn in favour of *William Rufus*. He was declared King of *England*; and crown'd at *Weſtminſter* eighteen Days after his Father's Death. It was on the ſixteenth of *September* 1087.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Condition of the Naval Strength of BRITAIN *in the Beginning of* William the Second's *Reign.*

WILLIAM *the Second*, for that muſt be his Title now, ſaw he embark'd in a ſtormy Sea: he was happy that his Brother's Abſence had prevented his interrupting the Ceremony of his Coronation; but he knew he would ſoon diſpute the Title reſolutely.

His firſt Care was his Defence: he examin'd the Condition in which his Father had left the Kingdom, and he found it ſtrong in Land Forces, but miſerably weak at Sea.

There was in this Year 1087 ſcarce a Veſſel ſubſiſting, that deſerv'd the Name of a Ship of War. The Trade of the Country was carry'd on by ſmall Ships, of which there were an innumerable Quantity; and there remain'd ſome of the Tranſports which had been uſed in carrying Forces from *Britain* to *Normandy*.

This was the State of the Naval Power of *Britain* at a Time when the Condition of the Iſland had been in other Reſpects long flouriſhing; and when there was the moſt apparent Need of it.

The King ſaw this, he found his Subjects in general ſettled in their Obedience; and if ſmall Parties roſe, he had Forces enough to quell them.

He order'd theſe to be in Readineſs, and march'd them from Place to Place, chuſing to awe People from Rebellion rather than puniſh them for it: but as the Danger of this ſeem'd little, that of Invaſion was great and imminent.

The eldeſt Son of the late King, in whom was the natural Inheritance of the Crown, was a Sovereign Prince in a near Nation. There was no Doubt of his uſing his utmoſt Effort to obtain the Crown of this Iſland, which he thought his Right; and a deſperate Attempt was to be immediately expected.

Happily for *William* his Father had neglected his Naval Strength as much in *Normandy* as *Britain*; therefore if *William* was not ſtrong for the Oppoſition, neither was *Robert* for the Attack.

William conſider'd that the Event of a Battle might give his Crown to his Brother; the Effect of that at *Haſtings* was freſh in Memory. He knew that if his Brother's Force was ſuffer'd to land, he had but one Chance, and that he might be ſtrengthen'd by ſome diſaffected People here. To fight him at Sea was to take two Chances for the Stake; and 'twas to diſpute with him unaſſiſted.

Thus ſtood the Condition; but the Force was wanting: he lamented the Neglect, but Sorrow could not repair it. He revolv'd every Thing in his Mind; and this was his final Reſolution, that he would have his beſt Force ready to diſpute at Land; and would by all poſſible Encouragement engage for his being attack'd firſt at Sea.

He ſaw the poor Condition of the Veſſels, but he determin'd they ſhould do their beſt Service; and as he reſolv'd not to weaken his Land Force for the Occaſion, 'twas evident that his Brother muſt be hurt by any Attack at Sea; and conſequently weaker, and more diſhearten'd, when he came to land.

This was the Reſolution of *William*, and thus he put it in Execution. He engag'd the beſt of the trading Veſſels; and fitted out all the Tranſports, and he publiſh'd an Invitation for thoſe who would undertake the Service of their Country, to embark in them. He gave Commiſſion againſt the Ships of *Normandy*, if hovering on the *Britiſh* Coaſt: they were to ſink, burn, and deſtroy them; and he fix'd very conſiderable Rewards for every ſucceſsful Action.

When he had thus man'd a great Number of Veſſels, he publiſh'd Proclamations, inviting all private Perſons who choſe the Undertaking, to fit out Veſſels on their own Account; and he encourag'd them by Offers of the ſame Rewards.

Numbers of the Traders accepted the Commiſſion, and the Seas ſwarm'd with Privateers; theſe were not of great Force, but they were man'd with deſperate People, and encouraged one another by their Number.

While this was doing in *England*, *Robert* was as buſy in the Ports of *Normandy*: he had no Expectation of Reſiſtance on the Sea, for he knew the Kingdom had no Shipping; he therefore contriv'd to load his Tranſports with as many Men as they could carry, and thought of nothing farther.

Early in 1088, the Embarkation from *Normandy* was on the Seas. The Veſſels were ill-prepared for Action; tho' overloaded with Men; and there was no Thought of Oppoſition from the little Ships of the *Engliſh*.

Robert, happily for himſelf as it prov'd, tho' by an ill Policy was not on board: he truſted the Claim to the Crown of *Britain* to ſome favourite Officers, and prepared Reinforcements with which he ſhould follow upon their Succeſs.

The *Engliſh* kept good Intelligence, though they took all Precautions to keep their own Force ſecret from the *Normans*: they had Notice when the Tranſports put off, and they ſailed to meet them.

The *Normans* had not Time to laugh at the Smallneſs of the *Engliſh* Ships, before their Number terrify'd them. They bore down with their full Fury upon the *Normans*; and encourag'd by the great Rewards that were propoſed, they fought with incredible Rage.

'Twas in vain for the *Normans* to fly, and they were overpower'd with Multitudes: the Number that periſh'd by the Sword and Water was aſtoniſhing. Many who attempted to eſcape were overtaken, and ſhared the Fate of the others; and but few got back to tell the News of their Defeat.

This is an Incident not enough regarded by Hiſtorians, but it does great Honour to our Countrymen. Never was a Sea Fight in which the perſonal Courage of a People diſcloſed itſelf ſo nobly; never a more perfect Victory; nor ever poorer Means of gaining it.

Brompton, *Hoveden*, and thoſe others in general who ſpeak of the Action, call the *Engliſh* Pirate Veſſels; but this is an erroneous Expreſſion, they were properly Privateers which join'd the Expedition; the original Armament was, tho' a poor one, a Royal Force.

William ſaw the Bravery of his People, and he felt his Obligations to them: he punctually paid the Rewards; and he ingratiated himſelf by many farther Promiſes, to thoſe who had ſerv'd him ſo nobly.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

William *invades* Normandy.

THE Succeſs of this Engagement was abſolute: *Robert* undertook nothing farther; and *William* ſaw himſelf ſeated ſecurely on the Throne. But tho' foreign Fears were over, domeſtick Troubles follow'd, and threaten'd much Blood.

Lanfranc, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was the King's chief Counſellor; and there liv'd one who could not bear his Succeſs; this was the Biſhop of *Bayeux*, *Odo*, the King's Uncle; *Lanfranc* had occaſion'd his being impriſon'd in the Time of the Conqueror; he was releas'd juſt before his Death, tho' the moſt unwillingly of any; and he now determin'd the Ruin of his Rival, and his Enemy.

He had been in that Height of Power many Years of the former Reign; and he took the ſhort Courſe now to the ſame Poſt, not by courting *William*, but by offering his Service to place the Crown upon the Head of *Robert*.

He rais'd Forces in *England*, and invited *Robert* over. He defended himſelf ſome time againſt the King with his full Strength; but at length fell into his Hands.

This, join'd to the Succeſs at Sea, had ſo thoroughly diſhearten'd *Robert*, that he thought no more of undertaking a War againſt his Brother; but was ſitting down at Peace in *Normandy*.

William turn'd the Tables upon him, and the next Year he came in his Turn to the Invaders. We have ſeen *Britain* Miſtreſs of a vaſt Fleet in ſome preceding Reigns, and have read without wonder her Exploits under that Condition; we are now to ſee her diſtinguiſh'd under the Diſadvantage of a very mean Preparation; the Succeſs owing ſolely to the Valour of her People.

The King, when he rewarded the Commanders and Crews of his ſeveral little Veſſels, order'd an Account to be taken of them according to their Bulk and Value; and meditating Revenge from the Inſtant of his Succeſs, he mark'd ſuch as were fitteſt for his Purpoſe.

Theſe he got together early in the ſucceeding Year 1090, and ſelecting his beſt Troops for the Expedition, he declared his Purpoſe; that for the inſolent Attempt of *Robert* to wreſt from him the Crown bequeathed by his Father, and confirm'd by the free Voices of the People; he would attempt, and with God's Help he hop'd to accompliſh the Reduction of his Country; and make *Normandy* for ever a Province dependant upon the *Britiſh* Throne.

The People were pleas'd with the Project, but the Politicians doubted the Succeſs. The Attempt was bold, but many Things concur'd to make it practicable. The Spirits of the *Engliſh* who had beat the *Normans* at Sea; the Terrors of the *Normans* who had felt the *Britiſh* Arm ſo powerful; the Loſs of the *Norman* Forces, for they are very ſuperficial Hiſtorians who call his Armament a ſingle Ship, and the indolent and inactive Temper of *Robert*.

The Duke of *Normandy* might naturally have expected an Attack at home, from an enrag'd and a victorious Enemy; but he does not appear to have harbour'd any Suſpicion of what was preparing. *William*'s Squadron upon his Coaſts was the firſt Notice he receiv'd of the Deſign; and the Preparation was then too hurry'd to be fit for the Oppoſition.

Robert, aſtoniſh'd and confounded at the Attempt, had Recourſe to *Philip* King of *France*, with whom he had liv'd many Years on Terms of Friendſhip. *William* foreſaw this would be his Reſource; and he had taken Care to cut it off. He brib'd the *French* to a Neutrality; and while he ſaw the Dependance his Brother placed on them, with Eyes of inward Satisfaction, purſu'd his Way ſucceſsfully: he took ſeveral Towns, and laid a Plan to get the Capital, *Roan*, ſurrender'd to him.

The Scheme was the ſame with that he practiſ'd upon *France*: he ſeem'd to have the old Secret, that an Aſs loaded with Gold might take the ſtrongeſt City.

Seeing the Advantage of getting *Roan*, and the Difficulty, he found Means to corrupt a Man of chief Power in the Place, *Conon*; he ſeduced others, and enough were in the Plot to ſecure the delivering the City up to him.

We have obſerv'd that *William the Conqueror* left beſide theſe two, a younger Son, *Henry*. He was upon ill Terms with *Robert*; but he did not chuſe to ſee the ſecond Brother poſſeſs all.

Robert had pawn'd a Part of his Dominions for Money borrow'd of this *Henry*, and had offended him by taking it again into Poſſeſſion without diſcharging the Debt. This was a reaſonable Cauſe of Quarrel; but Humanity made *Henry* overlook it in a Brother, devoted, as it ſeem'd, to Ruin.

He took *Robert*'s Promiſe, to do him Juſtice, and to make him Amends when theſe Diſputes ſhould be ended; and raiſing Forces, threw himſelf into *Roan*.

He diſcover'd the Conſpiracy, and he put a ſpeedy End to it. *Conon* he threw from the Top of a Tower; and he aw'd the leſſer Herd from thinking of the Deſign, by his Power, and by his Threats.

The Affairs of *Robert* took a new Turn now *Henry* eſpous'd his Cauſe; and *William* was oblig'd to talk of Terms: theſe *Henry* ſettled, and they parted Friends.

William was to keep Poſſeſſion of the Towns he had taken on the Coaſt; and in return, he was to aſſiſt *Robert* in reducing the Province of *Maine*, which had revolted from the *Norman* Crown: this was his Intereſt as much as his Engagement; for by Compact the Survivor was to poſſeſs both Kingdoms. This was the great Article of their Treaty: they duly ratify'd it, and they parted Friends.

CHAP. XXXIX.

William *prepares a Fleet and wars on* Scotland.

THE King was no ſooner return'd, than he heard his Abſence had been fatal to ſome of his Northern Provinces. The King of *Scotland* had taken Advantage of his being out of the Kingdom, and fallen upon the adjoining Country with great Fury. He had plunder'd and burnt without Mercy, and he retir'd when the ſucceſsful Forces return'd from *Normandy*. They were in Spirit to undertake any Thing, and they requeſted to be led againſt the Enemy.

William thank'd them for their Zeal, applauded their Courage, and told them he would lead them to the Chaſtiſement of theſe Ruffians; but it ſhould be with ſuch a Reinforcement as would enſure Succeſs: for this Time they were rewarded, honour'd, and diſmiſs'd.

William did not in all Things act with this Generoſity, Prudence, and Moderation; but ſo far as his Army was concern'd, his Conduct was unexceptionable.

He ſaw the Uſe of a Naval Power, and he determin'd to be Maſter of one. More than the building of Ships was requiſite, for his People were too much diſus'd to the managing of them. He propos'd great Encouragements to thoſe who underſtood the Structure, or the Command and Management of Ships of War; and he determin'd to join a Naval to a Land Expedition againſt *Malcolm*.

There was not Time to build a Fleet for this; but he had ſome Veſſels, ſuch as they were, in a Condition of Service: he order'd theſe to be fitted out againſt the End of the Summer in 1091; and ſent them off with a large Force for *Scotland*; while himſelf march'd by Land with a ſmall but reſolute Body.

The Deſign was at once to put an End to the Diſturbances from that Quarter: he purpos'd to attack *Malcolm* both by Sea and Land, and drive him to hard Conditions. He ſucceeded in his Purpoſe, tho' againſt every Diſadvantage that could attend an Expedition of that Kind. His Seamen were not ſkilful enough to weather out a Storm that took them by the Way, and half his Veſſels and his People periſh'd.

Himſelf found ſcarce leſs Difficulty or Danger in his March; but he knew how to brave it with a better Reſolution, and to ſupport it with a better Countenance. Many a Time his Heart and Soul repented of the Undertaking; but his Looks, much leſs his Words, never declared ſo much: on the contrary, he gave real Spirits to his Soldiers by pretending them in himſelf; and he diſhearten'd *Malcolm* by his deſperate March, and by Reports of Reinforcements.

The King of *Scotland*, had he known all, and choſe to ſtand the Hazard, might have ſent *William* back with little Honour; but the Report of following Troops, the Spirit of the Marches, and the Conduct and Character of the King of *England* alarm'd him. 'Twas dreadful to diſpute a Field in the Heart of his own Kingdom; and he avoided it by all poſſible Conceſſions.

William receiv'd the Offers with a joyful Heart, but he affected to weigh them with a careful Mind. He demanded more than was propos'd; but the Addition was ſo little, that 'twas eaſy to conceive it would not be refus'd: and in fine, a Treaty was concluded between them, much to the Honour as well as the Advantage of *Britain*. *Malcolm* was to allow Tribute to the Crown of *England*; he was to give up the Territory he had ſeiz'd, and to pay annually a certain Sum in lieu of all other Conſiderations.

Thus ended an Expedition which had been too raſhly undertaken, and which nothing but the Name of the King render'd terrible.

CHAP. XL.

Of the Behaviour of William *the* Second *after his Succeſſes.*

WE have occaſionally ſaid that *William* was not ſo careful to oblige his People, when eſtabliſh'd on the Throne, as he had been to flatter them with great Expectations in order to gain it. He was too much a *Norman* to regard Promiſes made to ſerve his Convenience; and the People found him quickly the very Son of the Conqueror; rapacious, fickle in his Favours, and cruel.

He impoſed heavier Taxes than the Conqueror himſelf had done, and he was more ſtrict than he in the collecting them: he favour'd the *Normans*, and he oppreſs'd the *Engliſh*. They found 'twas a vain Diſtinction they had made between one Son and another of *William*; and that it was equally grievous to be govern'd by a *Norman*, whether the Name were one or another.

The People were offended at the Proceedings, and they made their Complaints to *Lanfranc*, the Archbiſhop, upon whoſe Promiſes they had relied, not leſs than on the King's.

Lanfranc found his own Honour queſtion'd, and the publick Faith violated: he ſaw King *William* was a Perſon very different from that *William Rufus*, who had ſollicited his Aſſiſtance in procuring the Throne; ſo that a very cautious Language was neceſſary; but he reſolv'd to ſpeak: he us'd the mildeſt Terms in his Remonſtrance, but the Subject was rough.

The King was offended that any one ſhould dare to accuſe his Conduct, or remind him of Promiſes made to ſerve a Purpoſe. The Prelate was diſgrac'd, and never had his Favour or Confidence after, and the Turn of Fortune broke his Heart.

The Exactions of which the *Engliſh* had complained, grew worſe: *William* took every hateful Method ever in Uſe before for raiſing Money, and he invented new ones. The Church eſcap'd no better than the Laity: the vacant Benefices he ſeiz'd upon, and kept them empty many Years, that he might have that Profit the longer; and afterwards ſold them to the beſt Bidder.

Men of the worſt Characters got into the higheſt Places in the Church; and dealing with others as the King had dealt with them, they ſold every Thing in their Power; and as the worſt Men bid moſt, they were the People generally appointed.

The whole Church was affected in the ſame Manner, and Complaints were fruitleſs: the firſt Thought among the Clergy who had deſerv'd better than the reſt, was to complain to the Pope; but in this they were without Succeſs.

Urban the Second filled the Chair at that Time; he had laid the great Deſign of recovering the Holy Land, and he could not quarrel with *England* at a Seaſon when he wanted to engage all the Princes of Chriſtendom in his Quarrel.

Thus were the People of *Britain* beggar'd more than five Years; but an Accident then promiſed them ſome Good: in 1093 *William* was taken ill. They had long pray'd for his Death, of which there now ſeem'd to be ſome Hope, and himſelf trembled at the ſuppos'd Approach of his End.

The Biſhops were called about him, and they no more found him the haughty inſolent King to whom they had been accuſtom'd: he made as many Promiſes to God as he had done to his People, that if he were reſtored to Health, he would behave with Lenity and Juſtice.

The Clergy took Care of their own Concerns firſt; they ſhew'd him the Sin of Oppreſſions upon them, and Violations of their Privileges; and he promis'd and perform'd apace: many Biſhopricks long vacant were filled up, and the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* was given to *Anſelm*.

The People in general were his next Concern. He remitted many Taxes; and ſeem'd again courting the Crown from them by his Civility and Kindneſſes.

He recover'd ſoon after in Body; and he relapſed in Mind. He would have anſwer'd to the Almighty, as he did to the Archbiſhop before, "Do you think "a King can keep all his Promiſes?" Oppreſſion reign'd in every Place more than before; and the King conſidering himſelf only in this Caſe, *Normans* were no better treated than *Engliſh*.

Britain by one Man's Fault became a Place hateful to live in: every one was weary of it; and Thouſands took the Reſolution of changing the Scene at any Expence or Loſs: they would ſeek Life in other Countries, for what was enjoy'd in *England* did not deſerve the Name.

The King heard of the frequent Departure of Families, and he could not be ignorant of the Reaſon: they who left their Fortunes in *England* muſt hate indeed the *Engliſh* Government.

Their going pleas'd his Avarice, but he had another Paſſion which it offended grievouſly; this was his Pride. As much Pleaſure as he had in being a Tyrant, it was Pain to him to be called ſo; and he underſtood this as declaring that Truth to all the World.

He publiſh'd an Edict forbidding all Perſons to depart without Leave; and Confiſcation of Eſtate, and Impriſonment of Perſon, were the common Fate of thoſe who aſk'd it.

While Things paſs'd thus miſerably at Home, the Northern Provinces fell into the Miſeries of War from the ſame Cauſe; the Avarice, Obſtinacy, and brutal Diſpoſition of the King.

William and *Malcolm*, were in conſequence of their Treaty, to meet at *Glouceſter*, to ſettle perſonally ſome leſſer Matters left undetermin'd in the general Treaty. *Malcolm* obſerv'd the Appointment: he was at *Glouceſter* in the Summer 1093; and as ſoon as *William* had Notice of his Arrival, he ſent to tell him, that before all Things elſe he expected to receive his Homage.

Malcolm was a true *Scot* in Diſpoſition, firm to his Purpoſe, a ſtrict Obſerver of Compact, but impatient of Oppreſſion or Indignities. He ſaw that Temper in this Demand, which ſoon after diſcloſed itſelf more fully; and 'twas to his Honour that he exerted himſelf on this Occaſion.

He return'd Anſwer, "That he came to *Glouceſter* "to ſettle Articles, and that Buſineſs he was pre"pared to execute; that the Place of doing Ho"mage was on the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms, "and that he was ready to do it there, but no other"wiſe."

William inſiſted on its being done in *Glouceſter*; and *Malcolm* reſenting the Indignity, gave his Anſwer by his Departure. He look'd upon the Terms of the Treaty as broke; and he fell upon *Northumberland* ſoon after, with the largeſt Force he could muſter.

This was an unexpected Attack, and the Troops were too remote for the Defence of the People: *Malcolm* reſented the Inſolence of the King upon his innocent Subjects; but he dearly paid for his Cruelties.

Robert de Mowbray, Governor of the Province, fell on him unexpectedly with a new rais'd Body, and his Army was beaten; and himſelf and his Son *Edward* killed.

The Conſequences of this Defeat were very terrible to *Scotland*; and there are Stories not much to the Honour of the *Engliſh* recorded, as to the Manner of their obtaining the Victory.

The *Scots* loſt beſide their Sovereign and his Son, many of their firſt Nobility: and the Race of the *Stuarts*, who were long Kings of *Scotland*, and for a Century ſway'd the *Britiſh* Scepter, had like to have been there cut off in its Source.

In this Action *Walter*, a General in great Truſt and Power, fought where the King fell, and eſcap'd almoſt by Miracle. This Perſon, diſtinguiſh'd by his Honours and Employments ſo early in our Hiſtory, was the Origin of the *Stuart* Line. He was the Grandſon of *Banquo*, ſlain by *Macbeth*; Son of that *Flean*, whoſe Eſcape from the Murtherers of his Father is commemorated in one of *Shakeſpear's* Plays.

Flean liv'd, and marry'd the Daughter of a *Welch* Prince, *Neſta*. Thus *Cambden* traces the Genealogy. And from this Marriage ſprung this *Walter*, whoſe great Office under *Malcolm* was that of *Steward of Scotland*; hence the Name, and from his fortunate Eſcape from the Swords of the *Engliſh*, the Family.

The *Scots*, exaſperated at the Treachery which they laid to the Charge of the *Engliſh* in this Action, expelled them all the Kingdom. *Donald* ſucceeded *Malcolm* in the Throne, and this was his firſt Act of Power.

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CHAP. XLI.

Diſputes of the Scots *and* Engliſh.

WILLIAM was offended at the Indignity offer'd to the *Engliſh* Name by *Donald*; and was preparing to reſent the Inſult, when News arriv'd that the *Scots* were marching for *England* with a vaſt Army. They were ſoon in the Northern Counties, and they were too many to be reſiſted. They were as cruel as ſucceſsful, and Things were taking a very ſerious Turn in their Favour.

William, who never loſt an Advantage, had at that Time in his Court *Duncan*, a Baſtard Son of the late King of *Scotland*: him he commiſſion'd to oppoſe his Countrymen; he gave him a large Force, and engag'd if he were ſucceſsful to make him King of *Scotland*.

The Baſtard had Spirit, Courage, and Ambition; he led the *Engliſh* againſt the Enemy, he drove *Donald* back, compelled him to an Action, in which the *Engliſh* were victorious; and marching his Force to the Heart of the Kingdom, while *Donald* was ſheltering himſelf in ſome of the Weſtern Iſlands, he was made King of *Scotland*.

The *Welch* had taken Advantage of the Troubles with *Scotland*, and made Incurſions. They were oppos'd as happily as the *Scots* had been. Their Army was beaten, *Rees*, their King, killed in the Action; and great Part of their Country ſubjected to the *Engliſh* Crown.

William thus ſucceſsful at home, thought of his Diſputes abroad. He went to *Normandy* with a large Force, and was bringing *Robert* to what Terms he choſe, when the *French* came in to the Aſſiſtance of the weaker Side. This was in 1094.

William knew how to deal with them: he offer'd them Money in one Hand, and held out the revenging Sword in the other. They accepted the Gold, and left *Robert* to his Mercy. At this Time new Troubles at home called him back, or probably *Normandy* had been won in a few Weeks.

The *Welch* had given him this Diſturbance, which he determin'd to puniſh ſeverely. But if they were not able to face the Troops he led thither in the Field, they had Retreats that were quite inacceſſible; and they harraſs'd him and his Force without receiving any great Damage from them.

What would have been the End of this Diſpute cannot be ſaid. *William* was called home by Affairs of more Moment; and the *Welch* who had prudently run away, eſcap'd the Diſhonour of being conquer'd.

The Incident that called off *William* in his higheſt Hopes, was the Revolt of a very conſiderable Perſon, *Robert de Mowbray*, a Man of Spirit, and of Intereſt.

He had been ſerviceable againſt the *Scots*; and had been neglected when he ſhould have been rewarded: the common Fate of Virtue. He declared againſt the Meanneſs and Ingratitude of the King; ſummon'd his Friends, and calling into their Remembrance his Haughtineſs and Neglect, ſpirited them up to declare him unworthy the Service of brave Men, and a Diſgrace to the *Engliſh* Throne.

It was determin'd to depoſe him; and *Mowbray*, to excuſe himſelf from the Imputation of ſeeking to raiſe himſelf to Royalty, pitch'd upon one of the *Norman* Line. This was *Stephen*, Earl of *Albemarle*, a Nephew of the Conqueror. All applauded, for all had Reaſons of Diſguſt: *Stephen* was invited to the Confederacy; and *William* heard the News with Terror. He was ready in Expedients, and generally he judg'd well.

He heard where the Conſpirators were, which was at the Seat of *De Mowbray* in the North; and he broke up his Camp, and went directly for them. His Purpoſe was to fall upon them before they ſhould grow ſtronger; but he was near Deſtruction from his Haſte.

The Rebels expected that he would take this Step, and they laid an Ambuſh on the Way purpoſely for his Perſon. Into this he had certainly fallen had they been true to one another. None but themſelves were in their Secret; but one of them betray'd it. This was *Gilbert de Tunbridge*, who by that Act of Merit reſtored himſelf to favour.

William purſued his March with double Haſte, and with implacable Reſentment. *De Mowbray* was in *Banborough Caſtle*, to this the King laid Siege: but *Mowbray* was a better Soldier than to have thrown himſelf into a Place eaſily reduced. He laugh'd at the King's Threatnings, and Aſſaults, and ſhew'd him 'twas no Buſineſs of a Day to take that Fortreſs.

Mean Time the Friends of *Mowbray* were up; the Abſence of the King who ſtill lay before this Caſtle, gave them Opportunities. He found in this tedious Attack upon one Rebel, he gave Advantages to many; and he determin'd to go after them.

He chang'd the Siege into a Blockade; built a Fortreſs near the Caſtle, and left a ſufficient Force with proper Orders.

De Mowbray who had reſiſted the Force of the King, fell by his Cunning: a Plan was laid more ſucceſsful than his Ambuſh. The Soldiers quarter'd in *Newcaſtle* offer'd him that Place if he would come at Midnight, and with a few Attendants.

He rejoiced in the Propoſal; choſe a few brave and faithful Followers, and went for the Place. All this was concerted for his Deſtruction: the Soldiers of the King had Notice of his going, and they fell upon him. His little Party were cut to Pieces, and himſelf made Priſoner.

The Caſtle ſtill held out againſt the King; but Care was taken on that Head alſo. *Mowbray* was by the King's Order carry'd before the Walls; the beſieg'd were ſummon'd, Mercy to themſelves, and the Life of their Commander were promis'd on Condition of their ſubmitting; and in caſe of a Refuſal, his Eyes were to be put out before them, and his Death to follow.

They ſaw themſelves without a Head; and 'twas in vain to hold out longer; they ſubmitted, and *De Mowbray* liv'd thirty Years a Priſoner.

The King was as ſucceſsful againſt the reſt of the Conſpirators, and he puniſh'd them all with Severity.

A Quarrel with the Church follow'd this with the Nobility, but *William* was in that alſo ſucceſsful. *Anſelm*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, oppoſed ſome arbitrary Acts againſt the Church too boldly; and falling under the King's Diſpleaſure, he went to *Rome*. 'Twas the Church's Quarrel, and he hop'd to engage the Pope in it, but in this he could not ſucceed.

It was not the Intereſt of *Urban*, as we have ſhewn, to quarrel with the King of *England*: he palliated his Coldneſs as well as he could; and *Anſelm* finding Popes were but Men like other Princes, retir'd to a Monaſtery. Thus *William* conquer'd all Oppoſition, and eſtabliſh'd himſelf in Security upon the *Britiſh* Throne.

CHAP. XLII.

The undertaking of the Holy War.

THE Year 1096 diſcloſed the great Undertaking, with which the Mind of *Urban the Second* had long labour'd; and ſhew'd to *Anſelm*, and to all *Europe*, why that Pontiff would engage in no Diſpute with any of its Princes.

He propoſed in this Year the Cruſado, ſince called the Holy War. The Purpoſe of this was to recover the Holy Land out of the Hands of the *Saracens*; and he invited all who lov'd the Religion, and reverenced the Name of Chriſt, to engage in the Undertaking.

Peter, a Hermit, firſt ſet this Scheme on Foot. *Urban* embark'd in it with great Readineſs, and had open'd the Way to great Things, by recommending it ſtrongly to the Council at *Clermont*.

At the Head of the Cruſade was *Adhemar*, Biſhop of *Pici* in *France*; and there embark'd in it the famous *Godfrey* of *Boloigne*, and all the prime of *Europe*.

They wore Croſſes on their Shoulder; and for their Motto, *It is God's Will.*

Among thoſe who embark'd in this famous Expedition, was *Robert* Duke of *Normandy.* Money was requir'd to prepare for it; and he ſollicited his Brother the King of *England.*

William, as poor for ſuch an Expedition as himſelf, offer'd the Money, ſo *Normandy* might be mortgag'd to him for the Payment. This was agreed to; and then *William* declaring the Occaſion, demanded the Money of his Subjects. It was collected rigorouſly, and engag'd the Nation in an univerſal Confuſion.

The Church was not exempted; and when the Money was not ready, they were oblig'd to pawn, or to melt down their Plate to make the Payment.

The Sum was advanced; *Robert* ſet out; and *William* immediately took Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. His firſt Step was to demand of *France* the Town of *Vexin,* not the *Norman* Town of that Name, but the *French* one.

The King of *France* ſaw *William* meant by this Demand only to make a Quarrel; and being in no Fear of him, he thought it as well to begin on that Subject as upon any other. He refuſed to give up the Place; and a War follow'd little to the Honour or Advantage of either Nation. It ended the next Year, with no great Event to preſerve it long in Hiſtory. It was terminated by a Treaty of Peace in the Beginning of the Year 1097.

In this and the two ſucceeding Years, *William,* who had in vain attempted to extend the *Norman* Territory, was employ'd at Home in Troubles with the *Welch* and with the *Scots;* while *Robert* was gaining Glory, tho' no more Advantage, from his Actions in the Eaſt.

This Year began the Holy War, which was continu'd near three hundred Years; and in which the braveſt Men of *Europe* fell; and a vaſt Treaſure was expended; to ſay to little Purpoſe were too mild a Cenſure, abſolutely to none.

The *Welch* Expedition of *William* in 1097, kept him from the Beginning of *June* to the End of *Auguſt;* but he did little. Some of the People he deſtroy'd, but he loſt more of his own; and he made no Progreſs in his Deſign of reducing the Kingdom to his Obedience.

In *Scotland* the next Year *Donald* had found Means to dethrone *Duncan* in his Turn; and had eſtabliſh'd himſelf in his Place: but the Force of *William* under the Command of *Edgar Atheling,* now put young *Edgar,* his Nephew, upon the Throne.

A Revolt in a Part of *Normandy* carry'd *William* thither in 1098, and Diſputes with *Wales* took off many of his beſt Forces in his Abſence.

While theſe were purſuing their Succeſſes with the utmoſt Cruelty, a new Enemy appear'd; *Magnus,* King of *Norway,* after having made himſelf Maſter of the *Iſle of Man,* attack'd and conquer'd *Angleſea.*

The Earl of *Shrewſbery, Hugh de Montgomery,* Governor, diſtinguiſh'd before by his Cruelties, now felt them return'd upon him. The Soldiers of *Magnus* treated him with wanton Barbarity; and when they had plunder'd every Thing, retired to their Ships.

We here ſee the Effects of leaving the Naval Force of *Britain* unregarded. The Force with which *Magnus* came over, was not worth a Thought, had our own Ships been in any Condition to oppoſe him; but he took the Advantage of that Neglect to make an Attempt, which ſtands a Blot in the *Britiſh* Annals.

The King's Return brought all to Peace, for he was dreaded by all. He kept up the Spirit of Fear by his Exactions. He made any Thing an Excuſe, for calling in Money, and the leaſt Fault in Payment was puniſh'd with Rigour.

In this Year *London Bridge* having been carry'd down the River by a vaſt Flood, he built a new one; and ſecured it againſt every Danger by the maſſy Strength, and Firmneſs of the Structure. He walled the Tower; and did many other publick Things of Note, and of Remembrance.

The Churchmen do not chuſe to allow him his Merit, for he was no Friend of theirs; therefore they paſs a Cenſure on all this from the ill Condition the Country was in to ſpare the Money: there is Reaſon on both Sides. *William* has a Title to Praiſe for theſe Things, but he had ill Motives, and he purſued ill Meaſures.

The Time was not well choſen; nor were the Sums collected favourably. He meant to ſhew his Subjects that they muſt pay him Sums at his Pleaſure, at all Times, and always punctually; and when he had done ſo, he ſhew'd them 'twas not for Avarice to hoard, but for the publick to enjoy.

* * *

CHAP. XLIII.

The Naval Force of BRITAIN *is reſtored.*

WILLIAM purſued his Sports and his Buſineſs together; he was earneſt in the one, and vehement in the other. Of a hot Temper; and tho' allay'd with many Faults, he had the Seeds and Principles of Greatneſs.

In the Year 1099, he revolved the various Accidents of his Reign; and he conſider'd their Cauſes, as well as their Events.

In this whole Courſe of Thought there was not any Thing that ſtung him more than the Inſult of *Magnus,* King of *Norway.* The Thing had no great Conſequences, but 'twas the Indignity that made him feel it; 'twas eaſy to ſee the Cauſe was the Want of a due Naval Force, and he determin'd to repair it.

He form'd great Deſigns; and the firſt Step to all of them was the having a Strength at Sea. He ſaw how terrible it had made the *Edward's* and the *Edgar's* of former Periods, and he determin'd to make the Name of *William* as much honour'd.

He demanded Money without Bounds or Mercy; but when the People ſaw the Purpoſe for which it was rais'd, they overlook'd the Means. He order'd all his Yards to be made ready: few Builders of Ships

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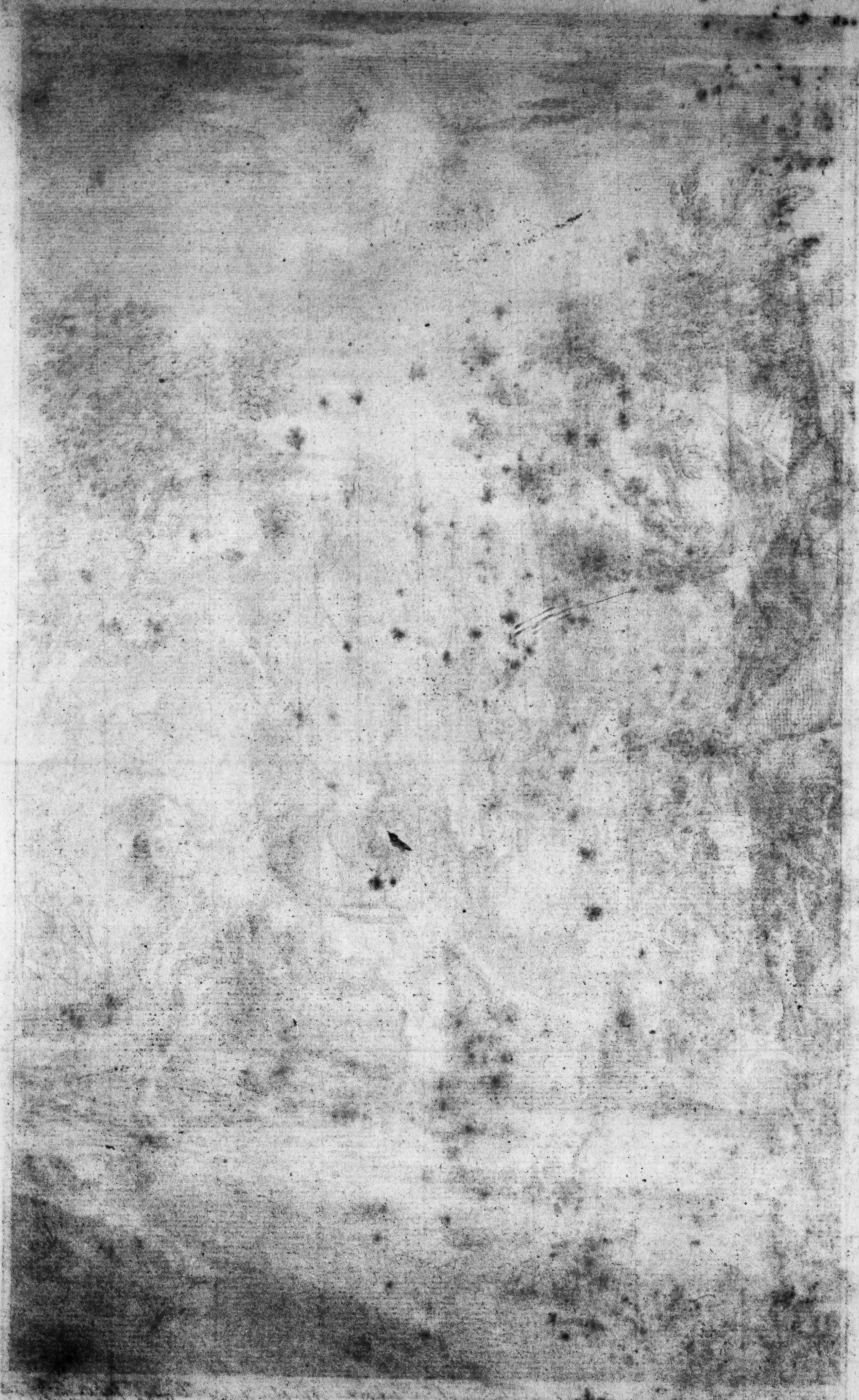

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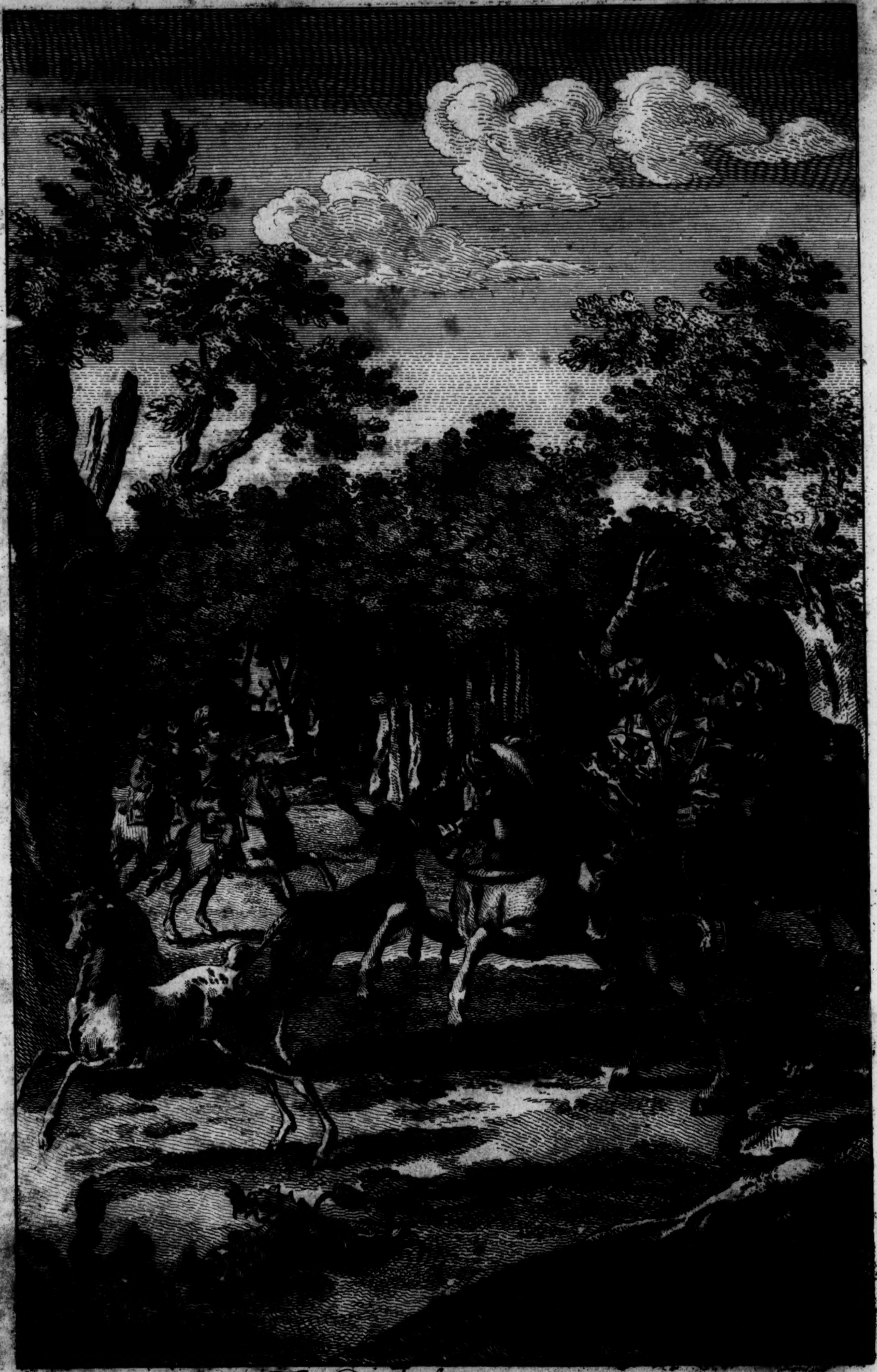

The Death of WILLIAM RUFUS.

Engraved for the Naval History of Britain now Publishing in Weekly Numbers by the King's Authority.

were left in *Britain*, who underſtood the Structure of Veſſels of War, he therefore invited over many from the neighbouring Counties, and he ſet all to work. No Price, no Pains were ſpar'd. The Navy of *England* was to be the greateſt in the World. The King commanded, and he knew how to be obey'd.

Every Thing ſet to work, he fell to his Pleaſures. "Nothing, ſays he, of all my Purpoſes can be "brought into Execution till theſe Ships are "ready, ſo till then, Lords, we will divert our"ſelves."

New Foreſt was the Place of Rendezvous: the Scene of Sport: the King was there giving himſelf the full Swing in his favourite Pleaſure, when Meſſengers arriv'd with News. It was from the other Side the Sea.

Count *De la Fleſche* had fallen by Surprize on *Mans*, taken the Town, and ſat down before the Citadel.

The King red'ned at the Intelligence, "Get me "the beſt Ship ready by To-morrow, we'll ſhew "this Count an *Engliſh* Arrow that ſhall fly ſwifter "than his Sight. My Lords follow!"

The King left the Sport, prepared his little Band, and taking with him as many of the Flower of *Britain* as a ſingle Ship could carry; he led them on the Spur to *Dartmouth*, and went on board, commanding them to ſet ſail. It was a Storm. The Maſter of the Veſſel repreſented the Danger; and would have ſtaid for better Weather. But *William*, in the true Spirit of his Temper anſwer'd, "Sail! "Did you ever hear a King of *England* was drown"ed." They made *Burfleur*.

The King was as haſty to land as to embark: he ſet out with his Party, order'd the Troops that were neareſt to join him in the March; and was at *Mans* before the Beſiegers heard he was upon the Sea. He was ſucceſsful to the utmoſt of his Wiſhes, he relieved the Caſtle, beat the Beſiegers, and took the Count Priſoner.

As he laugh'd over the Misfortunes of his noble Captive, he anſwer'd him, "You ſmile in Safety "now: but were I at Liberty, you would ſoon "know 'twas to the Accident of a Surprize alone "you ow'd your Victory."

The King anſwer'd with his uſual Spirit, "You "ſhall try. You are no more a Priſoner, do your "worſt."

The Count was aſtoniſh'd, he ſcarce could believe the Scene was real, but the King aſſured him that he ſpoke in earneſt. He gave him his Liberty, and return'd to *England*. "I am ſorry, ſaid he, my "Lords, this little Accident has interrupted us; "but now we'll to our Hunting."

Robert was all this Time in the Eaſt. Though he could not ſupport his Claim to the *Engliſh* Crown, he was much celebrated for his Courage there. *Jeruſalem* was this Year taken, and forty thouſand *Saracens* fell.

The Crown was offer'd *Robert*; but he had Thoughts of *Britain*. *Godfrey* of *Bologne* accepted it, and wore it honourably.

CHAP. XLIV.

The Death of William Rufus.

THE Succeſs of theſe holy Warriors was fortunate for *William*. The Earl of *Poitiers* took up the Cauſe, and mortgag'd his Dominions for a Sum to fit him out with Dignity.

William was the Reſource on theſe Occaſions. All *Europe* knew he could command Money at his Pleaſure. He raiſed it in his uſual Way, and ſent Word he would pay it to the Earl's Orders, and take Poſſeſſion of his Territories as Security.

He ſaw every Thing promiſe him the Height of Glory; and he reſolved to court Fortune while ſhe was in the favourable Humour. He order'd his Naval Preparations to go on with all poſſible Diligence, and told his People theſe Territories gain'd by Compact, were poor Acquiſitions to ſuch as he ſhould make by Arms.

The great Deſigns in his Breaſt were not declared, for as he juſtly ſaid upon that Subject, the Counſel can never be betray'd with which no one is truſted. His People, who reverenced his Spirit, while they hated his Tyranny, were in great Hopes from this Preparation; and as none knew what was his Aim, all *Europe* trembled.

He reſolved to give himſelf no Care before the Time: he urged all to haſten the Work, and till the Navy ſhould be ready return'd to his Diverſion.

New Foreſt, ſo hateful to the People, was to him fatal. As he was mounting his Horſe one Morning for the Sports, a Meſſage was brought him that a Churchman of great Sanctity had declared in his Court that he had dream'd fatally of the King; and beg'd him to remain that Day within.

William ſmiled, "The Monk, ſays he, wants "Money, give him a hundred Shillings, and tell "him to dream better for the future." Whether the Dream be true or not, the Event was terrible, for he fell that Day.

A King who had laid the Plan of conquering Nations, dy'd by an Arrow ſhot at random in the Chace. He was purſuing his favourite Sport near *Cheringham* in the *New Foreſt*: he ſhot a Stag, who ran with the Arrow in his Thigh.

The King follow'd full ſpeed; and an Arrow diſcharg'd at another Stag in his Path, pierced him through the Breaſt. He fell without uttering a Word. *Walter Tyrrell* was the Perſon to whoſe Hand he ow'd his Death, and ſome think 'twas not an Accident. Indeed the Situation of the Wound ſeems to accuſe it of Deſign, it went through his Heart. He had done enough to call upon him the Hatred of many; and this *Tyrrell*, tho' we are not told the Circumſtances, might be one.

Perhaps 'twas a general Conſpiracy, for *Tyrrell* fled; and none attempted to apprehend him.

He was laid in a Cart, no better Hearſe; and bury'd the next Day with little Ceremony at *Wincheſter*.

There has not been a King in whom good and bad Qualities were more blended. He loſt his Life in the Year eleven Hundred, on the ſecond of *Auguſt*.

CHAP. XLV.

The Succeſſion of Henry the Firſt.

THE Death of *William* open'd the Way to two Competitors, his Brothers; Sons of the Conqueror. Theſe were *Robert* and *Henry*. *Robert* was elder, and his amiable Character gave him a great Chance, but he was abſent: he had left the *Holy Land*, and was expected in *Normandy*, but not arrived. Every one ſaw that Juſtice declared for him; and the Party was great, and bold in his Favour.

Henry was preſent, and he alſo ſtood reſpected. He had great Abilities; Learning, ſuch as could be had in ſuch Times; and a Character of Virtue, and of Wiſdom.

'Tis not impoſſible he had ſome Hand in his Brother's Death, for he inſtantly improved the Advantage it gave him. He had his Party, he aſſerted his Title; he ſaid none knew whether or not his Brother *Robert* was living; that the *Britiſh* Throne could not be left vacant; and that if it pleas'd the People to raiſe him to it, he would juſtify their Choice by every Act of Gratitude.

The People were inclin'd to favour him before *Robert*, becauſe they look'd on him as leſs a *Norman*, for he was born in *Britain*. His Character and his fair Speeches pleaded farther with them; and when he ſaw there was a Proſpect of ſucceeding, his Boldneſs gave him every other Advantage.

The Crown and Scepter lay at *Wincheſter*, and they were guarded there for *Robert* by *William de Breteuil*. This ſeem'd declaring *Robert* King; and againſt this *Henry* uſed all his Art and Diligence: he poſted Meſſengers to *Wincheſter* full of his Praiſes, and of the favourable Opinion of the Nobles.

Theſe ſoon ſpread their Intelligence, and he arrived in a few Hours after: he would have taken the Crown and Scepter, but *De Breteuil* ſaid they were engag'd to *Robert*, the right Succeſſor, and he could not deliver to him.

Henry ſaw all at Stake. *De Breteuil* had his Abetters, and 'twas the Moment to determine whether *Henry* ſhould be a Sovereign or Subject. To go back now he had demanded the Crown, were to give up the Claim. He conſider'd a Moment; and he then drew his Sword. "I have Right, "ſaid he, and I maintain it."

The Lords were terrify'd: they withdrew to conſult, and *Henry* in the mean time ſhew'd himſelf to the People. They were prepared by his Emiſſaries, and they ſhouted for him.

Whatever was the Conſultation within, this gave the finiſhing Determination. They ſaw the People eſpouſed him, and they ſubmitted.

Henry took the full Advantage of this tumultuous Proceeding. He went in Haſte to *London*; and was crown'd.

This Prince ſucceeded ſtrangely; and he ſaw it. He knew there would be more Work to maintain, than there had been to get the Crown; and having obtain'd it by his Spirit, he uſed all his Wiſdom to ſecure it.

He called an Aſſembly of the People; and began his Reign by keeping all his Promiſes to them. He firſt puniſh'd thoſe whoſe ill Uſe of Power had made them odious.

Randulph, Biſhop of *Durham*, Prime Miniſter to *William*, was thrown into a Priſon. The Courtiers were commanded to treat the People with Civility; and the Collectors of Taxes to have Mercy and Compaſſion.

He abrogated many of the ſevere *Norman* Laws. He repealed the *Curfew* Act, which had always been hateful to the *Engliſh*; and he granted them a Charter, confirming to them the Advantages of this new Regulation; and giving them many of the beſt Privileges enjoy'd under the *Saxon* Kings.

He gave the Church her old Immunities; and he releaſed the Nobles from the great Exactions of the former Reigns; commanding them to deal in the ſame favourable Manner with their Vaſſals: he releaſed all Priſoners; forgave all Offences, and gave up his Title to all Debts; and he brought into Uſe and Force the Laws of the *Saxon Edward*.

All this was confirm'd by Charter; ſign'd by the King and by the Lords: and Copies of it were lodg'd in the Monaſteries of different Parts of the Kingdom, one in every County.

This was the firſt *Magna Charta*: King *John*'s was but a kind of Renewal of it, with the needful Alterations for the Time.

Henry was careful to find the Inclinations of the People; and quick to gratify them. He found they lamented *Anſelm*, baniſh'd by the Severities of his Predeceſſor; and he wrote to his Retirement to recall him, inviting him to be his firſt Miniſter, and promiſing to be guided by his Council. *Anſelm* return'd: and new Bleſſings from a thouſand Mouths attended the Name of *Henry*.

The next Step the King took to ingratiate himſelf was more effectual than all. The Oppreſſions of the *Normans* had made the People look back with Reverence upon the *Saxon* Line; and here was yet one of it; a Woman. The King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm*, had marry'd the *Saxon Margaret*, Siſter to *Edgar Atheling*.

Matilda was the Offspring of this Marriage; and *Henry* demanded of the People, "Whether "it would be pleaſing to them that he ſhould "marry that Princeſs; and if God gave him Chil-"dren, reſtore in ſome Degree the *Saxon* Line?"

Their Applauſes reach'd the Heavens. Every Tongue that pronounced the favourite Name of *Henry*, accompany'd it with Bleſſings and with Praiſe.

Edgar conſented to the Match, and *Matilda* then in a Nunnery, had ſo much more Inclination to the Crown than to the Veil, that ſhe declared ſhe was placed there againſt her Will; and that ſhe was deſirous of returning to the World.

A Council was held at *Lambeth* before *Anſelm*, where the Marriage was declared lawful; and *William*, who well knew its Importance, had it immediately ſolemniz'd.

Thus cloſed on *Britain* the eleventh Century.

THE

THE NAVAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK XII.

Containing the Tranſactions at Sea during the twelfth Century.

With a Review of the general Hiſtory of the Kingdom, explaining and connecting them together.

CHAP. I.

The Deſign of Robert *on the* Engliſh *Crown.*

THE People were charm'd with their King; and this was what he aim'd to bring about: he knew full well his Brother would not ſit down quietly with the Loſs of the *Britiſh* Crown; and that nothing could enſure it on his Head but their Favour.

'Twas as he expected. *Robert* return'd to *Normandy*, of which he had Poſſeſſion quietly. *Henry* might have inſiſted on it as the Mortgage; but 'twas not his Buſineſs to begin a Quarrel, when he ſo much fear'd its Conſequences.

Robert no ſooner ſat down at Home, than he thought of a ſtrong and reſolute Expedition for *England*. He called his Nobility about him: they all agreed with him, that *Henry* was an Uſurper, and the Crown of *England* his; and he prepared to aſſert his Title.

CHAP. II.

Robert *Duke of* Normandy *attempts* England.

HENRY, who expected his Brother's Return, and as certainly an Attempt from him upon the Iſland, prepared from the firſt Moment of his Reign to oppoſe him by every poſſible Method.

The Affections of his People were his firſt Aim; the ſecond, a Naval Force. *Robert* muſt come by Sea; and he determin'd that the firſt Trial ſhould be there.

He applauded the Spirit with which his Brother had ſet about raiſing a Navy: and he urg'd the Preparation with all poſſible Diligence. He repreſented to the People the Advantage, and the Neceſſity of ſuch a Force; and they conſpired with him to make it great.

He now found the Time to put it out to Sea; and he gave immediate Orders.

Robert heard with Terror of his Strength; and finding himſelf unable to ſtand before it, he had Recourſe to Artifice. He found there were many inclin'd to own his Cauſe; and by Promiſes and Vows of Friendſhip, and of Favour, he increaſed the Number. The Infection ſpread too quickly, and too wide.

While *Henry* was fitting out his Ships, the Emiſſaries of *Robert* were tampering with his Captains; and he was in the more Danger for his greater Strength.

All was ready; and the Royal Fleet, a fine and numerous Armament, appear'd upon the Seas. *Robert* embark'd; and, as appear'd to thoſe not in the Secret, ran on certain Ruin.

The King kept with a large Force at Land, and con-commiſſion'd his Commanders on the Sea to ſhew no Mercy to an Invader. 'Twas known *Robert* would be on board; and *Henry* hop'd to rid himſelf for ever of the Terror of ſo dangerous a Rival.

Robert advanced with his little Squadron. The Fleet of *Britain* ſo long neglected, ſhone again upon the Seas; but unhappily for the Nation the Event tended to make future Kings fear rather than deſire ſuch a Power.

The Army on Shore were Witneſſes of the two Fleets meeting; and in the Moment when *Henry* expected to ſee his Ships fall upon the Invaders, they went over to him. He ſaw this with a diſtracting Aſtoniſhment. He knew not whom he could truſt: there was nothing he had omitted to gain the People's Good-will; nor had he till this Moment the leaſt Doubt but he poſſeſſed it entirely. He turn'd to his Officers, and ſaid with a firm Voice, "Is it your "Choice alſo to deſert me."

They ſwore Fidelity; and promiſed to die for him or conquer.

Henry, whoſe open Heart had entertain'd no Suſpicions before, now was doubtful of every Body; and with Reaſon. Man could not do more than he had done to gain the People's Love, nor was it poſſible to have more Appearance of having ſucceeded in the Hope; but 'twas now ſeen he had miſs'd his Purpoſe.

He revolved many Things. His firſt Thought and his Deſire was to have faced his Enemies, and his revolted Subjects on the Shore, and to have diſputed their landing; but this was dangerous: not that he fear'd the Action, but his People: if they ſhould deſert him like his Sea Commanders, his Crown went with them. He had no more Cauſe to ſuſpect them than theſe; nor any more Reaſon to truſt one than the other.

Anſelm was at Hand; and the King turning to him ſaid, "You I can truſt I know. Go from me "to my Brother."

The Prelate undertook the Negotiation; and he received the King's full Commiſſion. He had Orders to ſee *Robert* land, and then to addreſs him.

He found ready Admiſſion to his Preſence, and he ſpoke wiſely and well. He ſaid, "The King to "ſpare his Subjects Blood, had ſuffer'd him to land "unoppos'd; and truſted to Negotiation. He pro"poſed to end the Diſpute by Treaty, and offer'd "to reimburſe the Charges of the Expedition: to "pay annually a large Sum to *Robert* during Life; "and to enter into Engagements with him, that the "longeſt Liver ſhould take both Crowns."

The Character of *Anſelm*, and the Weight of his Advice, helped this Treaty greatly. *Robert*, after ſome Deliberation conſented, and all was ratify'd.

One of the Conditions of the Treaty was, that all ſhould be pardon'd by *Henry*, who had now taken part with *Robert*; and that in caſe of his Death, and *Robert*'s Succeſſion, all who had been againſt him in this Action ſhould have the ſame Advantage.

Thus parted the two Brothers: and thus was *Henry* ſeated firmly on the Throne: but after this he could not entertain any good Opinion of the Fidelity of his Subjects.

Henry acted now ſomething like the Kings his Predeceſſors, and did not ſeem to think Promiſes or Engagements made under Reſtraint binding. The Attempt of his Brother had ſhewn him who were his Enemies, and he kept an Eye upon them. He ſtrictly obſerv'd the Terms of not moleſting them, in conſequence of that Act; but as he kept Spies about them, their leaſt Actions were repreſented in the worſt Colours of which they were capable, and one after another moſt of them were ruin'd.

The Penſion paid to the Duke of *Normandy* was the moſt grating to the Spirit of *Henry*; not ſo much for the Sum, tho' it was very large; as for the Confeſſion of Right it ſeem'd to carry.

He was backward in the Payment, and he ſtudy'd every Method to be rid of it.

He became ſo ill a Paymaſter, that *Robert*, after being unſucceſsful in many Applications for it, came over himſelf in 1004 to demand it.

Henry was pleas'd with the Incident. He ſat ſecure upon the Throne, ſo that the Preſence of his Brother had no Terror; and he received him with every Mark of Honour, and of Love.

He manag'd it ſo well during the Stay *Robert* made with him, that the Demand was given up. What private Compact was between them does not appear; but *Robert* publickly diſcarded his Claim to the Penſion.

The Marks of Friendſhip and Affection with which *Robert* had been receiv'd, were but a Piece of Artifice in *Henry*. He had his Eye upon the Dukedom; and he was pleaſed with having reduced him to Neceſſity; as he knew he had by getting him to give up his Claim to his Penſion.

Robert found the Error into which he had been led, as ſoon as he got into his own Dominions. Money was needed for the Service of the State; and the uſual Taxes produced but a poor Part of it. His Dominions were ſo thoroughly engag'd for Debts, that ſcarce any Thing remain'd clear but the City of *Roan*. That he endeavour'd to mortgage; but the Citizens who had their Voice of Diſſent, refuſed.

Reduced to Neceſſity, he could only apply to *Henry*. He refuſed: and the Duke was led to uſe ſome very harſh Words on the Occaſion.

Henry had led him to this Strait, not much to the Credit of his Honour; but to what Extreams will not Ambition lead Kings.

He had intended to take Advantage of its Conſequences; and this was the firſt Opportunity. He wiſh'd to add *Normandy* to the Crown of *England*; and ſeeing *Robert* in no Condition to defend himſelf, he took Occaſion from theſe haſty Words to begin the Quarrel.

As he had ſeen the Importance of a Navy to *Britain*, he had from Year to Year added to its Strength, ſo that now it made a very noble Appearance. His Deſigns upon *Normandy* he knew would be beſt ſupported by his Power at Home; and he was ſenſible nothing would ſo much facilitate the Reduction of that Dukedom, as the awing thoſe who might be inclin'd to aſſiſt his Brother. This he knew would be beſt done by a powerful Navy; and by the Year 1105. he had accompliſh'd his Purpoſes ſo well, that he had a Fleet ſuperior to that of any Prince in *Europe*.

Once more the Naval Power of *Britain* was rais'd to its natural Eminence and Glory. It was not wanted now for the Security of the Iſland; for that was too ſtrong, and too united in itſelf to fear any foreign Attack; and it was deſtin'd to extend its Territories.

Henry, tho' he did not fear, yet did not care to exaſperate the other Princes of *Europe*: he knew his Deſigns upon his Brother's Dukedom muſt appear hateful in all Eyes; and he took Meaſures to colour the bad Buſineſs with a fairer Appearance.

Robert's Nobles ſaw his Poverty and Weakneſs, and they took the Advantage. *Beleſme* diſgraced in *England* retired thither, and made himſelf Amends for his Eſtates here, by ſeizing the Property of others then in *England*: he was join'd by the Earl of *Mortagne*, another *Engliſh* Exile, and they oppoſed and beat the Forces ſent by *Robert* to ſuppreſs their Inſolences.

This enlarg'd their Hopes, they aſpir'd to the Sovereign Seat; and facing *Robert*'s beſt Force, they for that Time ſatisfy'd themſelves with making Peace very advantageouſly for themſelves, and very diſhonourably for the Duke.

Theſe were the Commotions in *Normandy*. *Henry* ſaw them with Pleaſure, he cauſed Complaints of the Oppreſſions of theſe Nobles to be ſent to him; and wrote to his Brother in conſequence: "That he could not bear the Complaints of the *Normans*: that he requeſted he would do them Juſtice; and if he did not, that himſelf, in conſequence of the Requeſts of the People, would come and ſave them."

This was the fair Pretence; and under this Colour the King, without waiting for his Brother's Anſwer, equipped his Fleet, embark'd a great Force, and ſet ſail for *Normandy*.

Robert was in no Condition to oppoſe his landing. He ſaw the Deſign; and he deſpair'd of fruſtrating it. He complain'd with Juſtice of his Brother, but Force hears few Lamentations.

Henry drew up his Men, and harangu'd them with great Spirit, and with every Incentive to Action. He told them they had every Thing to hope from his Gratitude, and nothing to fear from his Brother's Force. "You ſee, ſaid he, none oppoſe us, "and you ſhall ſee preſently all will receive us with "open Arms.

Henry was as good a Stateſman as a Soldier: he carry'd Force enough to perform all he purpos'd; and he carry'd alſo Money.

Before whatever Town he came, he held out in one Hand the Purſe, and in the other the Sword: Rewards for Submiſſion, but for thoſe who ſhould oppoſe no Mercy.

Robert was poor, therefore none regarded him. The People in Power liſten'd to *Henry*'s golden Arguments. Town after Town was yielded to him without a Blow; and all gave up *Normandy* as loſt.

The Dukes of *Anjou* and *Bretagne* ſuffer'd him to garriſon the Towns upon their Frontiers; they had no Choice but this, or to make the Quarrel their own; and none of them choſe to run into a War with a Sovereign ſo powerful as *Henry*, and ſo ſucceſsful.

The Biſhop of *Seez* gave the finiſhing Stroke, he was a Prelate much reſpected by the People; and implacable in his Hatred to the Duke. *Henry*'s Gold inflam'd his Reſentment farther, and a concerted Plan was play'd off between them which took great Effect.

The Prelate met *Henry* on his March, and choſe a Place where there were many Auditors; he repreſented in a ſtudy'd Speech, the Grievances of the People, the Weakneſs of their Sovereign, and the Proſpect of utter Ruin that was before them.

After repreſenting to the People their Condition in the moſt deplorable Colours, under Pretence of telling it to *Henry*, he concluded in their Hearing; "You, Sir! It is to you alone we look up for "Redreſs: you are wiſe and powerful; we want a "Protector, and to whom ſhould we apply but "you. We are the antient Subjects of your Fa"mily; and we periſh if you refuſe us your Pro"tection."

Henry anſwer'd the Biſhop's premeditated Speech with premeditated Tears. "Yes, *Normans*, ſaid he, "I will make your Caſe my own; whatever Relief "is in the Power of a King of *England*, you ſhall "receive."

Henry continu'd the War, and *Robert* could make little Defence. Whenever the Conqueror ſpoke, Love to the *Normans*, and Compaſſion for his Brother, were on his Tongue; but his Heart harbour'd no Thought except Ambition.

The Year 1105 cloſed upon his Succeſſes, and leaving Garriſons in the conquer'd Towns, and putting every Thing upon the ſureſt Footing; he return'd to *England*, determin'd to employ the Winter in raiſing Money, and training new Forces; and in every Step that might promote the abſolute Reduction of the Country.

Robert ſaw all, and felt all. He perceiv'd a ſucceſsful Enemy preparing new Force againſt him; and himſelf deſtitute of Friends, Troops, or what would have bought both, Money: he had no Chance in Oppoſition, and he ſued for Peace.

He offer'd the moſt advantageous Terms to *Henry*; but he refuſed to hear them. He told the *Engliſh* Nobility he was determin'd, with the Favour of Heaven, to reduce the Kingdom to Obedience: that he look'd upon *Robert*, as a Man for his refuſing the Crown of *Jeruſalem*, forſaken of God: and that if they would conſpire with him to the effecting his Purpoſe, there was nothing they might not expect from his Favour.

Often as they had been deceived by theſe Promiſes of their *Norman* Kings, they believed now; and they join'd heartily in his Intereſts, and Projects.

Seeing them thoroughly in his Deſigns, he let them into his Thoughts. He told them there might be ſome who for intereſted Reaſons would be inclin'd to his Brother; and that the Way to be ſecure from them was, to awe them to Quietneſs. That this might be done no Way ſo well as by increaſing the Naval Power of the Iſland, its natural Strength, and its beſt Glory.

All agreed: Money was raiſed with Spirit for the Purpoſe, and in the Beginning of the Year 1106, *Henry* ſet ſail in a much more formidable Manner than the preceeding Year for *Normandy*. He was at the Head of a very fine Fleet, ſuperior in Strength to any then on Foot; and while his Brother trembled, the other Nations of *Europe* ſaw his Strength with Envy.

Britain again, after ſo much Miſmanagement, and ſo long Neglect, ſtood upon her proper and honourable Foundation, a Strength at Sea; which at once ſet her far above Fear of Invaſions, and gave her Powers to ſpeak the Law to others.

With Henry went on this Occaſion the Flower of the *Engliſh*, and of the *Norman* Nobility: all earneſt in the Hope of Conqueſt: there was not a Soldier but who thought Death, or the Reduction of *Normandy* was his ſole Alternative.

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CHAP. III.

The Battle of Tinchebray.

ROBERT could not oppoſe his landing; but he prepared to ſtop his Progreſs. He put himſelf at the Head of his beſt Force: he obtain'd ſome Troops from *France*; and calling together the *Norman* Nobility, he explain'd to them the Nature of the Circumſtance.

"*Henry*, ſays he, my Lords, is not fighting for "you but for himſelf; he will be to you as he is "to me, tyrannous, deaf, and oppreſſive. What-"ever are my Faults they are not theſe, nor ſo bad "as theſe. Think, and let your own Intereſt guide "you."

They ſaw there was Reaſon in what he ſaid, and moſt of them join'd him. The *Engliſh* Exiles came in alſo with their full Strength; and every Day his Troops increaſed: he promiſed every Thing to them in caſe of Succeſs; and by their Numbers, and their Spirit, he was led to conceive Hope.

While this Force was getting together, *Henry* laid Siege to *Tinchebray*. The Garriſon defended it reſolutely; and *Robert*, with the unanimous Advice of his Nobles, march'd to its Relief; fought *Henry*; and ſet the Chance of the Diſpute upon a ſingle Action.

He was unfortunate. *Henry* was the ſtronger, and was ſucceſsful, and this Action gave him *Normandy*. Beſide a great Number that fell, the chief of the *Norman* Nobility who had join'd *Robert* were made Priſoners, and himſelf ſhared the ſame Fate, from which his Brother never freed him: he languiſh'd ſix and twenty Years, and dy'd in Priſon.

He was detain'd in *Cardiffe Caſtle*, in *Wales*, and, it is ſaid by ſome, was there blinded by order of his Brother: but ſo many are ſilent on this Head, perhaps it is not true.

It was now forty Years ſince the Battle of *Haſtings* gave the *Britiſh* Crown to the *Normans*; and this Action was as deciſive of the Fate of *Normandy*, giving it to the *Britons*.

Men ſhould have ſeen by *Henry*'s Conduct to his Brother what they were to expect themſelves. What Good could come from one who had not natural Affection! They felt it, and till then they would not think of it.

His Neglect of Promiſes began the new Scene, and he compleated it by Inſolence and an oppreſſive Severity more than equal to any the People had ſuffer'd under his Predeceſſors.

Britain, however its People ſuffer'd, yet as a Kingdom, grew great. It was ſtrong in Land Force, and poſſeſſed of a Naval Strength that gave Umbrage to all the neighbouring Powers.

There are two Cauſes which bring Enemies upon a Country: its Weakneſs and its Strength. *Britain* had often ſuffer'd by the former, Rapine, Murder, Conqueſt follow'd from it: now it was its Turn to be troubled from the latter Principle. All hate what they fear; and who was it at this Time that did not fear *Britain*.

Such was the Proſperity and Glory of our Country, in the firſt Period of the twelfth Century.

The firſt who caught the Alarm was the *French* King. *Lewis the Groſs* had now ſucceeded *Philip*; he had look'd with an unpleaſed Eye at *Henry*'s Succeſſes in *Normandy*; and now he ſaw the Country wholly in his Hands, he was uneaſy at ſo powerful a Neighbour.

Henry ſaw nothing of his Jealouſy: he would have ſlighted it if more apparent; but it was the Caution of *Lewis* to conceal it. He waited to ſee ſome Accident, or ſome Neglect weaken the Naval Force of *Britain*. For while ſuch a Navy as the Iſle now poſſeſſed was at the Command of ſo enterprizing a Sovereign, he trembled for himſelf when he thought of offending.

The Year 1107 gave him ſome Hope; not that any Thing amiſs happen'd to the Iſland, or that its Navy was neglected. On the contrary, its Strength was in this Article redundant; and a large Fleet failed on the famous Expedition, the Cruſade. That was the School of War; and *Britain* now at Peace within herſelf, ſent her Youth thither.

All the Hiſtories that treat of the Holy War, are loud in the Story of this Armament.

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CHAP. IV.

The Diſputes of France *with* BRITAIN.

LEWIS, who ſaw no other Accident, took Advantage of this: he was determin'd to do ſomething, and the Navy of the Iſland was by this Expedition much weaken'd.

In 1108 ſome Diſputes broke out about the Fortreſs of *Griſors*. *Lewis* was the Complainant; and *Henry*, who tho' not ſuſpicious, was, when alarm'd, very apprehenſive of the Enemy's Deſigns, ſaw this was but a Pretence of Quarrel.

He conſider'd where *France* would be moſt likely to be troubleſome, and found it out of queſtion would be in *Normandy*. He employ'd Emiſſaries ſecretly, but carefully; and found he had not gueſs'd idly.

There was alive in *Normandy*, a Youth, Son of *Robert*, whoſe Name was *William Crito*. He was a Boy, but much eſteem'd for his promiſing Qualities; and pity'd univerſally for his Misfortunes. Him *Lewis* fix'd upon as his Engine and Inſtrument to trouble *Henry*. So long as this, more than ſeven hundred Years, has *France* play'd the Game of a Pretender againſt the Kings of *Britain*.

Henry got Intelligence of this, and he ſaw all the Conſequences. He gave Orders to have his Nephew apprehended; and had not Chance more than his Good-nature prevailed to ſave the Youth, he, like his Father, would probably have ſeen no Light thereafter but that of a Priſon.

He was happier: an honeſt Tutor found Means for his Eſcape.

Lewis ſaw all his Deſigns were known, and he took no Care to diſguiſe his Conduct: but he found no Means to be troubleſome. *Henry* was too powerful. While *Britain* is Commandreſs of the Seas, ſhe may deſpiſe the Hatred, and the Envy of the World.

Year paſt after Year with no favourable Event to *France*. *Lewis*, who could not cauſe Troubles in *Normandy*, watch'd the riſing of any, and ſtood ready to improve them.

The King was ſevere in his Diſpoſition, for he was a *Norman*; he gave Offence to many of the *Norman* Nobility, and they were the more ready to revolt, becauſe they knew the *French* would aſſiſt them.

Henry knew this alſo, he kept an even Hand among them; and while he gave up no Part of his Prerogative, he watch'd both the *Normans* and the *French* carefully.

The Earl of *Anjou* in 1111, grew diſaffected at the King's Neglect, and drew the City *Conſtance* to revolt. *Henry* had quick Intelligence; and he kept ready for cruſhing ſuch Rebellions. He knew Speed was all.

The *Britiſh* Navy was kept at this Time in ſuch Order, that a powerful Squadron was always ready at a few Days Notice. The King gave Orders for it now: himſelf embark'd; and to ſtrike Terror on his Enemies, and ſhew his own Greatneſs, he took over twenty Times the Force he needed.

The Sea groan'd beneath his Ships; and the Troops that by his Order met him on the Shore, and cover'd his Landing, were aſtoniſh'd to ſee an Army diſembark; where the King's Preſence only would have been ſufficient.

Henry was right in this, Reſpect follow'd it, and Fear.

The Earl of *Maine* on the other Hand, ſupported by *Lewis* of *France*, march'd a large Force againſt the King: he faced him, and he fell. Not by the Sword, but as a Criminal.

The Action was ſhort, and Fortune inſtantly declared for *Henry*. *Maine* was taken Priſoner, and the King refuſed to hear any Thing from him, or to let any ſpeak in his Behalf. He left him to the Laws; and he was executed as a Rebel.

This ſtruck Terror every where, and *Lewis* was more daunted at the Reſolution of *Henry* than at his Force.

The Earl of *Anjou* was not terrify'd at either. He defended himſelf ſo well, and gave *Henry* ſo much Trouble, that 'twas the Policy of the King to join him to his Family.

Henry conſider'd *Anjou* only as the Tool of *France*, and he found 'twas his Misfortune they had pitch'd upon a Man ſo fit for their Purpoſe, and ſo capable to give him Trouble.

He was detain'd in *Normandy* two Years, and in 1113 finding too much Time likely to be yet taken in this Quarrel, he bought *Anjou* from the Intereſt of *Lewis*. No Man knew better than *Henry* where to employ his Money: but here he uſed another Kind of Bribe. He offer'd Terms of Friendſhip, and to take the Daughter of the Earl of *Anjou* as Wife to the Prince his Son.

There was no reſiſting this. The Hope of giving to his Childrens Children the Crown of *England*, prevailed over every Thing *Lewis* could propoſe to him. He accepted the Friendſhip, and the Alliance of *Henry*, and all Troubles ceas'd. *Normandy* before totally ſubdu'd to the *Engliſh* Crown, now became perfectly ſubmiſſive to that Sovereignty.

We ſee in this Period of our Country's Hiſtory, the vaſt Conſequence of our Navy. 'Twas many Years that it had been neglected, and everlaſting Troubles were the Conſequence; 'twas now reſtored, and kept at its proper Height; and the Conſequence was Peace at Home, and Safety from Abroad.

Five Years of perfect Quietneſs follow'd this prudent Step of Friendſhip with the Earl of *Anjou*; and *France*, which hated *Britain* then as heartily as now, found no Means of giving her Diſturbance.

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CHAP. V.

The Care of Henry *for his Succeſſion.*

HENRY, who now poſſeſſed the Crown in Peace, had no Care but to continue it in his Family. His Son *William* was the natural and proper Heir of *England* and of *Normandy*; but he knew the fickle Temper of the People, and he labour'd to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion more firmly.

He firſt made the Propoſal in *Normandy*, and from its Succeſs there, follow'd the ſame Courſe in *England*. 'Twas in 1115 the *Norman* Nobility took the Oath of Fealty to the Prince; and in the ſucceeding Year 1116, *Henry* called an Aſſembly of the Nobles, and of the Commons at *Saliſbury*, where he propoſed him as Succeſſor, and took their Oaths to acknowledge him. This Aſſembly is by ſome ſtiled the firſt Parliament in *Britain*: the Commons had their Voice here as the Nobles.

Henry having thus eſtabliſh'd the Succeſſion, turned his Thoughts to his immediate Affairs; Troubles in *Normandy* were renew'd, and he ſaw *Lewis* was ever at the Bottom; tho' he always acted as courteouſly, and under as great Concealment as he could.

Twice in the three ſucceeding Years were there Attempts to get *Normandy* from him; and the Pretence each Time was *William Crito*.

Henry determin'd he would be reveng'd. There was an Earl of *Blois*, a Nephew of the King, his Name *Theobald*, famous for the Troubles he gave *Lewis*. *Henry* ſaw him inſulted, and adviſed him to reſent it: he promiſ'd him Support, and *Theobald*, who had enough Reſentment in his Nature, wanted nothing more. He grew very troubleſome to *France*; and *Lewis* ſaw the Cauſe. Each now had his Agent againſt the other; but *Lewis* fired at the Indignity, undertook the Cauſe of the Son of *Robert* more firmly than ever.

He claim'd as Sovereign Lord of *Normandy*, a Right to diſpoſe of that Dutchy. He declared it vacant by the unjuſt Detention of *Robert*, the proper Duke in Priſon: he inveſted *William* his Son with the Command; and engag'd to ſupport him with his Arms.

Here grew up the Appearance of a very ſerious Affair. *Normandy* was claimed from the Crown of *England* in favour of one naturally the Inheritor; and *France* declared herſelf the Aſſertor of his Right.

Henry was the Aſſertor of his own. He declared *England* above the Need of any foreign Aid, able alone to defend herſelf, and to preſerve her Provinces.

They err who ſay *Henry* was then in *Normandy*, he was in *Britain*; where he order'd every Thing to be got ready for a large Force, declaring he would humble the *French* King, or ſhame him.

He embark'd on board a fine Squadron, carry'd with him a large Force; and was join'd by a much greater there. *Lewis* was before in *Normandy*; nor did he come without Aſſiſtance.

The Earl of *Flanders* had furniſh'd Troops to the Occaſion, for the Jealouſy of *Britain*'s eſtabliſh'd Power ſpread farther than was thought; and 'twas the Language of the meaneſt Soldier, that *Lewis* would inſiſt on his Inveſtiture of *William*, and not leave *Normandy* till every one acknowledg'd him.

This was the Voice of Sovereign and of Subject for ſome Weeks, for *Lewis* was in *Normandy* before the King of *England*; but his Arrival chang'd the Language, and the Conduct of the *French*.

The King's Fleet ſtruck Terror; the Number, and the Spirit of his Officers diſhearten'd the *French*; and *Lewis*, who was to have advanced to fight the King as ſoon as he ſhould land, march'd back with his beſt Speed.

Henry ſmiled at his Fears, and was ſoon addreſs'd by Meſſage. *France* was both ſhamed and humbled; and *Lewis* ſought a Reconciliation.

Henry had his Reaſons for wanting to be in *England*, or he had not liſten'd to the Embaſſy ſo readily.

He kept a haughty Countenance, and anſwer'd, "If his Brother of *France* was ſenſible of his Error, "and deſired Peace, he muſt quit *Normandy*, and "give up *Griſors*. Theſe, he added, were no hard "Terms, but he would hear no Palliation. As to "his future Conduct, he left *Lewis* to himſelf: I "ſhall always be as ready, ſaid he, as now, to meet "him in my *Norman* Dominions, and doubt not "that will keep him from them."

Lewis conſented to the Terms; and *Henry* return'd to *Britain*. The Church was growing troubleſome. A Legate was coming in without the King's Leave, and *Henry* was too much a King to ſuffer an Indignity. He quitted greater Advantages to avoid this diſagreeable Incident.

CHAP. VI.

An Action in Normandy.

THUS cloſed upon *Britain* the Year 1118, but *Lewis* who had in earneſt ſet about the Reduction of *Normandy*, in favour not of the young Son of *Robert*, but at the Bottom for himſelf, did not give up the Cauſe ſo tamely. A Treaty bound this *Lewis* no more than his Succeſſors of the ſame Name; that is, it kept Peace only till he was ready to do Miſchief.

His Force was ready by the ſucceeding Year in better Order than the laſt, and he again pour'd the whole Torrent of his Arms on *Normandy*.

Henry was inactive. The Hiſtory of thoſe Times is not carefully preſerv'd. "*Malmſbury* ſays, he "was at *Roan* all the Time, and he is quoted againſt "thoſe who ſay he was in *England*;" but the latter is far more probable. They know little of the Character of this Prince, who ſuppoſe he ſat to ſee the Ravages of a foreign Enemy, through Careleſſneſs, or want of Courage.

The moſt probable Fact is, that he remain'd in *Britain*, detain'd by Troubles here, from vindicating in *Normandy* his perſonal Honour, and the Faith of Treaties.

Toward the Cloſe of the Summer, he appear'd in *Normandy* at the Head of a very conſiderable Force. He ſmiled at the violent Boaſts, and ſlight Succeſſes of the Enemy, and ſaid to his Officers, "I have been taught right by my great Father, that "the Way to vanquiſh the *French*, is to let them "ſpend their firſt Fury."

He march'd to the Enemy, elated with their little Advantages, and gave them Battle.

The Action was very bloody, and at the firſt Onſet all ſeem'd to go in favour of the *French*. The King ſaw ſome of his Officers ſlow, and riding forward, he called to 'em, "Follow." He thought his Example was the beſt Leſſon; and not one of all the *Greek* Heroes ever more diſtinguiſh'd himſelf.

The *French* began to be diſhearten'd by the Spirit the King's Example gave to his own Troops.

An Officer in their Army ſaw this, and perceiving the Fate of the Day turning upon the Courage of a ſingle Arm, ruſh'd forward. "Tho' a King, ſaid "he, I oppoſe you: will not my Arm fall as hea"vily as yours."

Here was a very ſingular Incident. The King diſdain'd to avoid the Challenge: *Criſpin* (that was his Adverſary's Name) was ſtrong and nimble: after two or three fruitleſs Strokes, his Sword fell with the full Edge upon the King's Head.

The *Engliſh* gave up all, but they were ſoon reviv'd: the King was cover'd with Blood, but in a Moment his Adverſary lay at his Feet, a Priſoner; his next Stroke had brought him down.

The *Engliſh* ſhouted, and the *French* never look'd up afterwards.

Here was a King worthy to wear a Crown; aye, of *Britain*. The Fortune of the Day was now wholly with the *Engliſh*. The *French* loſt a vaſt Number of Men, and their Royal Standard, which was carried to *Roan* in triumph.

Lewis was ſtung with the Loſs of his Glory: he offer'd Battle again, but *Henry* expected it with Temper, and did not ſeek it. Whether a ſecond was fought this Year does not appear with Certainty. If there were, the Event was doubtful. The Plan of *Lewis* had been deep laid, and hitherto boldly, but unſucceſsfully executed.

CHAP. VII.

The Church is raiſed to violent Meaſures.

LEWIS diſturb'd by his Rebuff, and diſhearten'd by the Dread he ſaw his People univerſally entertain of an *Engliſh* Army, deſpair'd of winning *Normandy* in the Field; and took a ſingular Method to accompliſh it without Blood.

Calixtus the Second, who now filled the Papal Chair, was at that Time in *France*. *Lewis* apply'd to him: he repreſented his Enemy as the Foe of Religion alſo, and try'd to rouſe the Indignation of the Pontiff. Some Diſputes there had been in *England* with the Power of the Church, but they had not been carry'd to Extreams. The Pope ſaw the Temper of *Henry*, and he was inclin'd to hate him; but he perceived alſo his Prudence and his Strength, and Fear prevailed above Reſentment.

'Twas enough that *Lewis* found what was his Diſpoſition; he knew how to improve it. He prevailed with him to convene a Council at *Rheims*; and the *Engliſh* Biſhops were ſummon'd to it. *Henry* gave free Permiſſion to their going. "But, my "Lords, hear me, ſaid he: we have Reſpect and "Reverence for the holy Chair, but not a ſervile "Spirit of Submiſſion. Salute his Holineſs in my "Name; regard his Apoſtolical Precepts; but ſee "that you bring home no *Innovations*."

They were diſpleaſed with the abſolute Temper of the King, but they concealed it: they could not bear Commands, nor even Inſtructions; for every Biſhop was a little Pope.

Lewis had Spies among them: he was rejoiced to find their ill Diſpoſition to the King, and he took every Method to improve it.

Henry ſuſpected nothing, till he heard that in this Council, conſiſting chiefly of *French* Biſhops, it was moved to excommunicate him.

The Crime was his detaining tyrannouſly the Perſon and Dominions of his elder Brother; whoſe Expedition in the Holy War made him a Ward of the Church.

The Point of *Lewis* was to get the *Norman* Dominions at any Rate out of the Hands of *Henry*; a King of *England* was too ſtrong a Neighbour, *Robert*, or *Robert*'s Son, 'twas all alike to him, ſo *Henry* was routed. If the Youth ſucceeded he ſaw farther Advantages, and look'd upon it as much the ſame with winning the Dukedom for himſelf; but at all Events *Henry* was to be remov'd.

The *Engliſh* Biſhops were far from oppoſing the Excommunication of their King; and happy it was for *Henry* that he heard of it. He had but one Way to extricate himſelf, and that he took; and he ſucceeded by his Reſolution.

All was going againſt him in the Council; and *Lewis* triumphing in this moſt compleat of all Victories, when *Henry* ſent a private Meſſage to the Pope; "I know you hate me; but a King is to be fear'd. "My Fleet and Armies will not allow this Sen"tence. Therefore, Sir, not for my Sake ſo much, "as for the Honour and the Power of the Church, "I hope you will ſtop this Sentence, which may "involve all Chriſtendom. It is the common Cauſe "of all her Kings."

The Pope heard Reaſon. He declared againſt the Meaſure, and promiſed he would perſonally exhort the King of *England* to do his Brother Juſtice.

This was a Voice from which there was no Appeal: the *Engliſh* Biſhops trembled, and *Lewis* found the Pope juſt in his own Condition; he hated *Henry*; but he fear'd him more than he hated him.

Arms and Cunning were alike ineffectual againſt the Name of *Henry*. *Lewis* ſaw it, and he lamented: all that remain'd was, the Pope's ſingle Voice; and from this he expected little againſt ſo wiſe and powerful a Prince as *Henry*.

However, as it was all that could be done, he contented himſelf with uſing every Method with his Holineſs to urge him to be earneſt in the Cauſe of the impriſon'd *Robert*. He had not much Proſpect of Succeſs as Things appear'd to him; but had he been more in the Secret he would have had leſs: he did not know of *Henry*'s private Meſſage.

CHAP. VIII.

An Interview between the Pope and Henry.

CALIXTUS, tho' he did not like the Office, could not avoid complying with this Meeting: he had propoſed, and *Henry* had accepted it. The Church is haughty, but 'tis an Inſolence founded on Fear, and drop'd before the fearleſs.

The Pope came to *Griſors*; the Fortreſs yielded by the *French* to *Henry*, and now his Reſidence. Nothing of that ſtern Sovereignty was on his Brow, that is ſeen on other Occaſions: upon the unclouded Forehead of *Henry* ſat Reſpect, but with it Independance.

Their Faces were as Books in which the Event of the Conference might be read before either ſpoke.

“You have taken *Normandy*, ſaid the Pope, by Force, from your Brother, its natural Lord.” “Not from my Brother, reply'd *Henry*, but from a Set of Robbers and Squanderers, who were, through his Neglect, waſting the Treaſures of his Family, and of mine. Beſide, my Lord, this has not been my Act: the Church deſired me by her reverend Prelates; and told me all was loſt unleſs I ſaved her.”

The Face of his Holineſs ſhew'd a Deſire of being ſatisfied. *Henry* read it plainly, and he improv'd it. He drop'd the reſolute Tone with which he had ſpoke hitherto, and added, “Thus may it pleaſe your Holineſs, it becomes me to ſpeak, as a King, Sovereign of *Britain*, and Vindicator of the Church and People in *Normandy*; but *Henry* ſpeaking to *Calixtus*, uſes another Language, and calls himſelf his moſt obedient Son: requeſts his Bleſſing, which he will always ſtudy to deſerve; and prays that his Holineſs, and theſe his reverenced Cardinals, will accept an Offering from what God, thro' their good Prayers, has given him.”

Henry knew the Value, but he alſo knew the Uſe of Money; no Man paid better for good Terms; and this was one of his Purchaſes. 'Twas better to buy Peace, than to engage in an Oppoſition to the Church, even tho' with the beſt Proſpect of Succeſs. He beſtow'd magnificent Preſents not only upon the Pope, but every Cardinal; and the Gold and the Fear work'd ſo well together, that at his Holineſſes Return no more was heard of Favour to the impriſon'd Duke; no Recollection of the Holy Wars: but *Calixtus* declared *Henry* had juſtify'd his Proceeding by the moſt weighty Reaſons, and that he never ſaw ſo wiſe or eloquent a Prince.

The Troubles of *Normandy* now were ended, *Lewis* had been beaten into Peace: the Church, by the Mouth of the Pope himſelf, confirm'd the Juſtice of *Henry*'s Proceedings; and there was neither Hope nor Colour for a new Undertaking.

Henry ſaw all was ſafe, and he gave Orders for his Return to *Britain*.

His Fleet had long kept every foreign Enemy at Peace; and he every Year increaſed its Strength. He determin'd to return like a King; and he order'd, not for Security but Pomp, a large Squadron to convoy him. The Rendeſvouz was *Barfleur*: *Henry* aſſembled all his Nobles there; and paid the Pope the Compliment of waiting for the making an eſtabliſh'd Peace with *Lewis*. 'Twas Form to ſign the Paper, for he knew the Treaty was eſtabliſh'd in his Heart. *Lewis* indeed now deſpair'd of his great Enterprize.

CHAP. IX.

The Death of the Prince.

THE Navy of *Britain* ſo much reſpected, and ſo much fear'd throughout *Europe*, ſhew'd a fine Example of its Splendor in the Squadron that lay to wait the King off *Barfleur*. All was Feſtivity and Triumph; only the Biſhops mourn'd; and they in ſecret.

The Treaty was no ſooner executed than the King embark'd.

The Prince, to whom he had aſſured the Succeſſion, both in *England* and in *Normandy*, by Oath of the Nobles and the People, had attended him in this Expedition. He was now ſixteen. A Youth of promiſing Genius, and great natural Goodneſs.

The Flower of the *Britiſh* Youth accompany'd him, as their Fathers did the King. 'Twas in the Year 1120 they embark'd for *England*; and in a ſtormy Seaſon, within four or five Days of the End of *November*.

The King was on board the largeſt Veſſel in the Squadron; the Prince had fix'd upon a ſmaller, diſtinguiſh'd by the Elegance of its Ornaments. With him the Youths all embark'd, and they ſaw the King out and ſtaid carouſing. It was the Pride of the Prince to call himſelf a Sailor; he affected to underſtand the Structure and Management of a Ship; and he took ſo much Pains to do it, that if it had pleas'd Heaven to ſpare him for the Throne, probably his would have eclipſed all former Reigns in its Navy.

He order'd his Pilot to ſee the King fairly out of Sight, and then to take Care he overtook him. The Pilot told him that was impoſſible; but if his Highneſs pleas'd, they might be firſt in *England*.

This anſwer'd all his Wiſhes. He promis'd him a great Reward if he landed him the firſt Ship, and every Hand was buſy in the Endeavour. The Sea is too unſafe an Element for theſe Expeditions: the Eagerneſs of the Pilot ran the Veſſel on a Rock. She ſplit.

The firſt Care of the Sailors was to ſave the Prince; they hoiſted out the Boat, and got him into it: he was ſafe near Shore when a Female Voice reach'd his Ears; and a virtuous Compaſſion called him back. It was *Matilda*; his natural Siſter: ſhe ſaw Deſpair in every Face on board, and ſhe ſhriek'd with all the Terror of a fearful Woman on the immediate Approach of Death.

The Prince order'd them to row back: they beg'd to land him firſt, as they were near, but he would not hear of it. They got to the Ship, and the Princeſs was taken into the Boat; but by this Time the nearer Approach of Death had got the better of Reſpect; ſo many leap'd in that the Boat ſunk, and all were drown'd.

Thoſe who remain'd in the Ship had no Recourſe but ſwimming, 'twas a long Way to Shore; and few could reach it: about eight eſcap'd, and they told the Story.

Beſide the Prince and *Matilda*, there periſh'd by this Accident, of the King's Family, another Son *Richard*, and a Niece.

Henry ſtruck his Breaſt upon the News; and with Eyes ſwimming with Tears, look'd up to Heaven. His Sorrow was too great for Words; and the Impreſſion never left him. 'Tis ſaid he never ſmiled afterwards.

CHAP. X.

Of the Succeſſion of BRITAIN.

HENRY, who tho' not without Faults, was in every Thing a King; had pleaſed himſelf with the Thoughts of leaving a Son upon the Throne, and preſerving to a long Line of Deſcendants, the Crown he had won ſo difficultly.

He was diſtreſs'd to the utmoſt at this terrible Accident; not only paternal Fondneſs felt the Blow, but Ambition. The Son he had loſt he never could recover: he could not expect ſo much Life as to ſee another arrive at his Age, nor ſo uncommon Favour of Fortune as that he ſhould be again bleſſed with one of ſo much Virtue.

But tho' the particular Loſs was irreparable, the general Concern was not ſo deſperate. He was not paſt an Age of having Children; and the ſame Thought remaining in his Heart, Ambition, led him to marry.

Toward the Cloſe of the ſucceeding Year, he eſpous'd a Daughter of the Earl of *Louvain*, *Adeliza*. The Kingdom was flatter'd, more than once with Expectation from this Match; but in vain, for ſhe proved childleſs.

The Year of *Henry*'s Marriage was not a Year of perfect Peace, his Subjects fear'd him, and many of them lov'd him; and in *Normandy*, the Terror of his Reſentment, and the Senſe of his Strength kept all quiet: but the *Welch*, whoſe mutinous Princes never failed to take every Advantage to revolt and plunder, fell upon the *Engliſh* in this Period of ſuppos'd Security, and did great Damage.

The King, impatient after ſo many Succeſſes, to be braved at home by ſuch a petty Enemy, order'd out a large Force, put himſelf at their Head, and by quick Marches came up with the Enemy. A Prince of the Name of *Griffin* commanded them: he had the Prudence to retire at the Approach of the Royal Army; and the King preſſing the Advantage, follow'd him.

Griffin, who had no Deſire to fight upon his own Ground, had Recourſe to Stratagem; he placed an Ambuſh cunningly, where he intended by his Flight to lead the King; and he gave every Man Orders to take Aim only at him.

Henry, who had ſome Days purſued the flying Enemy, thought nothing of his Danger. He puſh'd his Courſe after the *Welch* Prince, and he fell into the Snare.

The Arrows in a manner cover'd him; and two ſtuck in his Breaſt-plate. The Party who had ſhot them had their Orders: they thought they had done the Buſineſs; and they fled.

The *Engliſh* look'd upon the King as loſt, but he eſcap'd without a Wound: two Cauſes conſpir'd to ſave him, his own good Armour, and their Eagerneſs, for they diſcharg'd their Arrows at too much Diſtance.

Griffin receiv'd the News, and heard with Tranſport that the King was killed. He was conſidering what beſt Uſe he was to make of the Advantage, when he ſaw him unhurt upon a diſtant Hill, leading his Horſe upon the Spur againſt him.

From the Dreams he entertain'd a Moment before of Plunder, nothing now came into his Mind but Compoſition; he ſent an Offer of Terms: and the King finding the Rocks inacceſſible, liſten'd. He made him pay a large Sum, and ſwear Peace and good Faith; and he left *Wales* terrify'd for ſome time into Fidelity.

Henry but half reliſh'd his Succeſſes: the Thought of Succeſſion dwelt unalterably upon his Mind; and he was ſad in all his good Fortune.

CHAP. XI.

The Normans *give freſh Trouble.*

THE Succeſs againſt the *Welſh* ſeem'd to *Henry* and to every Body, to have enſured laſting quiet to the Country; but Kings are not made for Reſt.

France could not ſtir in *Normandy*; but there were ſtill Princes who might. All hate what they envy; and theſe had another Cauſe of Enmity againſt *Henry*, their Fear.

All theſe Years the Navy of *Britain* held the Command of the Seas, ſo that nothing could be attempted here; but *Normandy* lay open: there was ſtill a Pretender to the Dukedom, and he was made the Tool of all who ſought to give *Henry* Diſturbance.

In the Year 1123, the ſecret Emiſſaries of theſe ſeveral Powers ſtir'd up Commotions in that Province. *William* was ſtill the Pretext. *Robert* could not be recover'd from the Chains of *Henry*; but this Nephew was at all Times ready to ſet up his Claim.

Alwin, Earl of *Montfort*, this Year declared for him, and a Number of the *Norman* Barons join'd him. The moſt diſtinguiſh'd of theſe was *De Mellent*, Lord of *Pont Andemer*. Theſe promiſ'd themſelves Mountains, and thoſe who join'd them.

The Councils, and the Treaſures of the neighbouring Princes ſupported the Plot; and all was ripe for a Revolt, when *Henry*, whoſe Fleets were always in a Condition of Service, appear'd upon the Coaſt with a large Squadron, his Convoy.

He landed, and thoſe who wiſh'd well to the Conſpiracy, fear'd him too much to act now he was preſent.

He had taken over ſome Troops, others he order'd to join him there: he took the Field; and for his firſt Operation laid Siege to *Pont Andemer*, the Fortreſs of *De Mellent*.

He took it; but the Owner had eſcap'd; and with ſome Forces kept the Field, in Conjunction with the firſt Author of the Plot, *Alwin* of *Montfort*.

The King gave Orders for ſtrengthening the Fortreſſes in ſome important Places, and march'd againſt this Force. The two Commanders fell into an Ambuſh, and nothing could extricate them from the Danger. Neither of them wanted Courage; nor was the Party then with them unfaithful, but the Odds were too great. They yielded themſelves Priſoners; and with their Submiſſion ended the whole Diſturbance.

The Church was at this Time in a very unſettled Condition in *England*: not that the King interfer'd, but the Clergy ſhook off ſome of the common Submiſſion to the Pope. They marry'd; and they ſlighted the ſeveral Meſſages from *Rome*, commanding them to ſeparate themſelves from their Wives.

The Pope who knew very well the Temper, and the Spirit of the King, did not care to go farther, while he was upon the Spot; but thinking the Troubles in *Normandy* would detain him ſome time there, he ſlip'd a Legate into *England*.

The People hated ſuch an Officer: the Church fear'd him; and the King was jealous of a Power in his Dominions, independant on himſelf, for ſuch was that of a Legate; nay ſuperior: for they could excommunicate Kings, and abſolve Oaths of Allegiance, while the Princes of Chriſtendom were tame enough to pay that Homage.

The King return'd while the Synod was called by the Legate, and every Eye was upon him. Nothing leſs was now expected by the Multitude, than his turning the Legate out of his Dominions. But theſe did not know the King: his Honour, or Ambition, were not concern'd whether Prieſts liv'd ſingle or marry'd; but he ſaw his Intereſt might; and he cajol'd the Pope to favour it.

He declared for the Senſe of the Synod; and ſupported their Determinations.

The Church in general was pleaſed with this extreamly, though the particular Clergy who came under the Laſh repin'd.

The Conſequence was, that the King after exerting himſelf at this Time in Support of the Church's Orders, deſired of the Pope that he might for the future be entruſted in his own Dominions with the Diſpenſations of them.

This was a Power yet committed to no ſecular Prince; but the Pope, charm'd with the Zeal of *Henry*, granted it. 'Twas ſettled in form in the Year 1129, and the Church ſaw the Reaſon.

Henry ſhew'd the People he knew how to Pope it with the beſt of them. He was rigorous againſt the Marriage of Prieſts; but he would at any Time for a good Sum grant Diſpenſations.

The Clergy were rich enough to pay for their Licence; they were pamper'd into a good Condition for wiving; and they paid freely. The King pocketed the Money, and ſatisfy'd himſelf Religion ſuffer'd nothing by it. There were thoſe who were diſcontented, but none dared to complain.

CHAP. XII.

The ſecond Care of Henry *for the Succeſſion.*

THE King having got the better of all Diſturbances, and made himſelf more abſolute than any preceding Sovereign of this Iſland, found nothing to give him Diſquiet but the Thought of Succeſſion. It griev'd him to reflect upon the natural Conſequences of his dying childleſs; he ſaw no Hope of any Thing beſide; and his Eye was caſt upon his Daughter, marry'd ſome Years before to the Emperor, and now a Widow.

A Female Deſcendant was not his Choice; but he held that far preferable to a Sovereign of any other Line.

He called an Aſſembly of the Nobles and Commons; if the Reader pleaſe, a Parliament; where he diſclos'd his Deſign. He made a long and well concerted Speech for this Purpoſe. He enumerated his beſt Actions; drop'd his worſe in Silence; and concluded, that tho' no King was faultleſs, he hoped his Reign ſo honourable to the Kingdom, had not been diſpleaſing to his People.

He told them, as it had not pleas'd Heaven to bleſs him with a Son ſince the Loſs of the Prince, he could propoſe to them only a Female Deſcendant for his Succeſſion, *Matilda* his Daughter; deſcended from the antient *Saxon* Kings.

He requeſted them, to give him Peace of Mind; and to ſecure their Country from the Blood of Civil Broils, to acknowledge her preſumptive Heir to the Crown.

The Modeſty of an abſolute Sovereign never is leſs powerful than his Authority. They to whom his Requeſts are deliver'd, know they are Commands in another Form; and will be follow'd by Commands if not punctually comply'd with.

The Anſwer of the Aſſembly was unanimous; that none but the Deſcendant of their King was entitled to the Throne; and while they were in the proteſting Mood, he made them ſwear to her.

Stephen, Earl of *Bologne*, the King's Nephew, was preſent at this great Aſſembly, and was the firſt to ſwear. The Oath was, That if *Henry* dy'd without Male Iſſue, they would place *Matilda* on the Throne.

The Oath was propos'd, and taken without Conditions; but the King ſhould have conſider'd what might be the Conſequences of every Action upon this Occaſion. He found his Error. The Nobles all ſwore to place *Matilda* on the Throne, becauſe *Matilda* was a Widow, and not a Man of them but hop'd to be her Huſband, tho' only one could ſucceed.

The Expectation was equally that of every one; and they ſaw plainly enough, that to be Huſband to the Queen, would be in effect to reign; that a little Conduct would make her Huſband in every Inſtance but the Title, abſolute King, and that their Children muſt be Kings.

The Policy of *Henry* here failed him. He had not been aware of this; he did not perceive how much the Widowhood of *Matilda* had contributed to the Readineſs with which his Subjects took the Oath; and he marry'd her ſoon after to a Son of the Earl of *Anjou*. He had his Reaſons for this Match, but he conſulted neither her Inclinations, nor the Peoples Pleaſure.

Their Hearts were turn'd againſt her, and againſt the Succeſſion to which they had ſworn. They might have been content perhaps while each had his Chance, and one of themſelves had ſucceeded, but this ran exactly counter to all their Hopes. This was bringing in a foreign Sovereign, and placing the Crown upon the Deſcendants of one who had no Claim, Share, or Title to the Honour.

Theſe were their Thoughts, but they concealed them. What Lamb dares bleat within the Lion's Den?

Miſchief was brooding, but for the preſent all was quiet. *Henry* had done what he could to ſecure the Crown to his ſole Iſſue; and he had taken a very prudent Meaſure for his own Time in this Connection with the Family of *Anjou*. The Thunder ſlept at preſent: but the Sky lower'd.

CHAP. XIII.

The French *renew their Diſturbances.*

LEWIS, who never had quitted the Hope of driving *Henry* out of *Normandy*, had now taken his Time to recruit, and laid his Meaſures with Caution; and he open'd a new Scene of Action. All tended to the ſame Point; and it was plain he labour'd it many Ways at once.

William Crito, the Nephew of *Robert*, and Pretender to the *Norman* Dominions, had hitherto been a ſingle helpleſs Man, ready to ſtir when others gave him Motion, but in himſelf nothing: but there approach'd a Time in which *Henry* was to diſpute that Province with a Man of more important Character.

He had his Emiſſaries every where, and in 1128, he learn'd that ſomething was negotiating between the King of *France*, and this young Adventurer; what the Matter was remain'd a Secret, till it broke out at once in *Lewis*'s inveſting *William* with the Earldom of *Flanders*.

France now had given an everlaſting Plague to *England*: a Pretender to at leaſt the *Norman* Dominions, who had Power and Intereſt.

Henry ſaw the Purpoſe, and he ſwore Revenge. He was a King worthy to be placed as an Example before all ſucceeding Sovereigns of *Britain*, when *France* ſhall dare to inſult them. He oppos'd Artifice by Artifice, and Enmity by Arms.

He play'd the Game of *France* upon itſelf in *Flanders*, oppoſing a Pretender to the new inveſted Earl. *Theodoric* of *Alſace*, had always made a Claim to that Earldom; this *Henry* now ſpirited him up to vindicate, and engag'd himſelf to aſſert his Title with his Arms.

He bought ſome of the *Flemiſh* Towns, and he aw'd others. 'Twas the King of *Britain*, not *Theodoric* they regarded; but they declared for him univerſally, and rejected the *French* Nomination, as calculated not for their Sakes, but to give Diſturbance to *England*.

Lewis was confounded by this Maſter-ſtroke of Policy, but he was allow'd little Time to wonder: *Henry* was in his Kingdom marching a powerful Army to his Capital.

It was the Conduct of this Sovereign always to keep on Foot a Force capable to oppoſe any Inſult, or revenge it; and he had now enter'd *France* with all he had in Readineſs, and with Orders for more to follow him; Orders none could diſpute, becauſe the Iſland had Command of the Seas.

Theodoric ſpirited to any Thing by the firſt Proſpect of his Fortune, grew raſh: *Henry* was ſending him Supplies, but he thought every Hand with him; and perhaps choſe to owe his Title rather to the Voices and the Hands of the People, than to the King of *Britain*.

While *Theodoric* was at the Head of his own Troops, and reinforced by the *Flemings* who declared for him; *Crito* was alſo in Command of an Army about equal; principally ſupply'd from *France*. Never was a Scene in which both Generals were likely to be more active: both fought their own Cauſe; both had the Novelty as well as Dignity of their Poſt to inſpire them; and both had perſonal Courage.

William Crito laid Siege to *Aloſt*, the firſt Town that had declared for *Theodoric*. The People defended the Town gallantly; and he came up to its Relief. An Action enſu'd, in which *William* was ſucceſsful.

The Beſieged loſt Spirit at the Defeat of their Principal; and the Town would ſoon have been *William*'s had not his Death prevented. He was killed before the Place; not upon the Field, but by a Wound that took him off five Days after he receiv'd it.

Lewis received at once the News of *William*'s Death; and of the Approach of the *Engliſh* Army. He offer'd Terms, and *Henry* made them hard ones: he took ſo good Caution for the Security of the Conditions, and threaten'd ſo loud never to liſten to any other if theſe were violated, that he enjoy'd Peace from that Quarter during the whole Remainder of his Reign.

This is the Language in which *England* ſhould always ſpeak to *France*; this never failed in all the Hiſtory of our Tranſactions with that People; nor ever will, ſo long as the *Britiſh* Monarch who uſes it has the Command of the Sea, and the laſt Logick of his Cannon.

Henry return'd full of Glory; and bent his Mind as he had done before, ſolely upon the Succeſſion.

He ſaw the Peoples Diſſatisfaction with the Marriage of *Matilda*; and ſhe ſaw it alſo. She had never been conſulted about the Match, nor had ſhe any Regard for the Perſon of her Huſband: the Conſequences of the Marriage appear'd to her no leſs than the Loſs of the Crown of *Britain*, which ſhe ſhould otherwiſe have worn without Oppoſition; and this to a Woman little addicted to Love, and violently to Ambition, was enough to turn Indifference to Hatred.

She talked with her Father, and their Fears confirm'd one another's. Nothing appear'd adviſeable but a Separation: ſhe had always liv'd upon bad Terms with her Huſband, ſo that Occaſions of Complaint were eaſy; and the King was ready enough to liſten to them: the Pretender to the *Norman* Crown was dead; and all turn'd upon the Senſe of the People here concerning the Succeſſion.

The King, tho' he ſaid little of the Separation of *Matilda*, knew well enough how it would work with the People: he took Advantage of their apparent Approbation, again to propoſe her for the Succeſſion, and the Oath was in 1130 repeated.

It is not eaſy to ſay whether the Quarrel, and the Separation of *Matilda* and her Huſband were the Effect of real Diſguſt, tho' there was enough of that between them; or whether it was a Feint to draw in the *Engliſh* to her Favour.

In 1133 ſhe was deliver'd of a Son. The Prince was named *Henry* after his Grandfather; and the King took every poſſible Meaſure to enſure the Child the Crown.

He again aſſembled the People; he repreſented to them the Miſchiefs of Diſſentions, reſpecting the Succeſſion; and he preſs'd them, if they had been ſatisfy'd with his Reign, to enſure the Crown by Oath to his Daughter, and this his Grandſon. The young Prince was included in the Oath, which was now univerſally taken a third Time to *Matilda*: *Matilda* had after this two other Sons: *Geoffroy* and *William*.

The King flattering himſelf that he had eſtabliſh'd firmly this great Point, went again in 1133, not from Neceſſity but Choice, to viſit his *Norman* Dominions.

Eclipſes were not ſo well underſtood at that Time as they are now; and it happen'd he embark'd the Day of one. Earthquakes and Fire were fancy'd to attend this Phœnomenon; and People thought the King's Death preſag'd by an Incident perfectly in the Courſe of Nature, and which now they enlarg'd with fancy'd Circumſtances.

Robert dy'd this Year, twenty-ſeven Years Priſoner in *Cardiffe Caſtle*. And two Years after dy'd *Henry*: a Surfeit of Lampreys took him off in the Height of Glory, and in perfect Peace.

CHAP. XIV.

The Diſputes ſucceeding the Death of Henry.

THE Death of *Henry* was an Event that threaten'd Blood to *England*. He left two Children, *Matilda* his Legitimate Daughter, Queen by Inheritance, and the thrice repeated Oath of the Nobles and People; and a natural Son, the Earl of *Gloceſter*. To this Prince he recommended on his Death-bed the Care of his Siſter's Fortune; and he ſtood by her nobly.

The People had bound themſelves to *Matilda*, and the Biſhops and the Nobles had ſworn. They had not ſhewn Marks of any ſecret Diſapprobation; *Henry* dy'd ſatisfy'd his Daughter would aſcend the Throne: a happy Deluſion to him who ſo earneſtly deſir'd it.

Stephen, the Earl of *Boloigne*, we have obſerv'd, was the firſt to ſwear he would acknowledge *Matilda*; and when he ſwore it firſt he deſign'd it fully. His Purpoſe was to marry her; for his Eye was upon the Crown; and from the Time when her Marriage to the other fruſtrated that Hope, he entertain'd no Thought but of ſetting up himſelf. He was a Prince of an aſpiring Genius, diſtinguiſh'd by many great Qualities, and beloved and honour'd.

Stephen was Grandſon of *William the Conqueror*, and from the Time of *William*'s Death, he had determin'd to riſk his Life in aiming at the Succeſſion.

He was in *Normandy* when *Henry* was taken ill. He gueſs'd it would be fatal; and he ſent to *England*. His Brother was at this Time Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and with him *Stephen* had often concerted the proper Meaſures in caſe of *Henry*'s Death. He now urg'd him to ſtir up every Intereſt in his Favour.

The Clergy declared for him at once. O reverend Perjury! Thoſe who had three Times ſwore to place *Matilda* on the Throne, ſuppos'd their Oath abſolv'd by his Death at whoſe Deſire they took it, and were the firſt to lead the Generality to its Violation.

This was a vaſt Step in *Stephen*'s Favour. They harangu'd every where, and the Clergy then were more reſpected; and they were more powerful than in theſe Days, when Religion is itſelf derided.

Some of the Nobility were in the Plot; and as to the reſt, they found no Difficulty in breaking their Oaths, when the Biſhops had ſet the Example.

Thoſe who were inclin'd differently, ſaw the Party too ſtrong to oppoſe; and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* wrote to *Stephen* to come over inſtantly; "That "moſt were his Friends; and that his Enemies "dared not be troubleſome."

Stephen came over: he renew'd and doubled all the Promiſes the Clergy had made in his Name, and he found no Difficulty in ſucceeding to the Throne. He was reſpected, and upon the Spot; *Matilda* was abſent, and neglected.

The Clergy came in now with all their Eloquence. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* declared, that 'twas againſt the *Engliſh* Conſtitution to let a Woman reign: therefore their Oath to *Henry* was in itſelf void. That it was obtain'd by Compulſion, and therefore alſo of no Force: that *Matilda* was not only a Woman, but a bad Woman; and that there appear'd in *Stephen* every Virtue that could dignify the nobler Species, and become a Crown.

The Biſhop of *Saliſbury* took up the Cauſe, when the good Prelate laſt named had finiſh'd; and he added, that the Princeſs herſelf had by her own Act, render'd the Oath void: that their Deſign was to have a King of the Lineage of the Conqueror; and that every Eye was upon *Stephen*; whereas ſhe had marry'd a Stranger without the Conſent of the People.

Then ſtood up a principal Officer of the late King, one always near his Perſon, his Name *Hugh Bigod*. He declared that *Henry* on his Death-bed had diſinherited the Princeſs, and nominated as his Succeſſor his Nephew *Stephen*.

This finiſh'd all. *Stephen* was crown'd: but both they who conſtituted him, and himſelf, were ſo ſenſible how much he ow'd his Fortune to their Favour. They ſwore to him conditionally, and he to them abſolutely. His Coronation Oath conſiſted of many Articles, all in favour of the Clergy and People, and in Abridgment of the Royal Power: the Biſhops Oath to him was, That they would be his Subjects ſo long as he preſerv'd the Rights of the Church; and the Nobles, while he continued to them their Eſtates and Honours.

Never was a King of *England* eſtabliſh'd ſo conditionally.

He knew his Intereſt, and he ſtudy'd it carefully under a Pretext of obliging the People.

Early in 1136 he called an Aſſembly of the Nobles and People at *Oxford*, and there deliver'd them a Charter. In this he own'd his Aſcent to the Throne was by their Election; he confirm'd the Liberties of the Clergy, Barons, and People in their full Extent; he aboliſh'd the Foreſt Laws, and ſome others hateful to the *Engliſh*; and revived the beſt of the *Saxon*.

The People thought themſelves bleſſed in a King; and *Stephen* knew he ſhould have Occaſion for all their Love and Steadineſs in his Cauſe. He ſaw they had choſen him King for their own Sakes; and he was glad to be choſen any Way.

The Dread of *Matilda*'s Claim kept him humble, but he had determin'd in fit Time to hold Oaths to them as cheap as they held theirs to *Henry* in electing him; and to trample upon Parchment meant to him as Fetters.

He expected ſeveral Months to hear of the Empreſs; but no News of her. His Heart glad to believe what it wiſh'd, ſuppos'd the Danger over; and he look'd upon himſelf as firm upon the Throne; and began to think light of all his Obligations.

One hateful Practice of the *Norman* Kings, had been the keeping the great Church Preferments vacant, and ſeizing the Effects of thoſe who had dy'd Inteſtate. Theſe Oppreſſions *Stephen* ſwore heartily to remove, and 'twas his Charters Promiſe as well as of his Breath.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſo ſtrenuous in his Election, dy'd about ten Months after. Had *Matilda* been at *Stephen*'s Elbow, he would have remember'd his Oath; the Prelate's Eſtate would have gone to the neareſt of his Kin; and his See would have been filled with ſome Prieſt of Intereſt and Power. But this was not the Caſe: no Troubles threaten'd, and the preſent Advantage courted. He ſeiz'd the Effects, and kept the See vacant.

The King took off the Maſk too early. People who had inſiſted upon Terms as the Condition of his Election, grew loud to ſee them ſo ſoon violated: he ſaw their Affections going; and he found it in many Inſtances impoſſible to regain the Advantages he might ſo eaſily have preſerved.

He ſaw the Storm gathering; and he repented heartily. He beſtow'd abundantly upon thoſe who he thought had moſt Power, not to ſerve but to hurt him; he play'd with Titles and with Honours, and he alienated a great deal of the Crown Revenues to the moſt dangerous of the Nobles.

They were not ſatisfy'd; for generally in theſe Caſes, the more is given the more is requir'd. The Barons aim'd at Independency, and they demanded Leave to fortify their Caſtles. The Pretence was for his Service: for his Defence againſt inteſtine Broils, or foreign Enemies; but the true Deſign was, that they might ſhake off their Allegiance when they pleas'd, and hold their King at Defiance.

Stephen ſaw this, but he was oblig'd to conſent: he acted by them as they by him; giving them their Way till he had Power to check them. This was the State of *Britain* the firſt Year of *Stephen*'s Reign.

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CHAP. XV.

The Nobles rebel.

WHAT the King foreſaw; he quickly felt. *Baldwin de Redners*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, and Lord of the *Iſle of Wight*, was one of the firſt who made the Demand of fortifying his Caſtle, and he was quick in ſhewing the Occaſion.

Exeter was the Place of his Reſidence, and his Fortreſs was ſituated for a long Reſiſtance to any Enemy. When he was prepared to be inſolent he became a Suitor. The Requeſt is not preſerv'd in Hiſtory; but the King gently refuſing his Compliance, *Baldwin* retir'd to *Exeter*, declared himſelf free from his Oath of Allegiance, by the King's Breach of his Engagements, and held him at Defiance.

Stephen determin'd to nip this Miſchief in the Bud. He expected the Example would be follow'd; and he ſhew'd his determin'd Spirit of Reſentment, by ſitting down before *Exeter* with a conſiderable Force.

The City was taken, and afterwards the Caſtle, but not without ſome Blood. The Owner was not found any where; but News came preſently that he was at the Head of a conſiderable Body in the *Iſle of Wight*, his other Inheritance.

Thither the King follow'd, too powerful to be reſiſted. *Baldwin* fled; and the King declared him an Exile, and confiſcated his Effects.

Thus far all went well with *Stephen*; but 'twas not a Fortune that continued with him.

England had at this Time two conſtant Enemies, the *Welch* and *Scots*. If they were ever quiet, it was becauſe the Kingdom was in too good a Poſture of Defence to fear them, or to ſuffer Inſult; they never failed to take Advantage of its Troubles; and now at once the *Scots* and *Welch* fell upon the neighbouring Provinces, when the Revolt of *Baldwin* gave them Opportunity.

Stephen could not be every where; and where his Eye and Arm were not, all went amiſs. The Troops he left to ſerve againſt the *Welch* were all cut to Pieces; and the King, who himſelf went againſt the *Scots*, made but a poor Buſineſs of it.

David, then King of *Scotland*, had ravaged the Northern Provinces, and advanced as far as *Durham*. His Pretence of Quarrel was, that *Matilda*, his Niece, was wrong'd by *Stephen*.

Many Struggles were made on both Sides for Victory; but in the End the two Kings parted upon Terms not very honourable to *Stephen*. *David* was to have *Carliſle*, and his Son the Earldom of *Huntington*. 'Twas his Claim firſt in his own Name; but to that there was an unſurmountable Objection.

Stephen could not grant it otherwiſe than with Homage to himſelf, which *David* utterly refus'd. He had ſworn to allow no Sovereign of *Britain* but *Matilda*; and there was no Compromiſe but this of giving the Earldom to his Son inſtead of himſelf; he having no Oath againſt it.

We ſee the different Temper of the *Scots* and *Engliſh* with reſpect to Oaths; *David* had ſworn among the *Engliſh* Nobility, for he was preſent at the firſt Ceremony, to place the Crown upon the Head of *Matilda*. The Obligation was the ſame on all Parts, but the *Engliſh* broke through it at once, the *Scot* but upon Conditions.

In all this Time nothing was done by any in favour of *Matilda*. Thoſe who were a little more conſcientious than the reſt, talked of her Right, and of the Obligation of their Oath; and thoſe who hated the King, never failed to grumble out the Word Uſurper: but Words were all; and they were ſpoke in Corners.

Toward the Cloſe of the Year 1137, an Incident of great Importance threw all into Action. *Stephen* fell ſick. The Complaint was Paralytick, and his Death was ſuppos'd not far off.

This gave Spirits to thoſe who had not dared to ſtir before.

The Earl of *Anjou* enter'd *Normandy* in right of *Matilda*; but he was hateful to the People; and they declared, in caſe of the King's Death, for his Brother.

The Earl of *Glouceſter* was in Truſt in *Normandy*; and he was but an unwilling Friend of *Stephen's*. It was to him the King had on his Death-bed committed the Care of his Siſter's *Matilda*'s Fortune; and he remember'd it; often lamenting that he had no Opportunity of keeping his Promiſe, and that he ow'd much to the Obligation.

Had the Earl of *Anjou* ſucceeded, he would have rejoiced; but as it was, he join'd the Cauſe of *Theobald*, *Stephen*'s Brother, not doubting but he ſhould find Means to improve the Opportunity.

Thus *Theobald* was brought into *Normandy*, of which he took Poſſeſſion as if there had been no other Sovereign.

Stephen was ill ſome time, but he recover'd. His firſt Care was to reſettle his Affairs; and his greateſt Scene of Action lay in *Normandy*. *Theobald* was his moſt dangerous Enemy, and he form'd the prudent Reſolution of attacking him firſt.

The Aſſiſtance of *France* was the expected Reſource of *Theobald*; and with the ſame Spirit, and ſame Prudence, he took the Reſolution of attacking him before he could obtain that Help.

No Man knew better than *Stephen* the Power of Money. He determin'd to take its Aſſiſtance; and he prepared large Sums. Next to the Aid of *France*, the Adherence of the Men of Power in *Normandy* to the Enemy's Cauſe, was what he fear'd: he had determin'd concerning the one, and he now took his Precautions for the other: Expedition was to defeat the Hope of *Theobald* from the *French*, and Gold was his Reſource againſt the *Normans*.

See, Reader, from how early Time *Britain* was the Land of Wealth; capable of buying, and of bribing to her Purpoſes foreign States.

The Sum the King rais'd was immenſe, a Part of it was diſpatch'd to thoſe about the King of *France*, who could throw in the Means of Delay under various unſeen Pretences; and the reſt he took with him to *Normandy*.

One by one he ſounded the Nobles of that Kingdom. Thoſe with whom he could do nothing by Money, he ſet down for Deſtruction; the reſt he bought, every Man had his Price, and *Theobald* had ſcarce a Subject.

'Tis certain theſe had called in *Theobald*; but they did not now want a Pretence for deſerting him. It would have been too bareface'd to have held out the Money; that was a Stroke reſerved to Ages of leſs Modeſty.

They told him, "Sir, we requeſted you to defend us againſt the Earl of *Anjou*, whom we hated; don't wonder that we decline owning your Cauſe againſt King *Stephen*. We called you in becauſe we thought him dead; but you ſee he is living, and among us: there can be no Right to reſiſt him; and there is no Sovereign in the World we can prefer to him: our Obligations to you are in their Nature void. You have ſeen our good Intentions; and if it pleaſe Heaven, though long may that fatal Stroke be defer'd, to rob us of *Stephen*, while *Theobald* is living, he is our certain Choice."

The *French* were as backward as the *Normans*; and the Duke ſaw his Fate. 'Twas in vain expoſtulating, for *Stephen* had Forces, and the Peoples Favour: he ſaw the golden Chain that link'd him, his Subjects, and his Enemies together, and he gave up his Fortune.

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CHAP. XVI.

Stephen *makes a League with* France.

THE King had been ſucceſsful to the utmoſt of his Hope in *Normandy*, but he was wiſe; and ſeeing farther than the preſent Moment, his next Care was to continue ſo. He apply'd to *France*, ſhew'd the King in one Hand his Purſe, open always to his Service; and in the other his Sword; the *Britiſh* Sword, terrible to all Enemies.

He ſought an Alliance; and ſeeing the Neceſſity, he offer'd Terms very advantageous. *France* accepted them; and now all Hope was loſt to *Theobald*, or any other Competitor for *Normandy*: the Alliance was offenſive as well as defenſive; and the great Condition was, that whoever attempted any Thing againſt the Intereſt of *Stephen* in his *Norman* Dominions, ſhould be oppoſed by *France*.

Thus the ſole Source of every one, who aim'd at that Dukedom againſt the King of *England*, was cut off; and that made the Defence of *Normandy*, which till now had been the Terror of its *Britiſh* Sovereigns.

Now follow'd a Maſter-ſtroke of Policy in *Stephen*. He knew how natural it was for *France* to look with evil Eyes upon a *Britiſh* Sovereign in *Normandy*: he ſaw the Treaty ill eſtabliſh'd, tho' well ſworn; and he broke at once thro' all Obſtacles, by bequeathing the Dukedom to his Son.

Euſtace underſtood upon what Conditions he receiv'd it, but it was well worth his Acceptance. The Name of a Sovereign pleas'd the ambitious Thought of a young Man, and he contented himſelf to hold it ſo till he ſhould ſucceed at his Father's Death to that and *England* together. *Euſtace* receiv'd the Honours from his Father, and he did Homage for the Dukedom to the King of *France*.

All Hope was now cut off from *Theobald*; the *French* could not arm for him againſt one whoſe Homage they had receiv'd; and with whoſe Father, a very powerful King, they were in Peace, and under the moſt ſacred Obligations to preſerve it.

When nothing more remains, Words generally flow freely; 'twas ſo with *Theobald*. He ſent a thundering Meſſage to his Brother; claiming not only *Normandy*, but *England*.

Stephen knew how to laugh at Meſſages when there were no Swords to ſupport them; but yet he ſaw his Brother *Theobald*, and the Huſband of *Matilda*, two great Diſturbers of his Peace.

He aw'd them by his Power, and his Alliances now, but they were always ready to diſturb him when Accidents ſhould offer to favour them. He determin'd on the ſame Courſe with both; he knew that in moſt Minds Wealth ſits at leaſt even with Ambition.

He firſt return'd *Theobald* an Anſwer, "That he knew how to deſpiſe ſuch empty Words; and from another ſhould have known how to reſent them, but that he conſider'd *Theobald* as his Brother. That he found himſelf now ſeated on the Throne of *Britain*, as Rocks upon the Boſom of the Sea, which no Storms ſhake; but that while in this ſettled Proſperity himſelf, he could not ſee a Brother in narrow Circumſtances. In fine, that he forgave him the Raſhneſs of his Words, and deſir'd he would accept from him a Penſion of two thouſand Marks a Year."

Theobald conſented: he knew his Words meant nothing, and he ſaw his Brother was not to be aw'd by them. He return'd his Acknowledgments, and accepting the firſt Years Income down, he return'd his Gratitude in a perfect and full Renunciation of all Right, Claim, or Title, either to *Normandy* or *Britain*.

This Enemy ſecured, the next Care was to appeaſe the Earl of *Anjou*. He ſaw *Matilda*'s Huſband a very formidable Rival; and indeed now the only one worth his Notice.

He determin'd upon the ſame Courſe, but Caution making him generous, he enlarg'd the Sum; the annual Payment he offer'd the Earl of *Anjou* was five thouſand Marks.

Stephen took ſome Care to make this Offer decently, but *Anjou* did not ſo heartily gorge the Bait as *Theobald*. He conſider'd all Circumſtances: he weigh'd what that Right was worth, for which *Stephen* offer'd ſo large a Purchaſe; and he doubted long whether he ſhould accept it. *France* being allyd to *Britain*, turn'd the Scale of Prudence: this happy Stroke of *Stephen* made all the reſt eaſy.

The Earl of *Anjou* ſaw he had no Hope. Hated by the People, and diveſted of the only foreign Aſſiſtance he could have ſought, he gave up Expectation. The Terms were ſettled, and the King of *England* ſaw himſelf now indeed ſeated firmly on the Throne, if Leagues and Treaties could give that Security.

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CHAP. XVII.

Stephen *is involved in new Troubles.*

WHAT is ſo frail as the Security of Kings! 'twas toward the Cloſe of 1137 *Stephen* had purchas'd Peace with *France*, and bought out every Claim to his Titles; and early in 1138, he found himſelf as far from that peaceful Poſſeſſion of the *Britiſh* Throne, which he had promis'd himſelf, as Arms and Treaſon could remove him.

The King of *Scotland*, *David*, made an Irruption into the Northern Provinces, probably hearing the Terms of *Theobald* and *Anjou*: he liked the Price, and wanted the ſame Kind of Compoſition: but *Stephen* entertain'd very different Thoughts. Arms and not Money were the Purpoſe now. He raiſed a great Force, put himſelf at their Head, and march'd them for *Northumberland*.

Every one knew that *Stephen* was a Soldier. *David* trembled, and he retreated as the King advanc'd. *Stephen* was purſuing him with all the Expedition of Revenge, when News arriv'd of a Rebellion. Some of the Lords had taken Arms, and ſecured to themſelves the Town of *Bedford*.

The King did not ſtay to enquire the Cauſe; for whatſoever that might be, one Conduct only was pointed out to him, and that Neceſſity impelled. He ſent a very rough Meſſage to *David*; and hoping to awe him by the Threat of a ſpeedy Return, he ſet out for *Bedford*.

We have named before, the Earl of *Glocester*, and his determin'd Purpoſe to adhere to the Fortunes of his Siſter *Matilda*. He had ſmother'd his Reſentments, and concealed his Purpoſes till now that Opportunity favour'd their Execution.

The Words of his dying Father, bequeathing the Care of *Matilda* to him, now roſe in his Memory. He join'd the Rebels; and he was a Soldier to be receiv'd with Honour any where.

He told the Lords they had no Hope from *Stephen*; an Uſurper, and a Tyrant. He found Avarice was the great Motive of their riſing. They had aſſiſted the King; and they expected in return the Kingdom's Wealth among them.

Glocester ſooth'd their Weakneſs; he told them, "If they would eſpouſe the Intereſts of *Matilda*, "he would engage that every Expectation *Stephen* "had baſely deny'd to accompliſh for them, ſhe "ſhould double in full Performance."

This was enough. All declared for the Party of the Promiſer; and *Stephen*, when he thought himſelf moſt ſecure, found a general Revolt. He was griev'd at the News; but he was terrify'd when he heard who had put himſelf at the Head of the Party.

Robert, Earl of *Glocester*, was not like to be a quiet Enemy. *Stephen* expected from him every Step that Boldneſs could inſpire: and he was not diſappointed.

Glocester, when he had ſettled Matters in *Bedford*, wrote to *Matilda*; "He told her his Father's dying "Words had rung ever ſince in his Ears, and "ſhe ſhould find him obey them to the utmoſt: "that all promiſed fairly for her; and that he "ſhould immediately aſſert her Title with a large "Force."

As ſoon as this was diſpatch'd, he wrote his ſecond to the King: in this he told him, "That he "had not ſlept, though he had been ſo long ſilent. "That he had waited the Means to ſupport his "Words with Power; and that ſo ſupported, he "now told him *Matilda* was Queen of *Britain*: he "urg'd *Stephen's* Oath to acknowledge and ſupport "her Right; and lamented the Violation of his own "and of the Nobles in general given to the ſame "Purpoſe. Theſe he called Sins of Neceſſity, com"pelled by his Ambition: and he concluded with "demanding the Crown in the Name of *Matilda*."

Glocester did not wait *Stephen's* Anſwer; but immediately upon his Letter publiſh'd a Manifeſto. In this pleading the Right of *Matilda*, he declared *Stephen* an Uſurper. He ſupported the Claim in favour of his Siſter by her Right of Inheritance; and the Oaths of all the Nobles, and principal Perſons of the Kingdom made to the King for her Succeſſion: and he concluded with an Argument, not idly urg'd in thoſe Days when there was ſome regard to Religion, that the People could expect nothing but the Vengeance of Heaven upon themſelves and their Poſterity, while they continued to ſupport *Stephen* againſt Juſtice, and in Violation of their ſolemn Oaths.

The Prieſts furniſh'd him with this Argument; and they ſupported it well in their Sermons.

Stephen was at once involved in the moſt deſperate Circumſtances: he ſaw his Danger, and he ſaw his only Courſe: it was to oppoſe the Storm with a Courage equal to that which urg'd it.

He did not condeſcend to return an Anſwer to the Letter of *Glocester*; he knew that muſt be written in Blood. He declared him a Traitor, and confiſcated all his Eſtates in *Britain*; and ſlighting the Manifeſto, march'd with his beſt Speed where the Danger threaten'd moſt.

His Enemies ſurrounded him, for every Day new Parties ſhook off their Allegiance. *Matilda*'s Name now was in every Mouth; and her Adherents ſtrengthen'd themſelves every Hour. They took many conſiderable Towns, particularly *Briſtol*; and they declared againſt all Terms of Accommodation. They claimed *England* for *Matilda*.

The Caſtles *Stephen* had permitted his Lords to build and fortify, pretended as his Security againſt Invaders, were now ſhut up, and became ſo many Fortreſſes againſt him.

He attack'd them where he came up with them, and when he took them, levelled them with the Ground. His Army adhered to him, for they were Foreigners; but the People were in a manner univerſally againſt him. He always ſaid, what his Actions every Moment ſhew'd he meant, "That when "he loſt his Crown his Life ſhould go with it."

For ſome Months Things ſtood doubtful; the King ſignalizing himſelf in ſome Places againſt theſe Fortreſſes, and the Rebels giving Ground in others.

His Honour ſeems to have been a Concern to *Stephen*, greater in all theſe Proceedings than his Life. Where he was ſucceſsful againſt any of the Barons, they offer'd to eſpouſe his Cauſe; but he would not hear of it; they generally found Means to eſcape in Perſon; but their Eſtates he confiſcated, refuſing to hear Terms from Rebels.

The Party was too powerful to be aw'd by this Proceeding, therefore it only exaſperated them. They ſaw all was at Stake; *Stephen* muſt be depos'd, or they undone; and they ſent over to *Matilda*, telling her their Force, and their Reſolution to ſupport her Title according to the Oath they had taken. They told her nothing was wanted but her Preſence, and they requeſted her to come.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Battle of the Standard.

DAVID of *Scotland* had been only quiet through fear of *Stephen*; but he now ſaw him in no Condition to oppoſe his Outrages; and he fell upon *Northumberland* without Mercy.

Stephen indeed could not leave the Heart of his Kingdom in ſuch a Time, to repel an Invader upon the Borders, but he commiſſion'd thoſe he could truſt in the Exigence; and promis'd ſuch Rewards as ſuch a Service could deſerve, if he continued King.

Thurſtan, the Archbiſhop of *York*, undertook the Charge; he raiſed a large Force himſelf, and he rouſed the neighbouring Barons. He told them 'twas their own Safety now requir'd their Arms: that the King, involved in nearer Troubles, could not aſſiſt them with his Force, but that he had commiſſion'd him with Orders of Oppoſition; and had made Promiſe of the moſt large Rewards for the Service; which Promiſe, concluded the Archbiſhop, I do engage my Honour to fulfil.

The *Britons* ſixteen hundred Years ago liſten'd to this Language as readily as at preſent. The Neceſſity of the Service, and the large Promiſe of Reward join'd to raiſe Forces. A great Power was preſently on Foot; and the Command fell upon *Walter de Eſpee*, and *William* Earl of *Albemarle*.

The whole Force march'd forward, and pitch'd at *North Allerton* in *Yorkſhire*. Here they called a Council of War, and here it was determin'd to wait the Enemy. A Maſt was ſet up in the Ground, and on its Top was placed by the Archbiſhop the conſecrated Box.

The Banners of St. *Peter*, and St. *John of Beverly* waved from it; and this they called the Holy Standard. Here they had fix'd the Scene of Action, and this was to be the Object of every Eye for rallying.

Hence the Battle obtain'd its Title.

On this Ground they entrenched themſelves, and they did it carefully. The *Scots* march'd toward them; and a bad Omen threaten'd the *Engliſh*.

Thurſtan, the Archbiſhop, the Head of the Enterprize, was taken ſick. This was no Qualm of Fear, but a real Accident. He entruſted another Prelate, *Ralph*, Biſhop of the *Orcades*, with his Purpoſe, and appointed him in his Stead. *Ralph* was an Orator, and he had Cauſe to be in earneſt.

The *Orcades*, then not ſubject to the Crown of *Scotland*, were expected to ſubmit in conſequence of theſe Succeſſes, and therefore the Biſhop found all depended upon the Event of this Engagement.

When the *Scots* halted in Sight of the Entrenchments, the Biſhop mounted a kind of Pulpit, and made a wiſe and ſpirited Harangue to the Nobles, Officers, and Soldiers.

He repreſented to them what they had to expect if they ſubmitted to *Scottiſh* Maſters; and he cloſed all with Promiſes of the largeſt Kind from *Stephen*, to thoſe who were engag'd in the Enterprize; and Abſolution for their Sins to all who ſhould fall.

He cloſed his Harangue as the Enemy came on. *David*, and his Son Prince *Henry* led them in Perſon; and they attack'd the *Engliſh* in their Entrenchments. The *Scots* were furious; but the *Engliſh* cool. They ſtood three Charges from the main Body; and upon the retiring of the laſt, they made a general Sally.

The *Scots* had already loſt many of their Men; but the *Engliſh* very few. They now took up the Fury of the Aſſailants, and they were not to be reſiſted. *David* and his Son uſed every Meaſure to prevent a total Defeat, but in vain; Night ſaved the few *Scots* who eſcap'd, but more than twelve thouſand of them were left upon the Field.

The Victory was compleat to the *Engliſh*; and it was long before the *Scots* dared to attempt ſo bold an Act again.

CHAP. XIX.

The Conduct of Stephen *againſt the Rebels.*

THE King had from the firſt of this Enterprize, ſeen his Crown was at Stake, and almoſt upon a deſperate Hazard, but he now look'd on his Fortune as more favourable. There are Moments, which, if neglected, never return, and ſuch was the Condition of the Rebels. Had *Matilda* came over upon the general Invitation, and while the Terror of the *Scots* hung over the North, ſhe had probably ſucceeded; but ſhe then made Excuſes.

The Succeſs of the Forces raiſed againſt the *Scots* gave the King Spirit, and his Enemies Terror. He kept the Field in the Midſt of them, with an Army they did not care to attack; and wherever there was an Opportunity of Advantage, he took it.

He had not yet thought of riſquing a general Action, but the Barons expected now he would; and not caring to ſtand the Chance of ſuch a Day againſt ſo conſiderable a Force, and ſo good a Leader, they retired one by one to their Caſtles.

Stephen would not have hazarded an Action; for as he had more to loſe, he was more cautious than they; but their Separation gave him the Advantage; and he knew how to take it.

One by one he aſſaulted their Caſtles, and he was ſucceſsful againſt them all.

Glocester ſaw his great Expectation ſacrificed to the Fear of thoſe who had join'd him; and to the Abſence of his Principal. He uſed every Means to keep thoſe firm who yet continued ſo; and he went in haſte to his Siſter.

He told her "The Fate of *Britain* depended ſolely on one Circumſtance, her Preſence there; that "if ſhe refuſed to go with him, and ſhew herſelf "among her Friends, he would give up the Enterprize; but if ſhe dar'd truſt him, and a good "Cauſe; and would go with him, he could recover "all."

Matilda conſented. *Stephen* was making good Uſe of his favourable Fortune, and employing the Abſence of *Glocester* to the beſt Purpoſe; but the Moment they had forfeited, tho' never itſelf to return, made Way now for another as important to the Rebels, and as terrible to him: the more as it came on after the Danger ſeem'd over.

Stephen having reduced the Caſtles of his Barons, and ſilenced all Clamour againſt his Title, conſider'd how to keep up a Force without giving Umbrage, which yet might be ſufficient in caſe of any new Attack; he knew the Buſineſs that had carry'd *Glocester* out of *England*, and he fear'd with Reaſon his Return.

The keeping his Army in Action was the rational Way of keeping it up without Suſpicion, and he determin'd to lead it againſt the King of *Scotland*.

David who had been beaten ſo lately, dreaded like Death another ſuch Day with the *Engliſh*; eſpecially as it would be now fought in his own Kingdom.

Stephen ſeem'd to have no other Purpoſe; and he puſh'd his Marches on ſo briſkly, that the King of *Scotland* in his Turn felt his Crown totter. He ſent and offer'd Peace: *Stephen* propoſed the Terms; which were admitted without Difficulty; and he return'd full of Glory.

Thus cloſed upon *Stephen* the Year 1138. He hoped, and all elſe thought he had conquer'd every Danger; and that he might ſit down in Security.

CHAP. XX.

The Troubles between the King and Clergy.

THE King did not want Prudence; but there was in his Nature ſomething that amounted to as much as abſolute Raſhneſs on ſome Occaſions. This was his Impatience at the leaſt Indignity. He had with Difficulty, and through many Dangers, now ſeated himſelf firmly on the Throne; and there could be nothing ſo worthy his Attention, as keeping the Good-will of his Subjects. This he neglected, and he felt the Conſequences.

The Clergy were at that Time in great Power; they had the Ear of the People, and they had been very inſtrumental in placing him upon the Throne. Policy and Gratitude ought both to have engag'd him to keep good Terms with them; but his Pride made him renounce the one, and his Succeſſes in ſome Degree baniſh'd the other.

That Pride which naturally grows on Power, had in ſome Degree infected the Clergy: they muſt have been more than Men to have poſſeſs'd ſo large a Share of the one without ſome Tincture of the other.

They had done the King Service, and they valued themſelves too much upon it. Their Importance, and their Services led them to demand many Things they ſhould have requeſted; and *Stephen* for that Cauſe alone deny'd them. He would have the Pleaſure of beſtowing; and they took from him the Merit of the Bounty, who claimed it as a Debt.

Thus ſtood Matters between *Stephen* and his Clergy in 1139. They behaved as ſo many Princes; they built Caſtles; and they ſeem'd to threaten becauſe they were refuſed what ſometimes could not be granted them.

Stephen, who had felt the Terrors of an independent Barony, knew too much to ſuffer a Clergy the ſame Privileges; he ſuſpected their Deſigns to hold him when they pleaſed at Defiance, and he ſought Means to prevent it.

A Quarrel among themſelves gave him a happy Occaſion. There happen'd a Diſpute in which ſome Perſons were killed by their Retinue, and the King called four of them before him. They obey'd, and he repreſented the Fault to them in its groſſeſt Form: they acknowledged their Domeſticks had done amiſs; and ſaid they were ready to ſubmit to any Injunction for it.

The King ſurprized them with his Demand; it was that they ſhould deliver up their Caſtles. He ſaid theſe Squabbles led toward Rebellion; and that he would prevent the Means of it.

They deliberated: and *Stephen* thought this a new Indignity. He ſeized their Caſtles, and carry'd himſelf in all Things with a Haughtineſs they could not bear.

He ſhould have remember'd, they who had ſo much Intereſt in placing the Crown upon his Head, might have as much in removing it. They had the Confidence of the People; and they now did not fail to employ it to the full Force againſt him.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was one who had ſerv'd the King in an exemplary Manner; and he had reaſonably expected a Return. He was his Brother: and from Conſanguinity and Services, might with Reaſon think of any Thing. He had the Mortification to ſee another appointed to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*; and he ſaw himſelf cooly received, and little entruſted.

New Honours from *Rome* inflam'd his Pride the more at this Neglect at Home. He was made Legate: and partly to ſupport the Cauſe of the Clergy, now ſo much his own; and partly to reſent the Indignities he had receiv'd, he join'd the diſcontented. He began with exerting his Power in its full Scope; he called a Synod, and cited *Stephen* to appear before it.

The King not acknowledging in his Dominions a Power ſuperior to his own, did not attend in Perſon; but he appointed Advocates. The Matter of the Clergys Rites to Caſtles was diſcuſs'd largely; and the Cauſe of the King either was ſo ill pleaded, or ſo ſtrongly oppos'd, that all went againſt him. The Legate in a concerted Speech ſum'd up the King's Faults; and in the Cloſe of it, propos'd to excommunicate him.

This rouſed the Lords, who attended on his Part; they put the Biſhops in mind of his Power, and his Honour: they threaten'd loudly, and they were heard; the Biſhops, whoſe Love would not have ſpared the King, were aw'd by their Fear, and this great Storm blew over.

None ſeconded the Legate in the Propoſal of Excommunication; and he was oblig'd to think of gentler Means. He propos'd a Deputation to be ſent, repreſenting to the King the Rights of the Church, and the Indignities ſhe had ſuffer'd; and to this all agreed. The Form of the Addreſs was ſettled; and Reparation was demanded reſolutely, tho' in gentle Terms.

While the King deliberated, the Clergy ſtir'd up the People: and the Softneſs of their Procedure ſerv'd them more, than ſo bold an Act as the Legate had propos'd could have done.

The People had been taught to hold the Privileges of the Church ſacred; they ſaw them infring'd, and they ſaw the King, who was ſo ready to commit the Offence, ſlow in any Offer of Reparation. He who was an Enemy of the Church, they held an Enemy to God; and they were taught, that they could not expect Proſperity under his Government.

It had been happy for *Stephen* if he had taken a more favourable Reſolution, and if he had taken it ſooner. The People join'd unanimouſly with the Clergy; and when they found they had ſo much Power, they were not ſlow to uſe it. They declared againſt the King, called him an Uſurper, urg'd the Oath in favour of *Matilda*, and invited her over. This was done ſo wiſely, and ſo well ſupported by Notice of their Strength, that what *Gloceſter* had been long preſſing unſucceſsfully, was now done at once.

Matilda in 1139 appear'd in *Britain*; and *Stephen*, who thought he was only managing a Debate with an inſolent Clergy, found himſelf ſurrounded by Rebellion. One Stroke compleated all: the Appearance of *Matilda*, and the Spirit the Clergy ſhew'd, called over Nobles and People to that Side; and every Thing threaten'd Ruin to the King.

He oppoſed the Danger where it wore the boldeſt Face. *Marlborough* was the Head Quarters of the Rebel Barons, and he march'd againſt it. Nothing could ſave this Place but the Arrival of *Matilda*, and her taking up her Reſidence in another.

Arundel Caſtle was in the Poſſeſſion of the Queen Dowager; and thither the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who came with *Matilda*, conducted her.

The Queen receiv'd her before ſhe thought of the Conſequences. *Stephen* broke up his Camp at *Marlborough*, and march'd for *Arundel*. The Queen Dowager was terrify'd; and ſent to requeſt a hearing. She did not offer to give up *Matilda*, that her Honour would not permit; but ſhe excus'd herſelf for having acted a thoughtleſs Part; and it was agreed (weakly on *Stephen's* Side) that *Matilda* ſhould be conducted unmoleſted to *Briſtol*.

Here ſhe improved her Cauſe by an artful Conduct: and after ſome time removing to *Gloceſter*, ſhe follow'd the ſame Maxims; and Clergy, People, Barons, all declared for her.

The King now ſaw himſelf deſerted; and he found the Clergy had the abſolute Command of the People.

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CHAP. XXI.

The Event of the publick Diſſenſions.

STEPHEN was wiſe as well as valiant. He had been ſtrangely overſeen in his late Conduct; but now he ſaw his Error, no Step was omitted to recover it. He found the Clergy had rais'd this Storm, and he knew they could appeaſe it. The Legate was the Voice that ſpoke for all; and by the old Expedient, a vaſt Reward, and a much greater Promiſe, he got him over.

The Legate thus brought over, declared himſelf at once by a bold and memorable Stroke. He was ſuppos'd the Head of *Matilda*'s Party; his Intercourſe with the King was utterly unſuſpected, and he had therefore Power to ſerve him. He went to *Winchester*, and thither invited the principal Barons of *Matilda*'s Party to conſult Meaſures. They came; and their Reception was Impriſonment.

The Legate told them, "The King had chang'd "his Sentiments; and they ſhould be happier un-"der him than in a Woman's Reign." He demanded their Caſtles in the King's Name, and he kept their Perſons till he ſhould be in free Poſſeſſion of them.

This ſtrange Turn fix'd all Eyes on *Stephen*; and his Conduct gave them Aſſurance of Succeſs. Whatever he felt within, his Face betray'd no Fear, much leſs his Words, and leaſt of all his Actions.

He determin'd to make the right Uſe of this favourable Incident: one Succeſs is the beſt Step to another; and encourag'd by the Spirit he ſaw his Soldiers drew from this Occurrence, he march'd them to *Wallingford*, where *Matilda* was with *Gloceſter*. He beſieg'd the Place, and when he found it reſolutely defended, left his Forces before it, and went with a Party toward *Marlborough* again.

Matilda found Means to elude the Deſign of this Blockade, and reach'd *Lincoln*, where ſhe made new Friends: *Gloceſter* alſo got out, and rais'd new Troubles.

Stephen, who knew the Strength of every Town in his Kingdom, and the Diſpoſition of the Inhabitants, was rejoiced to hear *Matilda* was in *Lincoln*; he knew he had Friends there, and that the Place had little Strength. He beſieg'd it, and Terms were offer'd: but while theſe were drawing up, *Matilda* again eſcap'd.

Lincoln was of no Uſe now *Matilda* was gone, and *Stephen* put no Garriſon into it.

The Earl of *Cheſter* came thither while he was marching off; and the King receiving Intelligence of it, turn'd back upon him.

This Earl of *Cheſter* was marry'd to a Daughter of *Gloceſter*, and ſhe, and more of his Family were with him. *Stephen* came ſo quick upon them that they could juſt ſecure themſelves in the Caſtle: he laid Siege to it; and muſt have taken it in a few Days, but the Earl of *Cheſter* found Means himſelf to eſcape, and brought the Earl of *Gloceſter* with a Force equal to the Occaſion, to the Relief of the Place.

Stephen was ſurpriz'd, for he had no Thought of *Gloceſter*'s Readineſs, or Spirit to attack him. A River was between them, and his own Troops were in Heart, while thoſe of the other Party were diſpirited. Every Thing conſpir'd to make *Stephen* ſuppoſe he lay in Security; but in this every Thing conſpir'd to deceive him.

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CHAP. XXII.

The Battle of Lincoln.

THE King, tho' he poſſeſs'd as much perſonal Courage as any Man that ever breath'd; had with it a conſummate Prudence. He had aw'd the Rebels now ſeveral Months, by marching his full Force from time to time againſt them; and by ſeeming ready to fight. This had anſwer'd his Purpoſe, for they had declined it; and from every Incident of this Kind he had reap'd ſome Advantage: but in all theſe Occaſions he had no real Thought of riſquing an Engagement.

In Caſes of Importance both Parties are uſually cool to this laſt Stroke; they know the Uncertainty of War, and they know how much depends upon a Blow of ſuch Importance.

What *Stephen* had ſo well avoided without ſeeming to ſhun it, now became inevitable. The Earl of *Gloceſter* had a ſuperior Force, he knew he could take the great Advantage of a Surprize; and his fiery Spirit, tired with the Tedіouſneſs that had hitherto hung upon the Action, determin'd to ſeize the Opportunity.

Stephen lay before the Caſtle of *Lincoln*: the Country round about was in general well diſpos'd to him; and behind him lay the *Trent*, a deep and dangerous River in that Part; and a natural Defence. He knew not the Flight of the Earl of *Cheſter*: he was ſenſible of the Affection *Gloceſter* bore his Daughter, and he was flattering himſelf with the Power of making him a Friend by her Means, and by advantageous Offers: theſe were his Thoughts when *Gloceſter*, urg'd by that Affection, by the Hope of his Succeſs, and by Revenge, at Day-break appear'd with all his Force upon the Bank of the River.

Himſelf led the Way boldly, and ſucceſsfully. What Soldier could talk or think of Danger when his General leap'd in? they follow'd. Some periſh'd, but they were few: the Army croſs'd in a little Time; and the ſame Impatience that had led *Gloceſter* over, carry'd him at once upon the Royal Force.

Stephen found an Engagement unavoidable, and he prepared for it with Spirit, and with Temper. His Face wore a Look of perfect Security, and he ſmiled upon his Soldiers when he told them, thanking Heaven for the Occaſion, that the Hour was come to end all their Trouble with this Enemy at a Blow. "You have but, ſaid he, to beat this "half drown'd Rabble, and you may ſit down; "and have the Glory of having ſaved their Coun-"try."

The Soldiers underſtood the King literally; and doubted not of Succeſs. They gave a univerſal Shout; and this brought on the Enemy. It was return'd as loudly; and *Gloceſter* appearing in the Front, ſpur'd on, and led them to the Charge.

The Armies were not much diſproportion'd, but what Advantage there was in Number was againſt the King. They were not very great Bodies, but were well officer'd on both Sides; and there never was a Field more furiouſly, or more conſiderately fought.

Stephen put himſelf at the Head of his Horſe, *Flemings* and *Britons*, and led them with irreſiſtible Violence upon the Enemy: it was the firſt Incident that ſeem'd to ſpeak in favour of either Party: and here the Royal Force prevailed. *Gloceſter* ſaw it, and he ſhew'd himſelf the General; while his Party gave Ground before *Stephen*'s Horſe, he attack'd the Royal Infantry, left uncover'd by the King on this Occaſion. They gave Ground: News of it reach'd *Stephen*, and he haſted thither.

Gloceſter no ſooner ſaw him, than leaving the Charge there to the proper Officers, he attack'd the victorious Horſe, now no longer inſpir'd by the Preſence of their King: they broke, and they never rally'd afterwards.

This indeed gave the Turn to the Day; *Gloceſter* puſh'd his Advantage, and returning to the Charge of the Infantry with a Body of Reſerve, broke and diſpers'd them. The Horſe he left to hold Council with their Fears, and fly as faſt, and as far as they pleas'd: he ſaw he attack'd the unſupported Foot at an Advantage, and he urg'd the Spirit of his Soldiers to end the Day at once, and never let them rally.

Stephen perceiv'd all was loſt: but he could not condeſcend to fly. He kept the Field almoſt alone, and he was made the Priſoner of a Squadron.

Never was ſo great an Event brought about ſo unexpectedly. *Matilda*, who thought no more of the utmoſt of *Gloceſter*'s Succeſſes than the raiſing the Siege, and bringing back his Daughter, heard herſelf addreſs'd as Queen.

No Act of *Stephen*'s Life did him more Honour than the Cloſe of this unhappy Day; had his Horſe rally'd, he might have ſtood fair ſtill for Victory, but that Thought was over; and tho' nothing but Deſpair ſurrounded him, he kept a ſteady and a deſperate Countenance; determin'd that his laſt Action ſhould become his Character.

'Twas ſoon rumour'd where the King was, and Orders were given to take him, if poſſible, alive. He took the Advantage of a favourable Piece of Ground, and ſtood on his Defence againſt them: not with the mad Hope of Victory or Eſcape, but with the ſettled Reſolve of doing what became him.

His Battle-axe broke beneath his repeated Blows, and he then defended himſelf with his Sword till he was overwhelm'd by the Multitude. A *Norman* from behind him would have wreſted it from him: but his Life paid the Forfeiture. The next then fell upon him; and againſt theſe he fought till his Sword, like his Battle-axe, broke in his Hand. Little more than the Hilt remain'd when he was ſtruck down upon one Knee; and an Officer *De Kanes*, ſeizing him by the Helmet, and preſenting his Sword to his Throat, demanded him to yield.

Are you the Earl of *Gloceſter?* reply'd *Stephen* furiouſly; *Gloceſter* was near, and he came up. The King ſaid, "If I muſt yield, 'tis beſt to you; and "ſubmitted."

Gloceſter took Charge of the Royal Priſoner, and behav'd to him with Honour; but *Stephen* ſoon found what it was to war with Women. The General could only deliver him to *Matilda*; who inſulting him, commanded him to Priſon; and to the eternal Infamy of her Name, laid him in Irons.

There are thoſe who wiſh to palliate, but none who preſume to deny this Cruelty. It was the Inſult of a poor revengeful Woman.

CHAP. XXIII.

Matilda *makes Advantage of the Incident.*

STEPHEN, who had been ſo much honour'd while a King, found few now who would ſo much as pity him. His Army was beaten and ſcatter'd, and every Voice was full of the Name of the ſucceſsful *Matilda*.

To the Honour of the People of *London*, they ſtill preſerv'd their Faith: they reverenced their King in his Misfortunes, as much as they had honour'd him in his higheſt Succeſſes. Theſe, and the Inhabitants of a Part of *Kent*, were all that adhered to him: he lay all this Time like a Criminal in the Caſtle of *Briſtol*.

Matilda march'd thro' the Country, and ſhew'd herſelf every where; promiſing every Thing. The People believed her, they crowded to the Banners, and the whole Kingdom ſeem'd declaring for her.

The Friends of the King reſorted all to *London*. They kept up the Spirit of Loyalty in the People there; and they ſoon form'd a very conſiderable Body in the King's Favour. This was a Satisfaction in the general Revolt: it promis'd ſomething; but the Relief was diſtant.

Mean Time all took Advantages, as all do of the unfortunate. The Earl of *Anjou*, ſeiz'd on the foreign Dominions, and *Normandy* follow'd the Fate of *England*.

Matilda, his Wife, was declared Sovereign there; and the King of *Scotland* fell upon the Northern Countries, as he declared, in favour of *Matilda*; but truly for his own Purpoſes.

This was the State of *England* in the Year 1141, its King in Chains; its Provinces waſted by the Sword, and no Hope from any human Arm of Aſſiſtance.

Matilda ſaw herſelf Queen in all Senſes, but the regular Form: the Nobles were for her, except a few of fooliſh Honeſty, who ſided with the King, ſuch were the Terms in which Men ſpoke of them; and the People declared for her; for they love all Innovations: but there was ſtill a third Body to be dealt with, the Clergy, at that Time more obſtinate, and as powerful as either Lords or Commons.

Theſe follow'd certain Leaders, and the Legate more than all. *Matilda* ſaw the Neceſſity of getting this Prelate to her Party, and ſhe ſaw the Difficulty: a Man who had juſt taken the King's Part publickly, ly, could not, ſhe thought, again diſavow it: but ſhe ſhould have remembered, *He who changes Parties has no Principles*; and that might have given her Hope. It is a Truth Reaſon aſſerts, and Experience of all Ages confirms.

The next in the Church to the Legate was the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. He, good Man, ſaved her the Trouble of her Fears: he poſted to *Wilton*, and of his own mere Motion ſwore Allegiance to her.

This gave *Matilda* ſome Hope of the Clergy, for the Archbiſhop had been the ſworn Friend of *Stephen*; and upon the Strength of this ſhe laid the Plan of bringing in the Legate. She was glad of this Example, and ſhe conſidered the Temper of the Man. She found Ambition and the Luſt of Power were high in him, but Avarice predominant over all. That was the Serpent which ſwallowed all the reſt.

Upon this Knowledge ſhe grounded her Deſign: ſhe propoſed to flatter his Ambition by herſelf waiting on him with her Terms; his Eagerneſs for Power, by a Promiſe that he ſhould rule in all Things; and his Avarice, by vaſt Sums, and greater Engagements.

Matilda went to *Wincheſter*, where the Legate kept his State. She made her Offers, and he received them coldly: he told her thoſe Things weigh'd not with him: but as Heaven ſeemed to place her upon the Throne, he ſhould give up all Thoughts of Oppoſition. One Thing he requeſted might be added to the offered Terms, and then *Matilda* ſhould have his Heart and Soul. She pauſed to hear; and it was indeed no Trifle: the ſole Diſpoſal of all Church Preferments.

Matilda conſented; and the Legate then knew he had made himſelf Sovereign more than her.

The Queen departed, and the Legate called a Synod. There to thoſe very Perſons before whom he had a little while before made *Stephen* almoſt a God, he recounted his Oppreſſions and his Crimes. He concluded, that the Hand of Heaven had rejected him; that the People favoured *Matilda*; and that the Clergy, who had and ought to have the chief Voice in electing Sovereigns, declared for that Choice.

"This, my Lords, ſaid he, is the Opinion of the
" Body of our Order. I read in your ſeveral Coun-
" tenances that it is alſo yours in particular; and I
" therefore declare for the Clergy, that they appoint
" *Matilda*, Daughter to the great *Henry*, Queen of
" *Britain*."

Things had before gone ſo favourably, that this was little leſs than a Coronation.

The Legate, truſting to his Power and Influence, ſent to *London*, to take the Opinion as he call'd it, but as he meant, to demand the Approbation of that City for his Proceedings. He failed in this Determination; for there never was a Time in which the Inhabitants of this Queen of Cities acted with greater Honour. They ſent their Deputies as he demanded; and he had boaſted of it to the Synod: but how was he confounded at their Meſſage.

'Twas not to rail at *Stephen*, 'twas not to join the Reſolutions of the Synod, 'twas not to hail *Matilda* Queen of *England*. — "We come, moſt holy
" Legate, deputed by the Barons and the Citizens
" of *London*, who think it inglorious that the Hands
" which ſway'd a *Britiſh* Scepter ſhould be fetter'd,
" to requeſt the Liberty of *Stephen*. This is our
" firſt Buſineſs, and if you preſs us farther it is our
" laſt, the Commiſſion with which we are honour'd
" extends no farther."

Thunder over the Legate's Head could not have ſhook him more. He had promiſed himſelf to carry all with an eaſy Hand: but he found he had preſumed too far upon his Influence. He ſaw himſelf involved in Difficulties he little expected, and they now follow'd one another: but he had Courage in the Place of Honeſty, and he made his Way thro' them all.

He told the Deputies roughly, that they did ill to ſide with thoſe, who were about to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom.

To this they anſwered firmly, "That they ſup-
" poſed the only Hope the Kingdom had of Peace
" was from theſe Nobles: for they had Integrity."
But this was from their Purpoſe, their ſingle Point was to requeſt the Favour of his good Offices toward the King's Liberty. The Word King ſounded harſh, and this was ſilenced.

While they were in Council, a Clergyman of Rank arrived; Chaplain to *Stephen's* Queen: he delivered into the Legate's Hand a Letter to the ſame Purpoſe with the *Londoners* Petition. It repreſented the Fetters of the King as an eternal Stain upon the Nation, and in the moſt preſſing Terms entreated his Releaſe.

The Legate ſo little liked the Purport of the Letter, that when he had read it, he refuſed to acquaint the Council with it: the Chaplain with a Spirit that would have become a Title of more Dignity, took it from his Hands, and read it out himſelf. The Words called Bluſhes firſt into the Faces of the whole Aſſembly, the Legate's ſteady Countenance alone excepted, and afterwards Tears. But theſe were all the Tribute a Clergy dar'd pay their King, when a Pope's Legate judged him culpable.

'Twas of no Effect: the Council proceeded to paſs upon all the Adherents of *Stephen* Sentence of Excommunication.

CHAP. XXIV.

Matilda *ſucceeds in her Negociations.*

THE Deputies returned; and *London* was in Tears: they ſaw Power in its uſual Courſe; at Variance with Juſtice, and deaf to Pity.

Matilda came on: they were the only People that held back their Voices in her Favour: and they found it needful to call an immediate Council: at this were preſent all the principal Inhabitants; and with them the Barons who eſpouſed the King.

The State of the Kingdom was debated largely and freely. The better Part declared, “That where there was moſt Danger, there was moſt Glory in Integrity: that *Stephen* was not leſs King becauſe a Battle had gone againſt him: that his Chains diſgraced the Nation; and that it would be to their immortal Honour to be the People who ſhould ſtrike them off; that *Matilda* ſhew'd them their Strength and Importance by fearing them; and that they ſhould look on Death, in the honourable Cauſe of their Sovereign, as preferable to a baſe Submiſſion to the Uſurper.”

The Harangue had its Weight; but the *Londoners* were too rich to be ſo valiant. They had made a bold Effort in favour of the King, and, with a Proſpect of the leaſt Succeſs, they ſaid they were ready to go farther, but that there appeared none: they could not ſtand againſt the whole Kingdom; and they ſubmitted; reluctantly, and from Neceſſity.

There were many who were for holding out to Death; but this was over-ruled by thoſe whoſe Affluence made them love Life better.

Matilda waited at *St. Albans* the Reſult of this Council, and 'twas with inexpreſſible Satisfaction ſhe received it. She was invited to the City; and ſhe went immediately thither: ſhe was received magnificently; and ſhe now ſaw all her Hopes accompliſhed: nothing was wanting but the Ceremony of a Coronation; and ſhe was in the mean Time every where acknowledg'd Queen.

She felt herſelf ſo; and ſhe began to put on Majeſty: that is, to put off the Remembrance of all Services, all Promiſes, and all Engagements: but ſhe began too early. It was an Error fatal to ſo many of her Predeceſſors, that Prudence ſhould have directed her a better Courſe: but ſhe was up; and ſhe forgot the Steps by which ſhe had aſcended.

The Queen of *Stephen* fell upon her Knees before her; requeſting the King's Liberty: ſhe vow'd for him that he ſhould never trouble her in the Poſſeſſion of the Throne; that he ſhould retire for ever from the World. Far from granting the Requeſt, *Matilda* forbade the unhappy Queen her Preſence.

This ſhewed the World her Diſpoſition; and ſhe began to be deteſted.

The Legate, who well knew the ſooner he demanded Favours from his new Queen the better, began while his Services were freſh in Mind; and he began with Trifles: ſomething in favour of his Nephew *Euſtace* was what he firſt deſired; and he prefer'd his Requeſt as one who had a Right to have it granted. *Matilda* aſſum'd the Queen, and anſwer'd, No. *Wincheſter* drew back, and gazing upon her, ſaid only — Madam, remember! — The Words ſhould have been treaſur'd in her Memory, like the Ghoſt's Injunction in the Play; but they paſſed as Air. The Legate from that Moment determined her Ruin.

The next Step of fooliſh Power was like the firſt. To the *Londoners*, when they declared for her, ſhe made every ſpecious Promiſe: they were to write their own Terms on the fair Paper which her Heart preſented: they gave in their Petition, not for themſelves but for the Publick, that the Severity of the *Norman* Laws might be mitigated, and ſome of the *Saxon* Statutes reſtored.

Matilda anſwered, “The Laws were her Concern; and ſhe did not intend her Subjects ſhould preſume to dictate to her upon any Head.”

We ſee the fooliſh Pride of a new Queen: and the Conſequences were ſuch as might eaſily have been expected. She had a People of plain Honeſty, and of an untamed Spirit to deal with, for they were *Britons*; and ſhe had made an Enemy of one, whoſe Power, before ſhe had gain'd him to her Side, ſhe fear'd.

The Legate, determined in his Revenge, ſeized this firſt Opportunity; he joined the *Londoners* in their Reſentments: he told them, the Queen had broke every Engagement with him as well as them; and that 'twas plain ſhe look'd on them as Slaves already; and would not fail to make them ſo. New Dangers he told them were eaſieſt oppoſed: he urged them to preſerve themſelves, and the whole *Britiſh* People from Ruin, and he promiſed them all Favour from whatever Source he ſhould be able to derive it.

The *Londoners* ſaw the Baſeneſs of this Prelate; but they perceived he might be uſeful: they joined him in Earneſt, and they pretended to believe him.

CHAP. XXV.

Matilda loſes the Affection of the People.

THE Legate, proud of ſo ſtrong and ſo reſpectable a Body in his Cauſe, puſhed on his Enterpriſe: he knew himſelf the Truth of what he had told them, that the ſooner a bold Thing was attempted, the ſurer would be its Succeſs. He reminded them that the Queen was in *London*, therefore in their Hands; and that 'twere beſt to keep her ſo. He adviſed that they ſhould ſeize her Perſon; and ſet their King at Liberty, and on the Throne.

The Promiſes the Legate made for *Stephen*, and the Hatred the *Londoners* had to *Matilda*, conſpired to make them undertake this reſolute Step. They could not have failed of Succeſs, but that they were betrayed: the Queen had Notice, and ſhe fled.

She felt her Folly, but 'twas now too late to recall it: ſhe who had ſo ſoon broke her Word to all to whom ſhe had given it, could not expect to be believ'd again: ſhe gave up her Cauſe for loſt; and ſhe became as mean, as ſhe had juſt been inſolent. From *London* ſhe fled to *Oxford*; ſhe feared ſhe was not ſafe there, and ſhe went immediately thence to *Glocester*; Terror purſued her there alſo, and drove her back again to *Oxford*; and from the ſame Diſtruſt ſhe again fled thence for *Worceſter*. Here ſhe found too cool a Reception to give her the moſt diſtant Hope of Security: which not finding in the Boſoms of the People, ſhe ſought in the Walls of the Caſtle.

While *Matilda* fled from Place to Place confuſ'd, frighted, and aſtoniſh'd at the Turn of her Fortune; the Legate, whoſe cool Head was us'd to Buſineſs, made the beſt Uſe of every Incident againſt her. He had now moſt perfectly chang'd Sides again; and *Stephen* was his God.

He conferred with his unhappy Queen; he brought to her the Lords who had in all theſe Diſtreſſes kept firm to him: when a Party is once form'd, it ſoon ſtrengthens. More were diſpleas'd with *Matilda* for the ſame Cauſe, and all join'd the Legate.

The *Londoners*, and the People of *Kent* were with him almoſt univerſally; and every Thing was ripe for Enterprize.

The Legate ſent to *Euſtace*; he called upon him in the Name of Honour and of Virtue, to exert himſelf; and lead the Body he had ready; to purſue every Advantage againſt the frighted Queen, and to call more to join him.

Gloceſter had Wiſdom and Experience: he poſted to *Matilda*, and rais'd the beſt Force he could; he march'd with her to *Wincheſter*, where the Legate was; and there *Matilda*, pretending neither to know, nor ſuſpect what he was doing, ſent to deſire he would come to her to confer on Matters of the Kingdom's Buſineſs.

In this *Matilda* play'd his own Game upon him, but with as little Succeſs. She had contriv'd to ſeize his Perſon; but there requir'd no Treachery in thoſe ſhe truſted, to inform him of it; he ſaw her Purpoſe; he ſent an evaſive Anſwer; and he eſcap'd and called his Friends together.

The Force was ſoon on Foot, and at its Head *Euſtace* the Son of *Stephen*, his Queen, and the Legate. They march'd at once for *Wincheſter*: they were upon the Queen before ſhe was aware, and they had ſeiz'd both her and *Gloceſter*, had not the People of the Town aſſiſted in guarding her to the Caſtle.

The Legate enrag'd at their Perfidy, fir'd the Town, tho' the Principal in his own Dioceſe, and ſtood to ſee thirty Churches fall. He was a *Norman*, tho' a Churchman: Severity and Vengeance got the better of all Regard to Juſtice or to Mercy.

The City was deſtroy'd, and the Legate's Party laid Siege to the Caſtle. The Queen and *Gloceſter* held out reſolutely; and when they could maintain their Poſt no longer, they ſally'd with all their Force. They ſtood the Shock of the whole Army, and march'd boldly. *Matilda* eſcap'd: but *Gloceſter*, who expos'd his own Perſon in every Inſtance to preſerve her, was taken. This was an Event of the utmoſt Conſequence to their Cauſe, for this Priſoner was exchang'd for *Stephen*.

Thus ſtood the Fate of *Britain* in 1141, *Stephen* was at Liberty, and he and *Matilda* ſupported their ſeparate Claims; each abetted by their Parties; and each determin'd to puſh to the utmoſt, a Cauſe on which depended the Crown of *England*, and the *Norman* Dukedom.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Legate ſtirs heartily in the King's Cauſe.

STEPHEN no ſooner found himſelf at Liberty, than he determin'd how to act, as well as what to do. He ſaw the vaſt Power the Legate had in the Kingdom, and he firſt made him firmly his Friend.

This Churchman now bethought him of a great Expedient: the Concurrence and Authority of the holy See. He wrote to *Rome*, and he repreſented *Stephen* as pious, wiſe, and gentle: *Matilda* he compared to Bears and Wolves; falſe, proud, oppreſſive of the Church: and many more Crimes he laid to her Charge needleſs after the laſt.

The Pope knew nothing of what paſs'd in *England* but from the Legate: he believ'd all that was written; and he return'd his Anſwer full of Favour to *Stephen*, and of Perdition to the Rival of his Claim.

He read the Letter with Tranſport, and he called a Synod. The Buſineſs of the State was the Purpoſe of their Meeting, which was at *Weſtminſter*; and every Eye was purpoſely drawn upon them.

The Legate ſpoke long and well upon the Diſtreſs of the Time, and the Loſs of Blood that muſt attend on the diſputed Title: when he had rous'd the Paſſions of his Auditory, he proceeded more warmly; he painted *Stephen* as an Angel, and he drew *Matilda* as a Fiend: he repreſented the Title of the one, and the other in the moſt favourable Light for *Stephen*; and ſumming up the whole, he added, if in theſe Difficulties your own Judgment is doubtful, hear the Voice of Heaven.

He read the Pope's Letter, ſupporting his Cauſe, condemning *Matilda*; and directing the Church to ſtand by their proper Sovereign King *Stephen*.

The Conſequence was univerſal Aſſent, and Sentence of Excommunication was now pronounced againſt all who eſpous'd the Cauſe of *Matilda*, by that reverend Mouth which had ſo lately ſpoke the ſame terrible Words againſt the Adherents of *Stephen*.

The Year 1142, open'd with theſe Advantages to the King. The very Article of ſetting him at Liberty gave Thouſands to his Cauſe. This had been foreſeen, but *Matilda* was adviſ'd upon matureſt Council, to ſubmit to it. The Earl of *Gloceſter* was her Hand, her Head, and Heart, ſhe could do nothing without him; and he was to be obtain'd no other Way.

He ſaw the Cauſe of *Matilda* declining daily: he found *Stephen* would be too ſtrong ſoon for Oppoſition; and for a laſt Stroke in a Game nearly deſperate, he went to *Normandy* to bring over Forces from the Duke of *Anjou*.

The Duke was not ſo well ſettled in his new Dominions that he could ſpare much Force; but what he could he ſent, and with them his Son *Henry*.

Stephen, who was not uninform'd of this Motion, fell in the mean time upon his Enemy here. *Matilda* was at *Oxford*, whither he led his Force; beſieg'd the Place, and threaten'd heavily if he ſhould be oppoſ'd by the People.

His Threatenings avail'd little, for the Defence was obſtinate; he puſh'd the Siege with as much Vigour, and brought the Town at laſt to capitulate. *Matilda* knew what ſhe had to expect, and ſhe eſcap'd again while the Articles were preparing.

She got to *Wallingford*; where, toward the End of that Year *Gloceſter* arriv'd, and with him *Henry* and the *Norman* Succours.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Diſputes of Stephen *with* Matilda *are terminated in the Year* 1147.

IN the Spring of the Year 1143, every Thing was preparing on each Side for Action; but the very Sinews of War were wanting to both Parties. Money would have done great Things on either Side, but one was as poor as the other; and it was not the Intereſt of either to forfeit the Goodwill of the People by large Demands.

Matilda was without Hope; but the Legate ſtood firmly to *Stephen*; and he obtain'd a large Sum from the Clergy.

This gave him great Advantage; and the People in general were for him: but *Matilda* ſtill had ſo many Adherents, that ſhe was not without Reſources. She diſputed every Thing, and kept his beſt Force in Employment near four Years.

All this Time the Kingdom ſuffer'd the full Miſeries of a Civil War.

It was a drooping Cauſe *Matilda* thus ſupported, but ſtill it was kept up. *Gloceſter* did all: he ſaw the Event of many poſſible Accidents; and he therefore determin'd, tho' he could not ſucceed by Force, to wait them, and ſtand in a Readineſs to ſeize them if they ſhould offer. The Death of *Stephen*, or any great Diſpute with his People; nay, but a Quarrel with his Barons, might give *Matilda* the Advantage againſt him.

Theſe *Gloceſter* waited with a Soldier's Patience; and he inſpir'd his Siſter with the ſame Hopes, and with the ſame Sentiments: but all this Time her Party declin'd; and the King's ſtrengthen'd.

In 1144 many of the principal People of the Kingdom who had join'd her from ambitious Views, ſeeing them very little likely to be accompliſh'd, drop'd off; and in 1147, many more: in the ſucceeding Year, others who had ſtood neutral, join'd the King; and many of theſe who had engag'd againſt him ſubmitted, and were receiv'd into Favour.

Theſe Things added Affliction to Affliction in the Breaſt of *Matilda*; but in the Beginning of 1147, a Diſaſter greater than them all fell on her: this was the Death of *Gloceſter*. All was now Deſpair. She gave up the Thought of ſupporting her Cauſe longer here, and ſhe retired to *Normandy*.

This left *Stephen* Sovereign of the Kingdom. He receiv'd Congratulations from his Subjects; and he return'd for Anſwer every Acknowledgment that Words could offer, and every Promiſe Subjects could hope from a Sovereign.

Two Things he told them now employ'd his Thoughts; the one the publick Concern alone; the other, one in which that and his private Intereſt were united: the firſt was the repairing the Damages of ſo long a Civil War, the other the eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion.

He apply'd himſelf to the firſt by every Method a careful Sovereign could take; and there was nothing but the higheſt Juſtice in what he ſought concerning the other.

His whole Deſign was in favour of his Son *Euſtace*, a Prince diſtinguiſh'd by many Virtues: the People ſaw the ſincere Regard their King ſhew'd to their Intereſts in every Article; and they perceiv'd that his Intent in favour of his Son, employ'd all his other Thoughts: they ow'd him the Conceſſion he requir'd of them in this Point, and they paid it him with Readineſs.

In 1148, the Succeſſion was eſtabliſh'd in favour of *Euſtace*; and the Nobles and the People confirm'd it by a voluntary Oath.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Henry *aſſerts his Claim to* England.

TWO Years had now paſs'd in which *Britain* enjoy'd perfect Tranquillity; happy in a Sovereign whoſe Misfortunes had render'd him amiable in all his Conduct. A new Cruſade had employ'd the Arms of thoſe who thought War a Pleaſure; and the *French Lewis*, who might have elſe been troubleſome, was reaping Glory there.

Stephen thought himſelf happy that he had eſtabliſh'd the Crown in Peace upon his own Head; and aſſured it to his Poſterity: but he flatter'd himſelf too far when he imagin'd all was determin'd againſt Oppoſition.

Tho' nothing more was heard of *Matilda*, *Henry* her Son, a Youth of enterprizing Genius, form'd a Deſign to aſſert his Title.

In the Year 1149, he came privately into *England*, and engag'd his great Uncle the King of *Scotland* in his Intereſts. *Stephen* found his Dreams of Quiet had deceiv'd him: he march'd a Force to the North, and his Approach ſeparated them. They were in no Condition to ſtand before him, and the King of *Scotland* retired to his own Territories, and *Henry* to *Normandy*.

The Father of *Henry* dy'd ſoon after his Return, leaving him *Anjou*; and his Mother for her Life, *Normandy*; after which *Anjou* was to devolve to a younger Son, and *Normandy* to *Henry*.

Thus were the Affairs of *Normandy* ſettled in 1150; and this Allotment of the Territories of the late Earl of *Anjou*, threaten'd no Diſturbance to the reſt of *Europe*.

Princes bequeath Crowns; but it is not always their Wills are Laws after their Death. 'Twas otherwiſe in this Caſe. *Henry* was the Favourite of *Matilda*: he laid before her Schemes of vaſt Importance, the Reduction of *England* was but a Part of his great Project; and ſhe to add Weight to the Name of a Prince, about to undertake ſuch Enterprizes, conſented to his then taking the Title of *Duke of Normandy*.

A Pretender to *England* now comes upon the Stage, whoſe Authority and Credit threaten Danger. An Accident added greatly to his Strength, and conſequently to the Alarms of *Britain*; nor was that the only Kingdom which now felt him troubleſome.

In this Year *Lewis* of *France* returning from the Holy War, divorced his Queen. The Cauſe aſſign'd was Conſanguinity; but 'tis ſaid Jealouſy, upon too firm Foundation, was the real Occaſion.

Lewis, who took Care for his own Sake thus to conceal the Diſhonour of his Queen, parted from her in a very handſome Manner; giving her for her Life, by the Articles of Separation, three very conſiderable Provinces, *Guyenne*, *Poictou*, and *Saintonge*.

Henry ſeiz'd the Prize: he marry'd the divorced Queen before any Step could be taken to prevent him; and from an Earl of *Anjou* became at once poſſeſs'd of *Normandy*, and theſe three Provinces; and Claimant upon *England*. All this in the Hands of an enterprizing Youth, gave Umbrage to *France*.

Lewis and *Stephen* were not naturally Friends, but Intereſt united them againſt *Henry*. The *French* King again inveſted *Euſtace* as Duke of *Normandy*; and at the ſame Time rais'd Troubles in *Anjou*, by means of that younger Brother, to whom *Anjou* was to devolve on *Henry*'s taking *Normandy*.

Stephen took all Precautions he could at Home: but theſe led him into the Knowledge of his Peoples Hearts, of which he was before Ignorant. He thought the Succeſſion ſecure to *Euſtace*, by the Oath which had been given; but as he foreſaw what *Henry* would attempt, and with how great a Power; he endeavour'd to add to the Security by having the Prince ſolemnly crown'd his Succeſſor in his Lifetime.

This diſcloſ'd a Plot of which he gueſs'd little. *Henry* had been tampering with the Clergy; and they declin'd what *Stephen* propos'd to them. When he urg'd it in a more preſſing Manner, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was to perform the Office, flatly deny'd; and on the King's demanding his Reaſons, anſwer'd, It was by the Pope's Order. 'Twas enough that he reign'd unmoleſted, but they had Orders from *Rome* never to crown the Son of one who had uſurp'd the Crown.

This was too near Rebellion to be ſuffer'd with Impunity. The Archbiſhop had ſo manag'd his Clergy, that they were unanimouſly with him. The King incens'd, ſhut them up in the Houſe where they were aſſembled; but the Archbiſhop eſcap'd, and made his Way to *Normandy*.

CHAP. XXIX.

Stephen *is involved in new Troubles.*

PEACE was never farther from *Stephen* than when he had promis'd himſelf the Enjoyment of it in ſucceſsful Security. He ſaw the Misfortune; and he faced it with Reſolution. He expected *Henry* in *England*, and he prepared for him: but beſide this, he took every Step to delay his Coming.

Euſtace was ſent to *Normandy*; and aſſiſted by the King of *France*, engag'd in Honour to ſupport his Inveſtiture, and bound in Policy to humble *Henry*. There was no Way like this to attempt it.

The Oppoſition and the Difficulties thrown in the Way of this young Adventurer, only increas'd his Spirit. His younger Brother was put into Poſſeſſion of *Anjou*, and before he could reach him, *Euſtace* had ſeiz'd on *Normandy*: *Stephen* the while ſat firmly on the Throne; and it would have appear'd to any one that this Prince, Heir to theſe Kingdoms, was at once ſhuffled out of them all.

He ſhew'd there was a Manner of encountering Difficulties before which they muſt fall. His Party was ſtrengthen'd in *England*; and held out *Wallingford*, then one of the ſtrongeſt Places in the Kingdom, againſt *Stephen*, reducing him to the Neceſſity of a Siege; and defending the Place bravely.

This was the State of *Henry*'s Affairs in *Britain*, and this gave him Hope. He fell upon his other Buſineſs as one in Haſte to finiſh it; for here was the great Blow to be made; and he was ſucceſsful. He drove his Brother out of *Anjou*, and *Euſtace* ſoon after out of *Normandy*; and joining Prudence to his Spirit, he made a League with *France*.

All this was done ſo ſuddenly, that unexpectedly by *Stephen*, *Henry* appear'd at *Wallingford* before the Siege was ended.

The Spirit and Expedition of the Prince aſtoniſhed the King; and his Wiſdom in the Treaty with *Lewis* confounded all his Meaſures. Many of the Nobles join'd him; and he appear'd with a Force able to diſpute the Fate of the Kingdom upon nearly equal Terms.

Stephen put on a Face of dauntleſs Reſolution, but he was inwardly in Terror. The Armies were too near to part without an Action; and its Event was very uncertain.

Stephen had loſt ſome Ground by his rough Meaſures with the Clergy, and ſo much the Prince had gain'd: for in theſe Caſes ſo much Loſs on one Part, is ſo much at leaſt certain Gain on the other. He ſaw the Hazard to which he was expoſed, and he remembered the Chains he had worn from this Youth's Mother.

He determined to offer Terms; and he commiſſioned for that Purpoſe the Earl of *Arundel*, a Nobleman whoſe Virtue and Wiſdom had rendered him univerſally reverenced.

This Baron, pretending it his own Act, interpoſed between the King and Prince: he laid before them both the Miſeries and Blood that muſt attend upon their proceeding by Force; and he applied to both, but in the moſt preſſing Words to *Stephen*, to let it be try'd, whither ſomething might not be done by Treaty.

Stephen affected to be much averſe to this; and the Prince truly was ſo. He was young and violent; but he had alſo Wiſdom. He ſaw the *Engliſh* Nobility preſſed him to an Accommodation; and he perceived, that if he perſiſted to decide it by a Battle, he ſhould loſe their Favour. This could not be riſqued; and to this Neceſſity, not to any thing Lord *Arundel* could ſay, he liſten'd; and conſented to an Interview.

The King advanced on one Side, and the Prince of the other; the *Thames*, narrow at *Wallingford*, was between. Their Conference was ſhort, but the Reſult of it was a Truce at preſent, to give Opportunity for propoſing a Peace. This cloſed the Year 1152.

C H A P. XXX.

The Death of Stephen.

ENGLAND might indeed fear it ſhould become a Scene of Blood, as it was to be the Stake of two Youths, in Caſe of *Stephen*'s Death. *Euſtace* was as warm, as violent, and ſpirited as *Henry*; and it was happy for the Kingdom that 'twas not he who now diſputed it, but his Father advanced to Years of more Prudence, and render'd cautious by a Life of various Fortune.

The Truce was faithfully obſerved; but what could be expected from a Treaty! Not that the Prince would give up his Claim, for he was unconquer'd; much leſs that *Stephen*, who was in Poſſeſſion, ſhould reſign to him.

The only Proſpect was, the ſettling on *Henry* the Succeſſion: but this muſt be very hateful to the King, and very terrible to *Euſtace*.

This Prince had made as much Haſte from *Normandy* to aſſiſt his Father, as *Henry* to attack him: he was preſent at the Juncture, but he became ſenſible that his Preſence was troubleſome, and could be of no Uſe to either Party. He very modeſtly and prudently retired from the Army; and left the King without any other Reſtraint than that of his Affection.

That was however ſufficient; and nothing could be done againſt it. 'Twas hinted on every Occaſion, that the leaſt *Henry* could expect was the Right of Succeſſion; and *Stephen* declared abſolutely againſt it. Only the Fear of the People kept the King from deciding it by an Action: a thing *Henry* wiſh'd as heartily, but declined for the ſame Reaſon.

An Accident facilitated the Meaſures; a very terrible one to *Stephen*; it was the Death of his Son. Had *Euſtace* lived, he would never have been tied to the Conditions propoſed, if his Father could have been induced to grant them.

Now all was eaſy. *Stephen*'s Concern got the better of his Paſſion: he ſaw the Barons ſiding with his Rival; and though he was deſirous of taking his ſecond Son *William* into the Succeſſion in the Place of *Euſtace*, he found it quite impracticable.

He agreed to the Terms propoſed by the Friends of *Henry*, and in 1153 adopted him as a Son. The Succeſſion was ſettled upon *Henry*; and *William* was taken into his Protection under an Oath to favour him; and to give him full Poſſeſſion of his Family Eſtates and Honours.

The Treaty was ſign'd at *Weſtminſter* in 1153, to the perfect Satisfaction of the People. They had dreaded the bloody Scene which threaten'd them; and they were happy in this Calm which promiſed laſting Peace.

It might have been expected, that *Henry* was to wait a long Time for the Crown; for *Stephen* was but in his forty-ninth Year: but it happen'd otherwiſe, for he ſurvived the Treaty only eleven Months; and *Henry*, whoſe Right could not be diſputed, came into quiet Poſſeſſion of the Throne.

The Circumſtances of the Death of *Stephen* are not related. All we know is, that it happen'd on the 25th of *October* in the Year 1154, and that it was ſudden.

Henry had ſome Time before departed abruptly for *Normandy*. There was a Pretence that *William* the Son of *Stephen* had form'd a Conſpiracy to deſtroy him; but there is no authentick Account of it. Perhaps *Stephen* fell by his Contrivance. Men die at fifty as at other Ages: but King's Deaths are ſo important, they ſhould be canvaſſed ſtrictly. The Circumſtances are ſlightly recorded; but they wear a ſuſpicious Aſpect.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Succeſſion of Henry *the Second to the* British *Throne.*

WE have ſeen ſometimes the Death of a King involve this unhappy Nation in Diſputes and Blood; and there was now too much Reaſon to fear ſuch a Conſequence.

Henry, to whom the Succeſſion was allotted, was abſent; and who ſhould ſay that *William*, preſent among the People, would not aſſert his Title: he was a Prince of ſo little Spirit that he did not attempt it; and of ſo little Virtue none deſired him.

The Barons were in general in the Intereſts of *Henry*; and the People dreaded a Civil War. All was in quiet Expectation of his Arrival; and the Patience of the *Engliſh* was well tried on this Occaſion, for 'twas ſix Weeks before he came. Some Diſturbances at Home detained him a Fortnight after he had received the News; and he waited all the reſt of the Time for a Wind.

Henry knew he was ſecure. Thoſe he could truſt had all the Offices of Importance; and he had Intelligence that all Things went on favourably: he arrived at *Horſham* in the latter End of *December* 1151, and was ſolemnly crowned immediately after.

Henry perceived the People rejoiced in his Acceſſion; and conſidered him as a Deſcendant of the *Saxon* Line. He ſhew'd a real Satisfaction in their Approbation; and he promiſed them that he would govern as a *Saxon*.

The Barons were not pleaſed with his courting the People: they ſuppoſed all Favour due to themſelves; they had been long in Poſſeſſion of a Kind of Tyranny over their Vaſſals, and of Independance at their Pleaſure on their Kings.

Henry ſtruck at once at the Root of both. His Favour to the Commons ſhewed he deſigned they ſhould feel no Oppreſſion; and he began with treading upon the Independance of the Barons by levelling their Caſtles.

In this he acted reſolutely; but with the utmoſt Shew of Moderation: he promiſed them every Mark of Favour, while he ſtruck off this dangerous Power; and he kept his Promiſes.

This kept the Nobles in ſome Order, and the Senſe of the People's univerſal Favour to him, deter'd them from the Thought of forming any Plan againſt him.

The King followed this firſt Step of Power and Authority by one of the moſt conſummate Popularity. *Stephen* had kept for many Years a Body of foreign Troops on foot: but *Henry* diſbanded them. He declared, though he was Duke of *Normandy*, he conſidered himſelf as King of *England*: and that he hoped his Conduct hitherto had, and he aſſured his People that his Behaviour to them hereafter ſhould ſhew him tender of their Intereſts: that while a King of *England* deſerved the Favour and the Love of his People, he knew they were ſo juſt that he would have them; and when he could truſt them, he needed no other Security. He held it a Diſgrace to *Britain*, to be defended by any but her Children; and he concluded with ſaying, he would truſt her in their Hands againſt the World.

The People were charmed with the Reſpect he ſhewed them, and the Confidence he repoſed in them: the Foreigners were ſent home: and *Henry* by every Method encouraged the People to conſider his Intereſt as the ſame with theirs.

The *Engliſh*, like ſome other Kingdoms, had entertain'd in their Service a kind of *Swiſs* of that Time, diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Brabanſons*, they were of *German* Origin, and they fought for Hire. They had been faithful to *Stephen*, but very diſagreeable to the People. It was theſe *Henry* diſbanded, and ſent out of the Iſland, and there could not be a greater Act of Popularity or Wiſdom. He repeated his Reaſon, "that Sovereign who did "not deſerve the Affection of his People, was not "worthy to wear the Crown; and he who had their "Hearts, would always find their Hands ready and "able to ſupport him."

It was a Compliment to the People, and they felt it deeply: the *Engliſh* of thoſe Times had Hearts that own'd no Principle ſo ſtrong as the Love of Honour.

They thought they were happy in a King, and for ſome Time they put favourable Conſtructions upon all his Actions; but they were obliged, after much Unwillingneſs, to acknowledge, that this Sovereign, whom they had exalted almoſt to a God, was but a Man.

Theſe Acts of Popularity marked the firſt Months of his Reign; but within the Year, Avarice diſclos'd itſelf in his Actions; and with it Cruelty.

Stephen had granted largely to thoſe of the principal People who beſt retain'd their Loyalty; and they were in peaceful Poſſeſſion of the Bounties. But *Henry*, by an Act of arbitrary Power, revoked them all, and took the Lands again to the Crown: not only thoſe who had no other Claim but Favour loſt their Eſtates, but even the Son of *Stephen*, whom Contracts ſhould have obliged *Henry* to protect and favour: but that is a weak royal Hand which cannot tear Parchment.

Thoſe of the Barons who ſubmitted found no Favour for their Compliance; and it was worſe for ſuch as refuſed. Some ventured to do this; and fortified themſelves in their Caſtles: the Days of *Stephen* ſeem'd returning, but *Henry* put a ſpeedy Stop to this. He marched with a large Force, and he terrified them to Obedience; and never fail'd to puniſh them for the Fault.

In all this Severity he contriv'd to keep the People rather enclin'd to his Cauſe than the other Party. He told them theſe Barons were enrich'd at their Expence by an Uſurper, whom they placed upon the Throne; that while the Revenue of the Crown was leſſened by ſo many Grants, every Neceſſity of the State compell'd the King to have Recourſe to them for Supplies: but that when the Crown had thus reclaimed its alienated Poſſeſſions, it would be able to ſupport its Expences.

When the Reſolution and Spirit of the King, and his Force to ſupport it, had reduced the Barons, and reſettled the Royal Poſſeſſions, he turned his Thoughts to the Affairs of the People: he call'd a

Council of the greateſt Perſons, and among theſe appeared *Thomas a Becket*, then lately made Chancellor: his Mother *Matilda* alſo aſſiſted; and every Thing was debated cooly, and for the moſt Part determined wiſely.

After this Council he ſummon'd a Parliament at *Wallingford*: here *Henry* had much to obtain, and therefore he granted much. He began by courting the People with their greateſt Expectations. He declared the Laws of *Edward* ſhould be of Force, and he confirm'd the Charter granted by the firſt *Henry* his Grandfather.

When he had thus won their Hearts, he open'd his own to them. "This, he ſaid, tho' but the firſt " Year of his Reign, ſhould be a true Example of " the Whole. He would in all Things that be" came a King, deſerve their Favour; and he re" queſted them to ſhew it to his Children."

Henry had two Sons, to whom he deſired the Barons and People to ſwear Fealty. This they readily did: all was ſecurely ſettled in the Kingdom: there was not an Enemy who dared to diſcloſe himſelf to the King; and the Barons who ſaw how much the Liberty and Security of the People were his Care, grew mild to them from Fear. Thus cloſed the firſt Year of *Henry the Second*'s Reign.

The People ſaw he was not without Faults, but they were ſuch as moſt affected the Barons, whom they hated, and therefore they appear'd to them almoſt as Virtues; and the Barons found the univerſal Voice ſo much in his Favour, that they were kept as obedient and as peaceable as if they had lov'd him. Fear has an Effect in bad Minds as powerful as Affection.

CHAP. XXXII.

Henry *viſits* France.

THE Affairs of *England* being ſettled, the King's next Concern was for his Dominions Abroad. He held more in *France* than any former King of *England*: he had added to *Normandy*, brought with the Conqueror, the ſeveral Provinces of *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Maine*. For theſe it was neceſſary he ſhould do Homage to the Crown of *France*; and no Man knew better than *Henry* how to do what was neceſſary. He left *England* quiet in the Beginning of 1156, and went thither.

The King receiv'd him civilly, but his Conduct like that of the *Engliſh* Barons, was ſoften'd more by Fear than Love. He ſaw him the moſt powerful of thoſe who held of that Crown; ſupported by another Kingdom; and able to be very troubleſome. The Kings of *France* in theſe early Periods, were not ſuch as Time, Ambition, and Fraud have made them now.

All paſs'd ſmoothly at this Ceremony, but *Henry* found another in Poſſeſſion of ſome of the Demeſnes, for which he had done Homage. *Geoffroy*, his Brother, had once more taken *Anjou* into his Hands. He claimed by the Will of his Father, and urg'd the Oath of *Henry* for Compliance. But *Henry* ſhew'd him, what other Ages have ſhewn many, that Oaths bind few to their Diſadvantage who have Power to break them.

Henry was determin'd, but not raſh. He demanded of the Pope a Diſpenſation of the Oath; and ſuch Men were Popes as well as Kings, that the one was as ready to grant as the other to aſk it.

The People of *Anjou* favour'd *Geoffroy*, becauſe they did not wiſh to be dependant on the Crown of *England*; but *Henry*, with his Diſpenſation in one Hand, and his Sword in the other, quieted all Exclamations, and ſubdued all Reſiſtance.

He again drove *Geoffroy* from the Province; and puniſhing lightly, and threatening heavily thoſe who had eſpous'd him, he ſettled all Things peaceably.

We have ſeen from Year to Year, in the Series of this Hiſtory, that whenever the King of *England* was involved in Troubles, or weaken'd by Diſtreſſes, the *Scots* and the *Welch* pour'd in upon the neighbouring Provinces.

The *Scots* were prudent enough to ſee now that they had no Opportunity, and *Henry* made a Treaty with their King, by which he reſtored to the Crown of *England* many Provinces, which *Stephen*'s Neceſſities had given up to *Scotland*.

There was Reaſon in the Demand; and Power to ſupport it: what *Henry* deſired, the *Scots* ſaw he could compel; and they gave leſs by Treaty than they ſaw they ſhould have loſt in a Diſpute: for they ſtill retain'd the Earldom of *Huntington*.

The *Welch* were either leſs wiſe, or more valiant, for they fell upon the neareſt Provinces of *England* while the King was powerful, and at Peace. They felt their Folly ſeverely. *Henry* was in that State in which Kings wiſh for ſome Occaſion of employing their Arms.

He march'd to the Place where their Force was poſted; but his Army was too conſiderable for them to face: they fled. They got into their inacceſſible Mountains, and there laughed at a Power, a tenth Part of which was able to have cruſh'd them.

Henry made Examples of every Town belonging to them that he could come at: he put all to Fire and Sword; and he threaten'd them with his determin'd Reſolution, to purſue them to the laſt Inch of their wild Inheritance. This was a Menace at which they ſmiled; they ſaw Mountains upon Mountains behind, and unpaſſable Foreſts before them.

What they thought ſo abſolute a Security, did not daunt *Henry*'s Reſolution: he was determin'd to put an End to their Incurſions, and he gave them their Choice of very hard Terms, or certain Deſtruction.

The *Welch*, whatever were their Faults, were too brave a People to be influenced by Threats: they ſlighted the Propoſal. *Henry* try'd to cut his Way through their Woods and Mountains, but he found it a worſe Undertaking than the *Carthaginian*'s on the

Alps. He was in Danger of ſeeing his whole Force foil'd by ſome of their ſmall Parties; and, by the Imprudence of an Officer, was very near bringing on a general Deſtruction.

The *Welch*, who ſaw he was attempting what was impracticable, fell upon him where they found moſt Advantage. They did not attempt to face his whole Force in the Field, but getting his Vanguard entangled among Rocks, and ſeparated by a long Defile from the reſt of the Troops, they fell upon them and routed them entirely.

The Standard Bearer of *England* was at that Time like our Earl Marſhal, an hereditary Officer. *Henry* of *Eſſex* at that Time held the Poſt; and not caring for the Danger that would attend it in the Field, though he very well liked the Sound and Title of it at home, he threw down the Colours, and gave out for a Reaſon that the King was kill'd.

Henry ſaw all flying, and ſhewed himſelf among them; his Words animated them, and his Example gave them Courage. The *Welch* were driven back, and the King never griev'd ſo much as that they could run faſter than he could follow. The Day was regained, and the hereditary Standard Bearer broke and made incapable.

Our Marſhal is an Officer of Form more than Service; and an hereditary Champion can at the moſt expoſe us to nothing more than Ridicule; but it were well for *Britain* at other Times, if parliamentary Intereſt and purchaſed Favour could not give Commiſſions of Importance to Men as ill ſuited to the Office, as if the Chance of Birth had thrown it on them.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Henry *prepares a Fleet.*

THE King had Prudence equal to his perſonal Courage. He ſaw the Diſadvantages under which he was acting againſt the *Welch*; and he determined upon the Means of their entire Reduction. He had all along ſeen, and he had often ſaid, "The Navy of *Britain* was its Defence and Glory." He gave Orders to fit out as many Veſſels as could be got ready at ſo ſudden Notice; and he employed all who could be engaged in building more.

He knew the Strength and the Importance of the *Welch*, and he determined to take this Opportunity of Peace elſewhere to humble them: he had indeed more extenſive Views in this Preparation.

He made it however ſerve the preſent Occaſion in full Force, by pretending to the *Welch* that it was aim'd ſolely at them. He ſignified to them, that unleſs they would ſubmit, and give good Surety of their future obedient and peaceable Behaviour, theſe Veſſels now equipping ſhould lie for ever before their Coaſts, harraſs them by continual Hoſtilities, and ſhut them up in their own barren Territory; till thoſe the Sword could not reach ſhould die by Hunger.

We owe to *Brompton*'s Care and Accuracy the Account of this Naval Preparation; but others leſs careful to find the Cauſe, confirm the Fact by the Conſequences.

The *Welch* ſubmitted: and now *Henry* ſaw the Opportunity of putting a laſting End to their Incurſions. He drew up the Terms of a Peace, not diſadvantageous to the Enemy, unleſs in this ſingular Inſtance, that he reſerved to himſelf a Power of cutting Ways and making Roads through their Woods and Mountains; that he might be able at any future Time, to march an Army into every Part of their Country.

The *Welch* ſaw the Purpoſe of this, but there was no diſputing: the Terms were ſign'd, and all ſeem'd quiet.

So early as in the Year 1157 was ſet in *Wales* the Example followed ſo late in *Scotland*. Near ſix hundred Years had paſſed before ſo plain and rational a Courſe pointed out ſo happily by this Sovereign was purſued farther.

It does Honour to the Reign of his preſent Majeſty; and will, if any future Genius ſhould deſcend to write the Hiſtory of Times like theſe, palliate many Blemiſhes.

Henry returned ſucceſsful from his Expedition; and he was again crown'd in the Year 1159. Thoſe who have recorded theſe repeated Coronations of our earlier Kings have not ſeen the Cauſe. Oaths were repeated at the Ceremony in the moſt ſolemn Manner; and every Repetition of the Ceremony was a new Aſſurance of the People's Liberties.

This Year 1159 gave *Henry* a farther Opportunity of exerting himſelf. His Brother *Geoffrey*, when he had driven him out of *Anjou*, had by the voluntary Suffrage of the People become Earl of *Nantz*; they wanted a Sovereign, and they choſe the Brother of the King of *England*; ſuppoſing his Diſputes with ſo powerful a Relation would now end; and that *England* would ſupport them.

Geoffrey poſſeſſed his new Dignity but a ſhort Time, for in this Year he died.

The Duke of *Bretagne*, who was alſo Earl of *Richmond* in *England*, ſeized upon the Town and Earldom of *Nantz* on *Geoffrey*'s Death. This was natural and juſt; but *Henry* choſe to think otherwiſe. Though he had diſpoſſeſſed his Brother of his former Dominions, he did not think proper to forget the Kindred here. He claimed the Earldom of *Nantz* as Heir to him; and without waiting the Reſult of tedious Negotiations, he diſpoſſeſſed the Duke of *Bretagne* of his *Engliſh* Earldom, and ordered a Fleet to be ready to tranſport his Forces for the Continent.

The Motions of ſo powerful a Sovereign were followed by the Eyes of all *Europe*; and every one ſaw by the Preparations he had made, that he was determined not to be put off, or driven from his Purpoſe.

'Twas not the Seaſon for Action, but he loſt no Moment of the Time. He went into *Normandy* with his *Engliſh* Force, and while he order'd it to be encreaſed very conſiderably there, he made a Viſit to the King of *France*.

Henry knew he could carry his Point againſt any Oppoſition, but he choſe to do it without Blood. He knew the Duke of *Bretagne*, if unaſſiſted, would prove a weak Enemy; and he ſaw that his Aſſiſtance, if any, muſt come from *France*. He knew *Lewis* envied him and hated him; but he had the ſovereign Pleaſure to be conſcious alſo that he feared him.

Thus *England* ſhould always manage *France*; it is natural that Kingdom ſhould envy her, but Fear may always turn the Scale to Quietneſs.

Thus it happened in the preſent Inſtance. *Henry* ſpoke in very abſolute Terms his Right, and his determin'd Purpoſe to ſupport it againſt the Duke of *Bretagne*; but in all elſe he was the dear Friend and affectionate Brother of the moſt worthy *Lewis*. He brought the King of *France* to a Reſolution of ſtanding neutral in this Diſpute, and to ſtrengthen the friendly Terms they now embraced, he concluded a Marriage between his eldeſt Son and *Margaret* his Daughter. This Prince was five Years old, and the Princeſs as many Months: however it anſwered perfectly the Purpoſe of *Henry*.

He put himſelf at the Head of his Force as ſoon as the Seaſon permitted; and he marched directly for *Nantz*. He gave the Duke of *Bretagne* his Choice of ſurrendering it without Blood; but he let him know withal a King of *England* claiming his Right was not to be reſiſted.

The Duke ſaw his Condition: the Marriage concluded between the *Engliſh* and *French* Families, ſhew'd him the only Aſſiſtance, on which he could depend, was cut off; and he ſubmitted to his Fortune: he gave up the Town and Earldom; and *Henry* laid aſide all Thought of Animoſity.

The Dukedom of *Bretagne* now glittered in the Eyes of the King of *England*. He weighed all Circumſtances, and found the attempting it by Force attended with too many Difficulties: but he determined on a proper Courſe. He had another Son at preſent in his Cradle; and the Duke of *Bretagne* had only a Daughter: theſe were contracted, and five Years after married. This Son was *Geoffrey*; and, in Conſequence of this Marriage, his Father in Law's Death made him Duke of *Bretagne*.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Henry's *Deſigns upon* Tholouſe.

Ambition is the Avarice of great Minds: the more it poſſeſſes, the more it wants. 'Twas thus with *Henry* the Second, King of *England*; he had enlarged his Territories far beyond any former King, and that very Succeſs gave him an unconquerable Thirſt of more.

He reviv'd in 1159 his Wife's Title to *Tholouſe*, an Earldom of very great Extent. He had found the *French* King eaſily wrought upon in the Affair of *Nantz*, and he therefore ſuppoſed he would be as condeſcending here: but he deceived himſelf. *Lewis* had thoſe about him, who ſaw how large the Aims of *Henry* were; and they rous'd the ſlow Spirit of that Sovereign to ſtop them while he had Power.

"You have in a Manner given this King of *England* *Bretagne*, and you will now let him ſpread his Settlements throughout *Languedoc*. He poſſeſſes too much for your Safety already, and you are giving him more; unleſs you oppoſe him now, be aſſured his next Deſign will be upon your Crown; which with thoſe Advantages your eaſy Temper gives him, he may put to Hazard."

He muſt be no King who was not rous'd at this. *Lewis* awak'd: and he determined to oppoſe him. There was a great deal to be ſaid againſt *Henry's* Claim; and among the reſt, a former relinquiſhing of the ſame Pretence, then urged by *Lewis*, and a long and undiſturbed Poſſeſſion of the other Party: but againſt theſe *Henry* inſiſted on his Right, and would againſt the World. Preſcription of Time weigh'd as little with him, as the quitting the ſame Claim by another. He ſaid, no Period could change the Nature of Right and Wrong; nor did the Weakneſs or Eaſineſs of one Prince determine what ſhould be the Conduct of another.

There does not ſeem at any time a Monarch of more Senſe or Spirit than this *Henry* to have ſway'd the *Britiſh* Scepter; and to compleat his Character, it ought to be obſerved, he was too wiſe and reſolute to be led by the Councils of others.

He determined to employ a Force worthy of the Cauſe, and equal to the ſtrongeſt Oppoſition he could meet.

Scotland was no longer at Enmity with him, but an Ally. He called on the King for his Aſſiſtance, and he came with a large Force in Perſon; a King of *Wales* did the ſame: the Flower of the *Engliſh* Nobility alſo accompanied *Henry* in the Expedition: and he added to theſe, his *Norman* and his *Engliſh* Forces, ſome from the Earl of *Arragon*, which were obtained by a firm and prudent Treaty.

Theſe ſupported the *Engliſh*: and *Henry* raiſed his Standard in *Languedoc*. *Cabors* lay in his Way, and he took it as he went on: from thence he proceeded to *Tholouſe*; and after a fruitleſs Summons, an Act of Ceremony not of Expectation, he ſat down before it in a regular Siege: determined to puſh his Pretenſions to the Extream of his Power.

He kept his Purpoſe, but the Succeſs did not anſwer his Preparations, nor his Expectation. *Lewis* had been ſo thoroughly alarm'd at the Ambition of *Henry*, that he had thrown himſelf into *Thoulouſe* with a great Force.

Henry threaten'd loud; but *Lewis* defended himſelf with Courage. The King of *England* accuſed his Brother of *France* with Breach of their friendly Treaty; but *Lewis* anſwer'd, "Kings could expect no Friendſhip who had ſo much Ambition."

Thus high was the Matter carried on both Sides.

The *French* were too numerous, too brave, and too well ſupply'd to yield him any Ground of Hope; and after ſome time *Henry* found it. He felt the firſt Check to his aſpiring Temper deeply; but Policy took the Place of a furious Paſſion; and he acted when another would have exclaimed.

He ſtill kept his conquer'd Town *Cahors*. Into this he put his Chancellor, *Thomas a Becket*, his Favourite, and one who had a Right to be ſo for his Integrity and Wiſdom. Himſelf march'd back to *Normandy*.

Lewis rejoiced too ſoon at the raiſing of a Siege: The King of *England* was not above Reſiſtance, but he was too conſiderable an Enemy for haſty Triumph.

He enter'd *Beauvoiſis*, and ravag'd all the Territory: he gave for Reaſon the Breach of Faith in *Lewis*, with whom, while he oppos'd him in his juſt Claim to *Tholouſe*, he ſwore to keep no Terms.

Lewis was concern'd to hear of theſe Diſtreſſes of his Subjects, but he was aſtoniſh'd ſoon after to find *Henry* in Poſſeſſion of ſeveral Caſtles in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*.

The golden Key had open'd the Locks of theſe Fortreſſes for *Henry*; who had put it into the Hands of the Governor, *Simon*, Earl of *Montfort*, a Name, tho' ſerviceable to our Country, yet mark'd to all Ages with Ignominy for his Perfidy.

Lewis found he had triumph'd too ſoon. Theſe Caſtles reſign'd by *Montfort*, cut off the Communication with *Orleans*. They were the *Minorca* of that Year. But negatively uſeful to the new Maſter, though of the utmoſt Importance to their former Poſſeſſors. *Henry* knew this, and knew the Value of his Purchaſe.

Lewis was reduced to offer Terms. He propos'd a Ceſſation of Arms; this was follow'd by a Treaty: and *Henry* held his Title, tho' without Poſſeſſion, to the Earldom of *Thoulouſe*.

CHAP. XXXV.

New Diſputes ariſe with France.

THE Treaty of the Year 1162, confirm'd all that had been agreed upon before; and re-eſtabliſh'd a good Underſtanding between the two Kings. The Marriage of *Margaret* with the Son of *Henry* was one of the Things again ſettled: and ſhe was to have for her Dowry *Giſors*, and a Part of the *Vexin*.

Each bound himſelf by the moſt ſolemn Ties, to Performance of all Articles of this Treaty; and the intended Dower was put into the Poſſeſſion of the Knights Templars, to be deliver'd when the Prince and Princeſs were of an Age to marry, and the Ceremony was perform'd.

Lewis had but an ill Mind to part with any of his Territories; but his Comfort in this Caſe was, that many Years muſt paſs before *Henry* could have Poſſeſſion, the Parties being yet Infants.

Henry had deep Deſigns, and he entruſted his favourite Chancellor, *Becket*, with the Execution of them. The Chancellor went to *France* with a great Retinue, and demanded in form the Princeſs *Margaret*, to be conducted to *England*, and there educated till of an Age for marrying. *Lewis* diſliked this, but he could not eaſily refuſe his Conſent.

The Chancellor brought the Lady to *England*; and *Henry* order'd the Marriage to be immediately celebrated. The Bride was three Years old.

Lewis ſaw all his Expectations of Time and Chance defeated. The Terms of the Treaty were accompliſh'd, and the Knights Templars deliver'd up the Places of which they held Poſſeſſion as her Dower to *Henry*.

The King of *England* was now again ſtrengthen'd in *France*; and *Lewis* never had ſo much or ſo juſt Cauſe of Umbrage. He accus'd *Henry* of bribing the great Maſter of the Templars; and perhaps not unjuſtly.

However, our King juſtify'd himſelf to God and Man, that he had done *France* no Injury, having taken Poſſeſſion of the Places according to the Form of the Articles. Man he might baffle with theſe Artifices; but to Heaven it wore an Aſpect of Fraud.

War was renew'd upon it, and by the Preparation, much might have been expected to be done; but the Pope interfer'd, and by a prudent Mediation brought all to Peace.

In the Year 1163 this was ſettled: and *Henry* return'd to *England*, as much aſſur'd as Kings can be, of Peace.

The *Welch* and *Scots* remain'd perfectly quiet, and *Normans* and *Engliſh* equally reſpected and lov'd him. But Peace laſted only a ſhort Time: a private Quarrel with a Subject diſturb'd the Tranquility of the Kingdom: this was the famous Diſpute of the King and *Becket*. Tho' no Naval Occurrence, it is connected with the Subject, and we ſhall therefore give it briefly, laying before the Reader Facts, not Words: they are needful to keep up the Thread of the Hiſtory, and a few Pages will record them.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Character of Thomas Becket.

WE have occaſionally named, and muſt ſay more of *Becket*: A Man of mean Birth, educated to the Law; rais'd by his Merit, but incapable of bearing his exalted Station decently.

The King took early Notice of him, when ſome Accident of Buſineſs brought him in his Way:

Henry had Underſtanding; and he had the uncommon Courage in a King to uſe it. He choſe his own Officers, even to leſſer Poſts, and by that Means they were filled with Men of Abilities.

Partiality or Bribes may influence a Miniſter to put an undeſerving Man in Office; but Kings are out of the Reach of one, and above the Influence of the other. Thus *Becket* became promoted: God gave him Talents, and it was his good Chance to be born when the Royal Eye regarded them.

The Archdeacon of *Canterbury* had been the topmoſt Height to which the Favour of Subjects had rais'd him; but the King (rewarding like a King the Good he ſaw in him) made him at once High Chancellor.

Here was his Ruin: this was a Height that inborn Meanneſs could not bear: he roſe reſpected, but his Conduct in that high Station forfeited the Regard he had firſt obtain'd; and brought him the univerſal Hatred of the Great, and Curſes of the common People.

His Pride and Inſolence render'd him inſupportable to the firſt; and his Haughtineſs and unfeeling Spirit, with ſome tyrannic Uſes of his Power, made him hateful more than ever Man was to the others. He ſtands an everlaſting Inſtance how vainly Heaven beſtows Greatneſs of Genius, unleſs Goodneſs of Heart be with it.

It was never ſeen otherwiſe but thoſe who are moſt inſolent, where they dare, are alſo meaneſt in their Submiſſions to Superiors. *Becket* was ſuch. Tho' he was proud, regardleſs, and arrogant to all Men elſe, when he approach'd the King he fawn'd. *Henry* believ'd there was not in his Realm a Man ſo much devoted to his Service; and till a fooliſh Conſciouſneſs of his Importance ſpoil'd him, he was ſuch.

In the Height of his Favour with the King, *Theobald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dy'd. *Henry* ſent for *Becket*, and gave him ſuch Credentials, that he was choſen in his Place.

The King had given the See to *Becket* only as a Mark of farther Favour; but he and his Chancellor view'd it in a different Light. *Becket* had been ſo long us'd to ſee all but one beneath him, that he could not bear now to ſee that one above him.

The Archbiſhoprick ſuited all his Purpoſes: this was in the greateſt Degree dependent on the holy Chair; and this ambitious Man choſe Dependance, if any muſt be, to a greater and more diſtant Power.

Henry ſaw nothing of his deep Deſigns: he was aſtoniſh'd to receive the Seals from him; and much more to hear ſoon after, that the new Prelate, accuſtom'd to the utmoſt State and Pageantry, had diſmiſs'd his Retinue, and wore Sackcloth.

None found that there was more Pride in this than in the Robe of Chancellor. Thoſe who hated him were as much aſtoniſh'd as his Friends; and tho' unwilling to acknowledge his Repentance, they had heap'd ſo many Cruelties and Oppreſſions upon his Character, that it was thought he was ſenſible of his Errors, and determin'd in a moſt exemplary Manner to reform his Life.

How hard it is to judge of Pride! Nothing can deſcend ſo low as Ambition. If the Generality of People had been miſtaken about *Becket*, none were ſo much ſo as the King. He and his Archbiſhop entertain'd Thoughts ſo perfectly oppoſite, that nothing could reconcile them.

Henry, offended at the Inſolence of the Clergy, had determin'd to humble them; and it was very pleaſing to him that he could at once favour a Man he eſteem'd and lov'd; and promote in a great Meaſure his Deſign.

The Conduct of an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* muſt be of the utmoſt Importance to a King who entertain'd a Reſolution of pulling down the Pride of Churchmen; and he thought this Man's complying Temper moſt happy for his Purpoſe.

'Twas natural to think thus: but the King found in Archbiſhop *Becket*, a Man as different in his Behaviour from the Chancellor of that Name, as one Man could be from another. Had he continu'd *Becket* Chancellor, probably he would have found him inſtrumental to his Purpoſe againſt the Clergy; for then he was not concern'd: but to give the proudeſt, and moſt inſolent of Men the principal Dignity of the Church, and expect him to join in a Deſign of humbling it, was a Project which could not ſucceed.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The King diſputes with Becket.

THE King ſaw Obſtinacy in the Chancellor's giving up the Seals; but he was not to be bullied by his Officers with Threats, or with the Act of Reſignation. If he doubted whether he could give the Dignity thus quitted, to one of equal Parts with him who had reſign'd it; he doubted not but he could beſtow it on one of greater Honeſty; and he determin'd not to court, but humble the Subject who had thus offended him.

He receiv'd the Archbiſhop with great Coldneſs: told him he was very glad to learn how exemplary a Life he was about to lead; and added, that nothing became a Churchman like Humility. Saying this he turn'd about: and all Eyes ſaw the Prelate had no longer the King's Favour.

Henry, as he was determin'd upon breaking thro' the Power of the Clergy, began by an Act of the higheſt Popularity. The Church was at that Time a Tribunal in itſelf; and Churchmen could be try'd before no other. They acquitted their Brethren of the worſt Offences; and from their Judgment there was no Appeal.

If *upon their Piety* they found the accuſed not guilty, no matter that Oaths, and a Thouſand Witneſſes declared, they ſaw the Fact committed; it was to be ſuppos'd Churchmen were too wiſe to be deceiv'd in the Circumſtances; and to ſuppoſe they could violate their *Piety* by avouching upon its

Teſtimony, an Untruth, would have been little leſs than Sacrilege.

Churchmen were Men like others; and no more exempt from Crimes: this gave them Scope, and they grew bold in Ill; becauſe they had no Fear of Puniſhment. The People thus ſaw a Body of Men, commiſſion'd as it were to injure and oppreſs them, and placed above the Reach of Law or Puniſhment. They repreſented to the King, and juſtly, that the Laws he had reſtored were of little Uſe while there were a Body of the People, and thoſe the moſt powerful, exempt from their Juriſdiction; and that it was not fit any ſhould reap the Benefits of a Government, who were not ſubject to its Penalties.

The King liſten'd with eager Ears; and vowed Redreſs: 'twas his firſt Stroke at the Church's Independance. He did not long wait an Opportunity; for ſoon after his Return a Prieſt, *Philip de Broc*, Canon of *Bedford*, was accuſed of Murther.

The Fact was plain; and the Crime aggravated by many cruel Circumſtances: The Prieſt was brought upon his Trial in the holy Court, and the King's Eye was fixed on the Tranſaction. *Becket* reſided in his Office; and the Sentence paſſed upon the Murtherer was, that he ſhould be ſent from his Benefice to a Monaſtery.

The People exclaimed; and the King ſeized the Opportunity. The Archbiſhop and the Biſhops who had aſſiſted at the Sentence were conven'd at *Weſtminſter*; and *Henry* addreſſing himſelf to *Becket*, ſpoke as to a Stranger, with no Favour or Anger, but with all the Force of Truth and Juſtice.

He appealed to the Laws of all civilized Nations, and to the univerſal Voice of God and Man, that Death was the proper Puniſhment for Murther; and added, "You my Lord Archbiſhop I hope will "think with me, that the Character of a Clergyman "encreaſes the Weight of the Offence."

Reaſon, Juſtice, and the univerſal Voice were with the King. But the Archbiſhop trampled upon all. He told his Sovereign, "That the Immunities of the Church were ſacred; that from their Court it was not fit there ſhould lie any Appeal: that they had judg'd; and none could alter the Sentence."

"Prelate, ſaid *Henry*, I wiſh you to underſtand "your Office; and I know mine. I am a King; "appointed in that ſacred Character by Heaven, to "adminiſter Juſtice to all my Subjects without Re"ſpect of Perſons."—He added, "That no Order "ſhould protect a Man in Ill, and leaſt of all the "Church; and that ſince he ſaw their own Body fa"vour them, it was his Pleaſure, that for the future, "Murther and Robbery, when committed by Cler"gymen, ſhould be tried in other Courts."

The Archbiſhop now behav'd with as much Arrogance to the King, as he had uſed to ſhew to others. He took every Meaſure to extend the Privileges of the Church, and he moſt earneſtly preſs'd thoſe forward which moſt intrench'd on the Prerogative. *Henry* ſaw this, and his Reſolution to humble the Clergy was doubled.

In 1163 he ſummoned an Aſſembly of the Nobles, Laity and Churchmen, to redreſs the Grievances of the State. The firſt the King named was the Abuſe of the Clergy's Privileges. He related the whole Behaviour of *Becket*, not cenſuring the Man but the Prelate; and gave his Ingratitude and Inſolence as an Inſtance, that the Clergy, ſupported as they were at preſent in a State of Independance both with regard to the Sovereign and the Laws, were Men whom no Obligations could bind, nor Power controul.

There was ſcarce a Baron who did not hate the Archbiſhop with good Cauſe: they were all rejoiced that there was an Opportunity of reſenting his Inſolences, and reducing the exorbitant Power of the Body of his Order: they univerſally avowed the King's Cauſe, and the People ſhouted their Acclamations.

Henry rejoiced at it: "If you are ſenſible, my "Lords, that theſe are Abuſes, and that they de"mand Redreſs, the Way is open: there need for "this no Innovations in the Government, which "I deteſt, though on the beſt Cauſe: I have reviv'd "many of the Laws of my Predeceſſor, the Great "*Henry* my Grandfather, and with my People's "Approbation I will recall the Articles that tend "to put this Caſe into Force."

Theſe Articles were five: and the King who came prepared in every thing, propoſed them in Form. They were theſe.

1. No Appeal to be made to the Pope but with the King's Leave. 2. No Prelate to go to *Rome* without the King's Licenſe. 3. No Officer of the King's, or Tenant in Chief, to be excommunicated without the King's Leave. 4. All Clergymen charg'd with capital Crimes, to be tried in the King's Courts. And, 5. That the Laity ſhould hold Pleas of Churches and Tithes.

Every one ſaw theſe Articles reaſonable, and all conſented to ſign them; except the Clergy. They with the good old Salvo, expreſſed their Readineſs alſo, upon Condition one ſhort Clauſe were added, that was, "ſaving the Rights and Privileges of the "Clergy and Church."

The King offended in the higheſt Degree at their Refuſal, left the Aſſembly: but, at parting, he told them with a firm Voice, they might depend he would find Means to tame their Pride; and they ſhould find the preſent Hour one for them to repent.

As inſolent as the Clergy of thoſe Days were, they were at the Bottom errant Cowards: even *Becket* not excepted. They trembled at the King's Menace, propoſed ſigning the Articles without their ſaving Clauſe; and talked of Deputies to be ſent after the King to tell him of it, and to promiſe Submiſſion to his Will in all juſt Things. *Becket* was unwilling, but he at laſt conſented; and the Clergy never felt ſo heavy a Blow.

The King was ſatisfied for the preſent; but he expected *Becket* would repent of his Conceſſion. He called a Parliament at *Clarendon*, where the ſame Regulations were propoſed, more at large, but with nothing new in Matter, and the Archbiſhop very unwillingly joined the reſt in Signing them.

Henry enjoy'd this Victory more than any Conqueſt by his Arms: but ſtill he could not think himſelf ſecure. He ſent the Articles to the Pope to be confirmed by a Bull: but the Pontiff ſaw farther than the *Engliſh* Clergy, and had more Reſolution. far from confirming them, he condemned them utterly: he declared them derogatory from the Honour of the Church, and prejudicial to her

Rights. *Becket* repented as the King imagined: he ſuſpended himſelf till the Pope ſhould pardon him. This ſoon happened, and more than Pardon for his Fault, he received Promiſes of his Holineſs's Support.

The Pope ſent to *Henry*, and the Archbiſhop of *Roan* was truſted with the Buſineſs. *Henry* receiv'd him with great Reſpect; but the firſt Article on which he inſiſted was the confirming the Articles, or, as they were now called from the Place of the Aſſembly, the Conſtitutions of *Clarendon*. This the Pope would not be brought to hear of; ſo there came nothing of the Embaſſy.

Becket ſeemed to repent more of his Humility than his Fault; and to determine he would mend it by a haughtier Carriage than ever. This gave the King and the People equally Offence.

The King held a determined Purpoſe to ruin him, but he was prudent enough to purſue it by degrees. He was accuſed of detaining a Manor from the King's Marſhal, to whom it was aſſerted to belong, and he was caſt. After this more Actions were commenced, to which he refuſed to plead; and at length he was charged with two heavy Crimes, the detaining; and embezzling great Sums of publick Money.

Becket ſaw his Danger; and he refuſed to ſtand a Trial. The Articles he had ſigned were propoſed to him, but his Anſwer was ready, "The "Pope had condemned them, and they were no "longer binding."

The Court inſiſted upon their Power; which *Becket* refuſed abſolutely to acknowledge: the King ſent for him in Perſon, and would have endeavoured earneſtly to bring him to Reaſon; but the Churchman ſeeing himſelf ſo deſperately attempted, and knowing he had nothing to expect but from Reſolution, refuſed to attend him.

Henry was enraged at his Diſobedience, and he made an Occaſion of new Revenge from it. The Archbiſhop was found guilty; and his Eſtate and Goods confiſcated: but this did not ſatisfy offended Majeſty.

Henry cauſed him to be accuſed of two new Crimes; and theſe were Perjury and Treaſon. His Diſobedience was the Pretence for this, and the Court found him guilty: but *Henry* here made the firſt Step in his Conduct. *Becket*'s refuſing to come at the King's Command, was conſtrued into the Want of a proper Obedience; and that Want of Obedience was made a Violation of his Oath at the Coronation; and that Violation Perjury.

The Lawyers of this Time could not have gone farther to accuſe a Man capitally; a cruel Sentence was no Sanction to the King's Proceeding: the Court hated *Becket*, and they knew *Henry's* Deſign.

Kings are ſometimes favoured at the Expence of Juſtice; but if they have Ears to Fame, in the next Age they find the Favour laſts no longer than the Time. With all the Faults of *Becket*, he muſt have Juſtice: this Proceeding was tyrannous, oppreſſive and unfair.

The King's raſh Procedure gave *Becket* Spirit; and put him on a Conduct which in a better Man would have been very honourable: even in him it is not without its Luſtre.

He continued firm to his Determination, that the Articles being condemned by the Pope, no Sentence reach'd him; for that no Court of this Kind had Cognizance of his Actions: he ſlighted at once the Sentence, and its great Author.

The Biſhops now joined the common Voice: they ſent him Word they did not conſider him any longer as their Primate, and they would no more hold Communion with him: he deſpiſed them for their Compliance with a ſecular Power againſt their Order; and he continued to perform all his Functions.

It was expected he would have ſubmitted, but now it was found he would not. The Peers aſſembled again in the King's Preſence, to paſs their Sentence on the Article of Treaſon, on which they had not ſpoke before; this being the laſt Stroke, and his immediate Deſtruction.

Becket kept up his Spirit and his Pride. He enter'd the Room uncalled, and in his Character. The Archbiſhop of *York* reprimanded him, and ſome of the Biſhops joined him in his Upbraidings, but *Becket* was unmov'd. Remember, ſaid *York* to him, "the King's Weapon is the ſharper." "His, re-"ply'd *Becket*, can indeed kill the Body, but mine, "as you ſhould know Lord Archbiſhop, can plunge "the Soul into Hell: let the bad tremble."

The King underſtood this, and not bearing to be threaten'd to his Face with Excommunication, which he naturally enough expected this unconquerable Churchman would denounce againſt him, he pray'd the Court to take Cognizance of this new Crime. *Becket* ſaw his Purpoſe: he refuſed to ſtay in the Court to hear his Sentence, and immediately after retired.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Diſputes of England *and* France *reſpecting* Becket.

FRANCE has at all Times been, as ſhe now is to *Britain*, an envious Neighbour, and thence a natural Enemy.

Lewis was on Terms of Friendſhip with *Henry*; but they were ſuch Terms as Kings of *France* in all other Times have held with this Kingdom; Quietneſs till there was an Opportunity of Miſchief. He ſaw the Diſpute of the King and his Archbiſhop with Satisfaction; and when *Becket* was reduced to leave the Kingdom, he invited him to his Dominions, and offered his Protection.

Henry had Notice of it, and he ſent an Embaſſy to him on the Occaſion. None hated Churchmen at that Time like Churchmen of inferior Order. A Biſhop, *Gilbert* of *London*, with the Earl of *Arundel*, undertook this Embaſſy. They repreſented to *Lewis* that it was unbecoming a King in Treaty with their Maſter, to harbour a Subject guilty of High Treaſon. *Lewis* anſwered, "That only the Pope's Sentence could declare *Becket* a Criminal; that to him he had appeal'd, and by him he muſt be judg'd: that he ſhould liſten to the King of *England* when the Sentence appear'd from *Rome*; but till then he ſhould conſider this as an unfortunate Perſon to whom Kings ow'd Protection."

If *Henry* had been raſh in his Manner of trying *Becket*, *Lewis* was weak in affording his Protection: A Churchman ſtanding up againſt his King: it was the common Cauſe of Kings to humble him: but *Lewis* did not ſee this; on the contrary, he was ſo blinded to every other Thought by the Hope of involving *England* in Troubles, that he repreſented *Becket*'s Caſe favourably to the Pope, and ſollicited his Protection.

The Pope ſaw the whole Church's Cauſe involv'd in *Becket*'s; and knew if he did not ſupport a Man who aſſerted its Rights and Privileges, none would do it after. He undertook his Cauſe in earneſt, and threaten'd *Henry* and his Nobles.

Mean time *Henry* knowing nothing of this Determination, had ſent an Embaſſy to the Pope. Here alſo a Churchman urg'd Vengeance againſt a Churchman. The Archbiſhop of *York* was commiſſion'd in this Buſineſs; and the King not doubting to ſucceed by ſuch a Meſſenger, deſir'd the Pope would ſend Legates to decide the Controverſy.

York exclaim'd loudly againſt *Becket*; and he called his Refuſal to ſubmit to the Sentence of the Court, Rebellion.

Becket came in ſoon after with his Anſwer; he ſaid, "He could not ſubmit to the Cenſure of a Temporal Court, without plain Violation of the Canons of the Church; and that he prefer'd to that Exile or Death. However, ſaid he, I juſtify myſelf no farther: I am not faultleſs more than others, but I leſs fear a juſt Sentence than any Man: I have appealed to his Holineſs, who is the proper and the only Judge, and I will moſt readily ſubmit to his Sentence. 'Tis not my Cauſe, ſaid he, I plead, addreſſing himſelf to the Pope and Cardinals, but yours."

"*Henry* determines to oppreſs the Church; and he placed me at its Head in *Britain*, ſuppoſing I would concur with him, which God forbid! This is my Crime, and for this his Vengeance ſeeks my Life: if I fall who will afterwards dare to oppoſe Earth in the Cauſe of Heaven!"

The Senſe and Spirit of this Speech awaken'd every ones Attention. The Embaſſadors deſir'd Legates to try the Cauſe in *England*; but the Pope ſaw it was too much to riſque on any Man's Conduct and Integrity: he refuſ'd; and ſaid, "It was a Cauſe in which the Church was ſo deeply concern'd, that he would take Cognizance of it himſelf."

Henry was enrag'd: and he ſhew'd his Vengeance both againſt the Archbiſhop and the Pope. He forbad again all Appeals to *Rome*; and he conſiſcated the Effects of all who had accompany'd *Becket* in his Flight, or openly eſpouſ'd his Cauſe at Home: he baniſh'd all his Relations; and to ſhew how light he held the Papal Authority, when it ſeem'd to be againſt him; he order'd all to be impriſon'd who ſhould be found with Papers, Mandates, or Interdicts from the Pope or *Becket* about them: and he collected Peter-pence, and kept the Money.

Becket proceeded as boldly. He excommunicated many of the moſt active in the Council, and threaten'd the King in a very bold Letter. He repreſented to him the Oath he had taken at the Altar at his Coronation, to ſupport the Church in all its Immunities, and ſhew'd him the Violation of it in reſpect of himſelf: he concluded with theſe Words.

"You receiv'd your Authority from the Church of *Canterbury*, reſtore that See to the State wherein you found it, and wherein your Anceſtors and mine ſupported it, or be aſſured, you will draw upon your Head the Vengeance of God."

This was, to a King of *Henry*'s Spirit, unpardonable. He ſaw that *Becket* depended on the Pope and *France*; and he now took a Step worthy of his great Name, and former Actions. He rais'd an Army, and fitted out a powerful Fleet. This ſhew'd his Independance: and *France* ſaw he was prepared to puniſh her, and *Rome*, and that he could ſlight her Injunctions. *France* grew humble, and *Rome* more moderate; ſo excellent a Remedy is Fear for political Cabals, and for Church Arrogance.

Lewis ſtood neutral; and the Pope, after his abſolute Refuſal, of his own Motion now offer'd to ſend Legates to decide the Controverſy in *England*. Only the King and *Becket* kept their Spirit: Succeſs did not give more Courage to the one, than the other gather'd from Adverſity.

The Legates arriv'd; and *Becket* offer'd to abide by their Sentence, provided the King firſt reſtored his and his Friends their Poſſeſſions, and revok'd all that had been done in the Conteſt hitherto. This was not granted; and the Legates could not proceed.

The Friends of *Becket* requeſted him to come to ſome Accommodation with the King: he ſaid "He would to any, ſaving his Honour, the Church's Rights, and his own and Friends Poſſeſſions."

Whatever had been the Faults of *Becket*, his Misfortunes and his Spirit now made him reverenc'd by all diſintereſted People. The King threaten'd the Abbot who gave him Reſidence; and upon his Retirement, the King of *France* again receiv'd him. The Pope extolled him highly.

Henry threaten'd to take Part with a Competitor for the holy Chair, *Paſchal*; and the Pope, far from being influenced by that Menace, ſent his Command to the King to reſtore *Becket*, and to annul his new Laws.

The Reſpect for *Becket* now ſpread farther every Day: People began to cenſure the Proceedings of the King; and he ſaw he loſt many Friends, and ſacrificed to this Diſpute all his great Deſigns.

He propoſ'd an honourable Method of Accommodation; that *Becket* ſhould meet him and the King of *France* together; and each then ſpeak freely.

Henry ſhew'd himſelf diſpoſ'd to Peace not only by this Propoſal, but by his Manner of treating *Becket*; but here the Archbiſhop's Pride ruin'd all. They came to no Concluſion; and the King of *France* declared to all the World, that *Becket*'s Arrogance and Obſtinacy were the Cauſe.

We have declared his Character before; and there could not be ſo ſingular an Occaſion of his ſhewing it.

Becket was aſſured of the Pope's Protection, and he excommunicated four-fifths of the *Engliſh* Clergy. They apply'd to him humbly, but he refuſed to hear them. He told them they were more culpable than the King: he had attack'd the Church; and they thro' Fear or Avarice betray'd it.

The Pope wrote the King Word, "He could not but ſupport the Archbiſhop in this juſt Proceeding."

Henry threaten'd; and the Pope fear'd again. New Legates were ſent, but they were no more entruſted with full Power than the former. Another Meeting was propos'd, to which *Henry* conſented; and here the inſupportable Arrogance of the Archbiſhop, again prevented all poſſible Terms.

This breaking off, *Becket* apply'd to the Pope to lay the Kingdom under an Interdict; and *Henry* ſtill a King in all his Actions, gave Order if ſuch Interdict ſhould come, that all who ſubmitted to it ſhould be immediately hang'd as Traitors.

In the Year 1170, the Diſputes ſtill ſubſiſting with the Church, *Henry* had his eldeſt Son crowned Succeſſor; and 'twas no little Mortification to *Becket*, that the Ceremony was perform'd without him.

All this Time *Henry*, though he acted reſolutely, was not without inward Uneaſineſs for his Proceedings againſt the Church: he was a Chriſtian, tho' a King. 'Tis ſaid the Hour of Death ſhews the true Character of Men; and this, or ſomething like this happen'd now. This Year the King fell ſick, and Conſcience threatening loudly, he determin'd to make all up with *Becket*.

He recover'd; and he kept his Reſolution: they had another Interview, the King of *France* being alſo preſent, and the King liſten'd to every Thing *Becket* propos'd. A trifling Ceremony prevented their accompliſhing the Accommodation at this Meeting; but at another held a few Days after, all was ſettled.

Becket, after ſix Years Exile, was reſtored to his Poſt with Honour: the King forgave all that was paſt; and gave back to his Friends whatever had been taken from them.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Death of Becket.

THE Triumph of a *Roman* Conqueror was leſs than that with which *Becket* enter'd *England*.

The Moment he ſet Foot upon the Shore he ſuſpended the Archbiſhop of *York*, and excommunicated him of *London* and two others who had been loudeſt againſt him. This the Pope authorized: and *Becket* came determin'd to ſhew the Church's Power.

His firſt Act on mounting the Archiepiſcopal Chair at *Canterbury*, was to excommunicate two Barons: this gave great Offence. The young King being inform'd of his Deſign upon the Clergy, had petition'd againſt it in vain, and upon this refuſed to ſee him when he would have paid his Reſpects to him.

Henry himſelf was all this Time in *Normandy*: but thither went Complaints innumerable; and in conſequence of theſe, *Becket* now reſtored to his Dignity, loſt his Life.

The Archbiſhop of *York*, whom he had ſuſpended, poſted thither, and threw himſelf at the King's Feet. "Not for me, Sir, ſaid he, but for the Kingdom's Sake ſtop the Tyranny of this Man: your Clergy are turn'd out of their Office, your Nobles excommunicated; and yourſelf in Danger from a Power you have now committed to the Hands of one mad with Pride, and with Revenge."

The King was ſtung with what the Archbiſhop ſaid, and more with the Accounts of *Becket*'s Proceedings. He ſaw there could be no Peace with him, and he ſaid, "Will no Man revenge theſe Inſults!" It was enough, "The Dial ſpoke not, but it made ſhrewd Signs, and pointed full upon the Stroke of Murther." The King's Deſires were fulfilled, tho' he had but half declared them; and *Becket* was murther'd at the Altar.

Henry miſtook in ſuppoſing this Man's Death would give him quiet: his Faults were bury'd in the Grave, and his great Qualities, for ſuch his Enemies now confeſs'd he had, ſounded from every Mouth.

The King was called a Murtherer: and the Pope threaten'd to excommunicate him, and lay the Kingdom under an Interdict.

Henry's Spirit now forſook him: the Senſe of his Fault was too powerful for all other Conſiderations; but though he did not act boldly, he conducted himſelf prudently.

He bought off the Cardinals; ſoothed the Pope; proteſted his Innocence of *Becket*'s Death, and engag'd himſelf to abide by the Cenſure of the Church upon an equal hearing.

This was giving ſo much, that the Pope could not wiſh to take more; and thus the Matter ended. *Becket* was made a Saint, and the King ſuppoſed innocent.

CHAP. XL.

Henry *forms a Deſign upon* Ireland.

SEVEN Years had *Henry*'s Time and Attention been engroſs'd by a private Diſpute in his own Kingdom; and ſo long his great Deſigns Abroad interrupted. The Author of the Diſquiet was now dead, and the whole Diſturbance dy'd with him.

Henry ſaw there was more Difficulty than he had been aware, in combating the Church; therefore he laid aſide his Purpoſe: and the Prieſts as much afraid of him as he was cautious of diſturbing them, behaved better than in preceding Times. All was at Peace, and all went proſperouſly.

In 1171 the Duke of *Bretagne* died, and the young Son of *Henry*, married to his Daughter, according to Articles, ſucceeded.

It was no Diſadvantage to the King, that this long married Prince was now but twelve Years old: *Henry* declared himſelf his Guardian, and went immediately to *Bretagne*, receiving for his Son, the Barons and the People's Oaths. *France* ſaw this with Pain; but Fear kept her ſilent.

Ireland was at this Time powerful and independent: the Kings of *England* had looked upon it long with eager Eyes; and *Henry* had ſome Years purpoſed its Reduction.

He did not want Occaſion for the Quarrel: the *Iriſh* had given that; for they had ſold ſome of his Subjects, whom they had ſurprized, to Slavery.

All *England* rouſed at the Indignity; and *Henry* to court *Rome*, which he had too deeply offended, and to give a plauſible Colour to his Undertaking, ſolicited the Pope for his Sanction.

The Purpoſe of the King was the Glory of Conqueſt, and the Encreaſe of his Dominions; but his Pretence to *Rome* was the Care of Souls, and the Enlarging of the Papal Juriſdiction. He repreſented the *Iriſh* as a wild People, whom he could bring to acknowledge the Papal Authority no way ſo well, as by ſubjecting their Kingdom to the Crown of *England*.

The Pontiff's Ears were open to this Propoſal; and he ſent Commiſſion to *Henry* to reduce them.

Here was an excellent Game of Diſſimulation play'd between them; *Henry* pretended the Care of *Iriſh* Souls carried him thither; and the Pope pretended to believe him.

Ireland firſt peopled probably by the *Scythians*, and afterwards with a Mixture of *Spaniards*, was at this Time divided into ſeveral Kingdoms. Two of the petty Sovereigns quarrelled, and the weakeſt called in the Aſſiſtance of *Henry*. Thus fell *Mexico*; and thus have moſt Kingdoms at one Time or other chang'd their Maſters: 'twas thus the *Moors* got footing in *Spain*; and thus the *Anglo-Saxons* conquer'd *Britain*.

Henry, full of the Deſign of Conqueſt, received with the utmoſt Satisfaction the Application made to him by the *Iriſh* Potentates.

Dermot King of *Leinſter* was the Perſon who ſacrificed the Liberty of *Ireland*. He was a bad Man as well as a tyrannic King: he was hated by his Subjects and his Neighbours equally; and when a good Cauſe appeared they joined againſt him.

Dermot was driven from his Kingdom; and he applied to *Henry*, then in *France*, for Succour and Aſſiſtance.

Henry engaged to ſupport him; and *Dermot* promiſed to do him Homage. The King diſpatched him firſt to *England*, commiſſioned to invite the Barons to join his Cauſe, whom he promiſed to follow with a larger Force.

'Twas an ill Meaſure *Henry* took to begin a War of Conſcience; for this *Dermot* he ſupported was an Adulterer, and the Cauſe of Quarrel againſt him was, his having taken away the Wife of a leſs powerful King.

The Barons ſaw the End of this Affair plainly enough, and they agreed readily to his Propoſals. An *Engliſh* Earl, *Strongbow*, engaged himſelf to marry his Daughter, and he with others immediately eſpouſed his Cauſe. *Fitz Stephen* was the firſt ready, and he with four hundred Men accompanied *Dermot* back to *Ireland*.

The firſt Town that felt his Fury was *Wexford*; it was taken, and *Dermot* gave it to *Fitz Stephen*; who placed ſome *Engliſh* there.

Succeſs creates Soldiers. Their Numbers encreaſed continually; and *Dermot* led his new Ally againſt the King of *Oſſory*, who ſubmitted without diſputing.

This Succeſs brought upon them *Roderic*, called by many Monarch of *Ireland* at that Time: he was indeed the moſt powerful of the petty Kings; but nothing more. He ſaw the *Engliſh* were ſerving themſelves, not *Dermot*: and he determined to diſpute the Country with them.

Roderic had Conduct as well as Courage; and he firſt tried Negotiation. He applied firſt to the *Engliſh*, than to *Dermot*; but tho' he offered largely to both, he was unſucceſsful. He repreſented to *Fitz Stephen* the Hazard of his Condition, and told him, if he refuſed to go, that he ſhould fall upon him with a Force he could do nothing to reſiſt: however, to ſpare Bloodſhed he offered Money. *Fitz Stephen* ſlighted his Threatnings and his Offers equally.

He then offered *Dermot*, if he would leave the *Engliſh*, that he would ſet him on his Throne again. *Dermot* conſented; but the Terms could not be adjuſted. All he deſired was, to get any way his Kingdom; but finding *Roderic* had offered more than he knew how to perform, he again joined the *Engliſh*.

Strongbow arrived at this Juncture with a much larger Force than had attended *Fitz Stephen*. He fell on *Waterford*; and having taken the Town, to ſtrike a Terror into others, put all to the Sword. Immediately on this Succeſs he marched to *Dermot*; married his Daughter; and having the Succeſſion of the Kingdom of *Leinſter* inſured to him, joined in a Cauſe now his own, with the utmoſt Force and Spirit.

Dermot died this Year: and a Subject of *England* became one of the *Iriſh* Kings.

Strongbow was a Man of Enterprize: he had attended *Henry*, and learn'd from him to make the beſt of all Advantages. He ſaw the *Iriſh* in Confuſion, and he purſued his Purpoſe: he called *Fitz Stephen* to join him, and they took *Dublin*.

Every thing after this yielded before them; and there was no Appearance but of their reducing the whole Country, when *Henry* called them back.

This appeared a ſtrange Step: but it was a very wiſe one. The Adventurers made too ſwift Progreſs. *Henry* had ſent them to prepare for his conquering the Kingdom; but they were conquering it themſelves. He ſaw the *Iriſh* a People from whom he could eaſily wreſt their Provinces; but he was not ſo ſecure with Reſpect to the *Engliſh* whom he had ſent thither: he therefore called them home, and order'd at the ſame Time that no Aſſiſtance, Arms or Proviſions ſhould be ſent to them.

His Barons were not ſo deſperate People as he thought them: they ſent Deputies, repreſenting to him their Succeſs, and aſſuring him that all their Conqueſts were for him; and they engaged ſo heartily in their Obedience, that he withdrew his Orders. He commiſſioned them to purſue their Succeſſes, ſent them more Men and other Aſſiſtances, and told them, they were conquering in a Manner for themſelves: that he would take the Sea Ports as his own, but for the reſt they who had won ſhould wear it: that it ſhould be theirs doing him Homage.

CHAP. XLI.

The Conqueſt of Ireland *compleated.*

THE Year 1171 cloſed upon *Ireland* with great Succeſſes of the *Engliſh*; but in the Beginning of the next the King himſelf appeared among them. *Henry* had always kept on foot a large Force, and he had never neglected his Navy.

He appeared upon the Coaſt of *Ireland* early in the Year 1172 with a large Fleet, and landed with a very powerful Army. *Ireland* that had ſo poorly reſiſted the Subjects of *England*, at once ſubmitted to the King. The petty Sovereigns came in Haſte about him, and each was eager to make the firſt Obedience.

Henry, who ſaw the Advantages of his Conqueſt, endeavoured to enſure it by every Act of Prudence, and of Favour to the People. He promiſed them all Protection, and good Offices; and when he had firmly ſettled every thing, left his Juſticiary in *Dublin*, and returned to *England*.

The *Iriſh* were not at that Time the People they grew afterwards; much leſs what they are now: for at this Time none upon the Earth exceed them in perſonal Courage; or are better Soldiers: the Iſland that was ſo eaſily won, was not ſo cheaply kept, for the Natives after ſome Time better knew their Strength.

CHAP. XLII.

Henry *falls into an unexpected Danger.*

ALL this Time the Affair of *Becket*'s Death remained unſettled. The Pope and *Henry* underſtood one another very well, but Forms muſt be obſerved: the King muſt appear before the Legates commiſſion'd to make the Enquiry; and the Farce of a Trial muſt be obſerved, though the Determination had been made already.

Henry met the Legates in *Normandy*, and told them he was innocent; they had their Orders to be ſatiſfied. Four Months of fooliſh Form were obſerved, and Witneſſes examined with all poſſible Rigour: but who were thoſe in *Normandy* that dared accuſe their King.

Henry acknowledged the Words he had ſpoke, and confeſſed his Sorrow for them: he ſwore he neither knew nor thought of the Death of the Archbiſhop.

The Pope had determined to do himſelf Honour, even in this Abſolution of *Henry*. He was abſolved in Terms that ſpoke it as the Church's Favour more than his Innocence; and he was enjoined many Acts of Pennance. To theſe the King ſubmitted, perhaps becauſe he was guilty; and he returned to *England*, flattering himſelf that he ſhould now ſit down in Peace and Happineſs: but he was never farther from ſuch Fortune.

A Daughter of the Earl of *Clifford*, *Roſamond*, called from her Beauty the *Fair*, had alienated *Henry*'s Affection from his Queen. Her Jealouſy had long been ſmother'd, but during his Abſence this Year among the *Iriſh*, it broke out in a very threatening Manner.

The King had left his Favourite during his Abſence, in a Place of Security and Retirement at *Woodſtock*: thither Jealouſy carried the Queen, and there the Miſtreſs fell.

The Queen found ſhe had gone too far to retreat; and deſpairing to regain *Henry*'s Favour, ſhe laid the deepeſt Deſign ever form'd by a Woman, for his Ruin.

She talked with his Barons; and having propoſ'd to ſet the eldeſt Son upon the Throne, and won them to her Purpoſe by golden Promiſes; ſhe diſcloſed her Deſign to the Prince.

Him ſhe found as ready for the Purpoſe as her Wiſhes: 'twas he the King's Affection had cauſed to be crown'd his Succeſſor; and he was called the young King.

He was a Youth of haughty and impatient Spirit; he was tir'd with the empty Name of King; and had been heard to exclaim often, "Will Fathers "live for ever!"

With him the Queen firſt concerted her Plan; and then diſcloſed it to his Brothers.

All were too ready to come into it: if the eldeſt was eager to be King, *Richard* the ſecond long'd as paſſionately to enjoy the Earldom of *Poitou*, which he held nominally; and *Geoffroy* thought he had more Cauſe to be diſpleaſed than all: he was Earl of *Bretagne*; but the King, under the Name of Guardian, had the Power.

Thus was the Combination ſet on Foot, and too many from intereſted Views, favour'd it. The Barons join'd in hope of Reward; and the King of *France* thro' Envy.

The Earls of *Flanders*, *Blois* and *Bologne*, were inſtigated by the King of *France* to aſſiſt; and *William* King of *Scotland*, by a Promiſe that all ſhould be reſtored to him which *Malcolm* had ſurrender'd.

This Conſpiracy was not only deeply laid; but had the uncommon Chance to be conducted with a perfect Secrecy. 'Twas finiſh'd while *Henry* was in *Ireland*; and all was kept ſo huſh'd, that taking *England* in his Way when he went thence to *Normandy*, he unſuſpecting took his Son with him.

Many had their Eyes upon this Incident, ſuppoſing ſomething of the Plot might be diſcover'd; but 'twas in perfect Innocence and Affection *Henry* had taken his Son.

The King of *France* wrote to him at *Roan*, requeſting that he might for a few Days have the Pleaſure of his Son and Daughters Company; and upon the King's ready Compliance, the Prince ſet off in haſte, convinced that nothing was ſuſpected.

Now was compleated the Deſign; and every Thing relating to the Execution. The King of *France* more experienced than the Prince, ſettled all; and every Part was ſo adjuſted, that all Parties had Intelligence, and all were to act at the ſame Time.

The Prince ſtaid with *Lewis* while all this was diſpatch'd; and *Henry*, tho' he entertain'd no Suſpicions of the real Cauſe, was diſpleaſed at his remaining there ſo long.

To his frequent Deſires of his Return, the Prince had ſent the beſt Excuſes they could deviſe among them: but at length he received his Father's Command.

'Twas reſolved he ſhould now go; and he had his Inſtructions. Theſe were to provoke the King to Anger by ſome unreaſonable Demand; and to get that Way a Pretence of Quarrel.

The Prince return'd, and the King received him with his uſual Affection. He took him to Mount *Ferrand*, a Town in *Auvergne*, where he was contracting his youngeſt Son to a Daughter of the Earl of *Maurienna*. At theſe Conferences the Prince was always preſent; and he took from one of theſe an Occaſion of Diſpute.

He objected to the Settlement *Henry* was about to make upon his Son; and to the Aſtoniſhment of all preſent, when the King had anſwer'd mildly, but as became him, to that Objection; he deſired, that till his Death ſhould give him *England*, he might be put in abſolute Poſſeſſion of *Normandy*.

Henry was troubled; and all the reſt were aſtoniſh'd at the Propoſal. He evaded the Conſideration for the preſent; and ſuſpecting he had been corrupted during his Stay with *Lewis*, order'd a careful Watch upon his Motions.

The Prince knew he had more to fear than his Father thought: he brib'd his Way out one Night, and got to *Lewis*.

Henry demanded him, and *Lewis* anſwer'd roughly and reſolutely againſt it. The King, who little ſuſpected what was done, grew ſenſible now that he had ſomething to fear. He gave Orders for ſtrengthening and ſupplying all his Caſtles on the Frontier.

Intelligence was ſoon in *England* that the Prince had left his Father, and was in the Court of *France*: The Queen ſent the two others thither alſo; and *Henry* ſtood aſtoniſh'd, and confounded: he ſaw himſelf deſerted by his own Family, whom he had in nothing offended, without knowing what all this meant, or to what Point ſo many ſtrange unnatural, yet concurrent Actions tended.

Treaſon he ſaw in its worſt Aſpect; and he had but one Way to trace it to the Root. The Queen remain'd, tho' his Sons were ſent away: her he queſtion'd, gently at firſt, but when that availed nothing, ſeverely: this had no more Effect than the former Courſe, what his Entreaties could not obtain, his Threatenings demanded as vainly.

After ſome Hours ſpent with her in private, he order'd her into Confinement; and ſent to the Pope, repreſenting the Cauſe of his Diſpleaſure, and demanding a Divorce.

What *Henry* could not learn from the Queen, he ſoon felt from his Enemies Conduct; he was involv'd at once in every Part of his Dominions. *Normandy*, *Guienne*, and *Bretagne*, were all attack'd at the ſame Time by his Sons, and by the Aſſiſtances *France* lent them.

While he was wondering at this Incident, News arriv'd that *Malcolm*, King of *Scotland*, was in *Northumberland*; and waſted all before him.

Henry knew how to oppoſe the worſt Dangers with Spirit and with Prudence: he affected Calmneſs; and none about him ſaw that he ſhared their Surprize. All this he had borne well, but the greateſt Stroke was yet to come.

He prepared for the Field, and order'd every Man who had ever ſerv'd, to Arms: here Treaſon appear'd near his Perſon: many were backward in his Cauſe, and a few Days ſhew'd him the Kingdom was divided into two Parties; one, much the ſmaller, ſiding with him; the other, paying their Duty to the riſing Sun.

No Hiſtory has ſhewn a Monarch ſo deeply involv'd as *Henry* at this Period.

Richard was in *Guienne*, and the People roſe in his Favour; *Geoffroy* was in *Bretagne* with much better Pretenſions; and *Normandy* was attack'd by the Arms of *France*.

Ill News came every Moment; and to compleat the Diſtreſs, by that Time *Henry* had Intelligence of all his Enemies, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, a diſcontented Peer, landed at the Head of a *French* Army at *Southampton*.

Prince *Henry* remain'd at *Paris*, playing to the Top the Part of King of *England*. He depended upon the whole Body of the People joining the Forces with the Earl of *Leiceſter*; and he receiv'd Homage, made Grants, and ſign'd Donations out of the publick Money. This was the State of *England* in 1173: *Henry* was almoſt the only Perſon who had Hope.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

The King opposes his Enemies.

HENRY ſelected thoſe whom he could truſt, and gave them Courage by his Example; he put himſelf at the Head of his beſt Force in *England*; he commiſſion'd the Earl of *Arundel* againſt the *French* in *Normandy*; and he exhauſted all his Stores to ſend a vaſt Body of *Brabanſons*, the *Swiſs* of thoſe Days, into *Bretagne*.

The Preſence of the King, and his Force, kept all in awe at Home. The *French* had taken one Town in *Normandy*, *Verneuil*, after a Months Siege; and the Earl of *Arundel*, according to his Inſtructions, march'd with his beſt Speed thither to give them Battle.

No People are ſo eaſily terrify'd as this boaſtful Nation. They were ſuperior in Force, but they dreaded the *Britiſh* Reſolution: they ſet Fire to the Town they had taken; and march'd off with more Speed than the fatigued *Engliſh* could uſe in following them.

The *Brabanſons*, firm in the Cauſe they were engag'd to ſupport, fought the Rebels in *Bretagne*, and recover'd that Country for *Henry* with ſo much Slaughter, that 'twas long remember'd there how dangerous it was to rebel againſt an *Engliſh* King.

In *England* the Royal Force under the Command of *Bohun*, fought the *French* under the Earl of *Leiceſter*, near *Farnham*. The Battle laſted out an Autumn Day, but the Succeſs was very perfect to the *Engliſh*: twelve Thouſand of the Enemy were left upon the Field, and the Earl of *Leiceſter* taken Priſoner.

Let us look back upon theſe Times, and think then of our own.

The *Henries* in their full Catalogue never excelled as Kings or Soldiers the ſacred Perſon who now fills the Throne; and what are the petty Troubles in which we are involved, to thoſe thro' which we ſee in this memorable Inſtance, the *Britiſh* Courage, and the Spirit of a *Britiſh* King could force its Way. Why ſhould we tremble at *France*, whoſe Anceſtors have defeated the boldeſt Purpoſes of that Enemy, aſſiſted by Rebellion.

Heaven ſeem'd to ſhew in this Inſtance, what Support it always gives to Virtue: Accidents conſpired to fill the Succeſſes of the *Engliſh* Sovereign. The King of *Scotland* ſhared the Fate of the Earl of *Leiceſter*: he was taken Priſoner in *Northumberland*, and ſent to the ſame Caſtle with that Nobleman in *Normandy*.

Henry when he had put proper Officers in Truſt in *England* (it was his Fortune to have proper Officers) went over to his *French* Dominions. There acting with the ſame Spirit that had diſcloſed itſelf in all his Conduct here, he was happy in the ſame Succeſs: what his Forces under their brave and faithful Generals had begun, *Henry* in Perſon compleated. He drove the Enemies before him; and having beat them out of one half the Towns they had taken, Fear, or if the good-natured Reader pleaſe to call it ſo, Prudence, carried them before him from the Remainder.

The Son, in whoſe Cauſe the *French* had been ſent to *England* under *Leiceſter*, and for whom the King of *Scotland* fought, had made a Feint of coming over to them; but whether Winds or Fear prevented is not certain: he alledged the firſt Cauſe, but ſome of his Hiſtorians have given the other. He never came; he heard ſecurely in *France* of their Conveyance to *Normandy*: and *Henry* within the Compaſs of the Year, having ſubdued all Oppoſition, returned to *England*.

The Favours of Heaven wrought with this generous Prince, as Afflictions do with others: they fill'd his Heart with Piety. He returned his Gratitude in repeated Acts of Devotion: he remembered himſelf the Cauſe, though as he conſtantly declared innocently ſo, of the Death of *Becket*: he praiſed the Virtues of that great Man in the moſt exalted Terms; and he remembered nothing of his Faults. Before he went to his Palace, he directed his Courſe to *Canterbury*, and ſhewed that Penitence becomes a Sovereign: he did Penance at his Tomb; and to the Letter performed his Vow upon that Occaſion.

The Prince had won to his Party many of the Nobles by vaſt Promiſes: and Avarice and Ambition ſtood with them for ſome Time in the Place of Courage. They did not keep the Field, but they fortified themſelves in their Caſtles: they were made to hope that the young King would land with a vaſt Force from *France*; but they were deceived: he could not deſpair more than the *French* who had ſupported him; and *Henry* allowing himſelf no Reſt while any held out againſt him, march'd from *London*, before he had been there a Week. His Army ſubdued ſome of the firſt, and Terror did the ſame to the reſt: they threw themſelves upon his Mercy.

One Attempt farther *France* made this Year in *Normandy*; but that no more ſucceſsful than the others.

While *Henry* was employed in reducing theſe Caſtles in his own Kingdom, the *French* depending upon his Abſence laid Siege to *Roan*.

Every one now talked of *Henry* as the greateſt Hero of his Time. The Inhabitants of the Town depended upon his defending them, and they held out againſt a very conſiderable Force.

Henry did not deceive their Expectations. He received the Intelligence quickly, and he embarked with Readineſs. He led a conſiderable Force againſt the *French*, who loſt all Spirit at his Approach; and raiſed the Siege, and left their Baggage in the Camp.

Thus cloſed upon *Henry* the Year 1173; a Year diſtinguiſhed by the moſt deſperate and deep laid an Attack that ever Monarch was expoſed to; but diſtinguiſhed more by the Reſolution and the Courage of the King, who perfectly ſucceeded againſt every Part of the Deſign.

CHAP. XLIV.

The State of England *in* 1174.

NO Period can throw a greater Luſtre on the *Britiſh* Hiſtory than this, in which her King diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo eminently and happily. The Nation was reſpected more than ever: the *French* were glad to become peaceable by Treaty; the *Scots* lamented the Impriſonment of their King; but they could do nothing toward his Reſcue; and the new conquer'd *Ireland* gloried as much in their Sovereign as his natural Kingdom.

The Treaty with *France* reduced *Richard*, the ſecond Son of *Henry*, to Deſpair. He had held out ſome Caſtles, and had in vain oppoſed the making Peace: the King of *France*, who was to leave a young Succeſſor, trembled at the Thought of ſuch an Enemy as *Henry* for him; and he would hear of no more hoſtile Meaſures.

This compleated the Succeſs of the King; for *Richard*, who with an unconquerable Spirit had alſo Prudence, ſeeing himſelf deſtitute of all Support, threw himſelf at his Father's Feet.

Henry received him better than he deſerved, or than himſelf or any elſe expected: but he had his Reaſons.

The King of *France* had a Daughter; and 'twas the old Policy of *Henry* to make Intereſt by the Marriage of his Sons: an Article of the Treaty with *Lewis* was, that *Richard* ſhould wed this Princeſs. She was very young, and ſhe was deliver'd to him that ſhe might be educated in *England*, till of a proper Age.

This was a Compact *Henry* had ſo ill executed before, that one would have thought the other Party ſhould have been backward in the latter Article of the Agreement. However, it was ſettled thus, and the King of *England* had a ſecond Opportunity of playing with the moſt ſacred Engagements.

The King of *Scotland*, had he waited for this Treaty, would have been releaſed, and ſet upon his former Eſtabliſhment; but he, full of the Spirit of his Nation, and impatient of Impriſonment, had offer'd *Henry* Terms.

He ſaw himſelf in his Power, and he did not foreſee this fortunate Occurrence. He thought Royalty on any Conditions was preferable to a Priſon, and he had made his Offer. 'Twas that he would reſtore all that he had taken in *England*, and do Homage for his Crown.

Henry thought this too little; he intended farther Impoſitions: and the Matter was under Debate when this Treaty came upon the Carpet.

The *French* King, faithful to thoſe he had engag'd in the Diſpute, made it his firſt Article that all Priſoners on both Sides ſhould be releaſed: his Eye was on the King of *Scotland* principally in this and he would have freed him nobly; but *Henry* who had not entruſted any with the Negotiation between that King and him, made good Uſe of his Caution in that Article.

He agreed to the Releaſe of Priſoners, excepting ſuch as had offer'd Terms of Ranſom. The *French* King not imagining his Friend of *Scotland* was in this Number, much leſs that he was ſolely pointed at, agreed to the Article; and *William* was oblig'd to purchaſe at the Expence almoſt of his Royalty, that Liberty he might have had without Conditions.

Henry purſued the Advantage to the utmoſt: he made him ſwear to him; and his Barons with him; and he took by Conſent, the Caſtles of *Edinburgh*, and ſeveral others into his Hands, as Sureties of the Faith of their Engagement.

Among others reſtored to favour by this general Act of Oblivion, was the young King. His Father talked with him ſeriouſly, but not harſhly on the Subject: he warn'd him againſt the Deſigns of *France*, whoſe Favour to an *Engliſh* Prince he told him, always muſt be deceitful.

When he had eſtabliſh'd in his Mind better and nobler Principles, and had taught him to wait the Courſe of Nature for Succeſſion, and to accept it no Way but with Honour, he permitted him to return to *France*.

CHAP. XLV.

The peaceful State of England *after theſe Troubles.*

THE Year 1174 ſettled the Peace of *England*, and that upon its beſt, and only ſecure Foundation, the Fear of thoſe who might diſturb it. The King ſaw himſelf ſecure and honour'd, and he had no Thought but to make his People happy. He enquir'd into their Grievances, and he order'd in them all Redreſs.

The Servants of the Crown, a People always ready to pleaſe the King at the Expence of the Publick, had ſtretch'd the Prerogative in many Things till it encroach'd on Liberty. *Henry* retrench'd all theſe, and he conſider'd every other Method of enſuring the Happineſs of his Subjects.

Other Kings had done this thro' Intereſt or Fear, but in *Henry* it was Virtue. He could have no Cauſe but the Senſe of his high Office: never Man was more honourably a King.

He reſtored Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*, and ſearch'd in all the *Saxon* Records for ſuch as were moſt worthy to be revived: in this he did not court the popular Voice, by ſelecting thoſe which had been granted in Derogation of the Crown's Honour, to flatter or amuſe them, for ſome particular Purpoſe, but ſuch as were truly of publick Utility: theſe he choſe from his own Judgment, and not led by the Partialities or Paſſions of his Subjects.

When he had eſtabliſh'd Laws, he regulated the Diſtribution of them. 'Twas he who firſt divided the Kingdom into ſix Diſtricts, appointing ſo many Judges to act in them by Circuit.

While he thus favour'd publick Juſtice, he was not blind to the Royal Security: he had often declared, the fortify'd Caſtles of the Barons to be ſo many Nurſeries of Rebellion; and he now demoliſh'd all that remain'd a private Property. He made the Poſſeſſors Amends for their Value, but he would hear of no Terms for their Strength.

Thus ſtood *England* in 1179. The Envy of all *Europe*: Kings courted its Friendſhip; and *Henry*, who had raiſed it to this Glory, was made the Arbitrator of *Europe*.

Alphonſo of *Caſtile*, and *Sanctio* of *Navarre*, had Diſputes that were on the Point of being bloodily decided; but *Alphonſo* offering to leave the Matter to Arbitration, *Henry* of *England* was choſe to decide it. He called his Judges and Barons to the Hearing, and did himſelf as much Honour by the Sentence, as he receiv'd in the Application.

In 1180, *Lewis* of *France* dy'd, and the next Year the Pope: *Philip* ſucceeded *Lewis*, and *Alexander Lucius the Third*.

CHAP. XLVI.

Diſturbances between the King and his Sons.

WE have given to *Henry the Second* all the Honour that could be beſtow'd upon a King; and in that have in no Part gone beyond the Limits of ſtrict Truth. His Wiſdom, Juſtice, and right Royal Spirit, demand every Tribute that can be paid the Memory of the Great: but we are now to find that Kings, even the beſt of them, are but Men: *Henry*, with all theſe Virtues, could deſcend to the worſt Faults.

He had been always looſe in his private Character, and addicted beyond all Men to Women. His amorous Inclinations were not froze at fifty, and he ſtained his Character by their Indulgence.

He had received from the King of *France*, a Daughter contracted to his Son for Marriage; here were the Duties of the King and Father; and with them the Honour of his Name, and Faith of Treaties, to ſuppreſs ſo unnatural a Thought as Fondneſs for the Princeſs; but he broke through them all; he ſollicited as a Miſtreſs the Lady he had received as Wife for his Son, and if Hiſtory ſay true ſucceeded.

It is ſcarce to be conceiv'd how ſoon this Violation of all Faith and Honour met its Reward. *Henry* who had been reſpected as a God, became hated by moſt; and by the few more favourable to him, pity'd: none pretended to believe he was innocent, or to palliate the Offence.

The Queen, yet a Priſoner, heard of it; and the Sons all took part in their Brother's Quarrel. *Richard* demanded her for Marriage, confident the King would not give her up; and all the reſt repreſented *Henry* as unnatural, and a Tyrant. Each ſtir'd in his own Cauſe, and the Miſchiefs ſo difficultly conquer'd before, now ſeem'd approaching under worſe Colours.

The King called in his Prudence to obviate this. *Henry* his eldeſt Son was not concern'd, and he brought him over, by pretended Favour: he bred Diſputes among them, but they ſaw the Cauſe; and they return'd his Arts upon himſelf while he thought them ready to cut one another's Throats, their Hands were all united, lifting the Sword to his.

The King's Deſtruction was prevented by *Henry* the eldeſt's Death. This happen'd in 1183; and this ſo much altered the Condition of the reſt, that new Meaſures were neceſſary with their new Fortunes.

In 1185, *John*, the favourite Son of *Henry*, was made Governor of *Ireland*: he was received with Favour there, but he was young, and guided by youthful Councils: he loſt the Hearts of the People, and the King recalled him.

In 1186 *Richard* created Troubles in *Auvergne*; but the Spirit with which *Henry* prepared to humble him, frighted him to Submiſſion.

The People had declared their Approbation of his ruling them as Sovereign, independent on his Father, but he had not the Spirit to accept the Honour againſt his Father's Oppoſition.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Death of Henry.

WE have obſerv'd that *France* devolved ſome Years before this Period, from an old cautious King to a young and unexperienced one. *Philip* had ſeen, but he had not felt the Effects of a Diſpute with *England*. He ſaw with an Eye of Satisfaction the Diſputes between the King and his Son, and he determin'd to take Advantage of them.

He made Preparation under other Pretences; and when he was prepared for Action, open'd the Scene by demanding Homage of *Richard* for *Poictou*; and from *Henry*, Reſtoration of the *Vexin*, and all *Margaret*'s Dower.

This was a common Cauſe: the King and his Son join'd againſt *Philip*; and they ſoon brought him to talk of Terms and Treaties.

What he could not bring about by Arms, he next attempted by ſecret Negotiation. He ſeduced *Richard* from his Father's Intereſt, and flatter'd him into a fooliſh Friendſhip. *Henry* remember'd what had been the Conſequence of his late Son's Intercourſe with *France*, and he commanded this home.

The Prince return'd; and ſoon after the bad Condition of Affairs in the Eaſt, took off the Attention of all Chriſtian Kings from private Quarrels.

The *Saracens* in 1187 took *Jeruſalem*; and all *Europe* mourn'd. The Kings of *France* and *England* met: all private Animoſities were laid aſide, and the common Cauſe ſeem'd to have united them firmly.

The unguarded Temper of *Richard* broke this Alliance: he enter'd into an idle Quarrel with the Earl of *Tholouſe*; and *Philip* eſpouſing one, and *Henry* the other, Religion was forgot, and their private Diſputes broke out again with greater Fierceneſs.

Henry was as raſh as his Son: he ſhould have been a Mediator in the Difference: 'twas not worth a Rupture with a powerful Kingdom; nor was the Son whom he eſpous'd worthy of his Protection.

The Scene of War lay in the *French* Provinces: and all Things favour'd *England*; when *Richard*, in whoſe Cauſe the Quarrel had been ſet on Foot, and who was highly entruſted by his Father, went off to the Enemy.

In whom ſhall Men confide, unleſs in thoſe on whom they confer Favours! whom ſhall Kings truſt if their Sons, their Heirs, can be corrupted! *Henry*, accuſtom'd as he was to Croſſes, was confounded at this. He found himſelf weakened greatly by the Loſs of thoſe *Richard* had taken with him; and he found him unworthy of his Care. He propoſed Peace: they met in Autumn 1188, and *Henry* ſaw the Scale turn'd deſperately againſt him.

It had been the Cuſtom in Treaties with *France*, for *England* to propoſe the Terms; but now it was her Part to hear the Impoſition. Thus far could *Treachery in Office*, reduce the Glory of the Nation, at a Time when all Things elſe conſpir'd to do it Honour.

A greater King had never reign'd than *Henry*; but his Virtues were made uſeleſs to his Country, by the Fault of one ſo highly entruſted. It is a Leſſon to Poſterity; an Act like this, and Conſequences ſuch as follow'd it, cries out to Kings, beware! *France* now had the Advantage, and 'tis the Character of that light People, to puſh the leaſt good Fortune to its utmoſt.

Philip look'd upon *Henry* as an Inferior; and *Henry* on him as a Boy ſpoiled by a ſlight Turn of favourable Fortune. The Conference was ſhort; *Philip* propoſed hard Terms, and *Henry* rejected them with Scorn. 'Twas he had ſought a Peace, and he wiſh'd it earneſtly; but he had too much Reverence for his Office, and too much Honour for his Country, to accept it on diſhonourable Terms.

One Thing there was in which his Paſſions influenced him: the Princeſs of *France* debauched by him, and with whom he lived at that Time in a Criminal Correſpondence, was demanded for his Son according to the Treaty; this, and the crowning *Richard* Succeſſor in his Life-time, were two Points on which the *French* pretended all turn'd: but falſly. They had their Weight; indeed ſo much, that it is happy for the Character of *Henry*, there were others to which he could object more plauſibly.

From this Time all went wrong in *France*; *Henry* was called a Rebel to his Sovereign, *Philip*, reſpecting theſe Provinces; and *Richard* doing Homage the *French* Way, was inveſted and ſupported. The People, inſtigated by *French* Promiſes, join'd *Richard*; and *Henry*, Month after Month, ſaw Territories following the Fate of their Inhabitants, and falling under Pretence of *Richard* into the Hands of *France*.

What ſtrange Effects flow from Succeſſes! *Philip* became as *Henry*; a *Frenchman* ſpoke as Kings of *England* uſed to do.

The Pope, a firm Friend of *Henry*, interpoſed in his Favour; and threaten'd *Philip* with Excommunication, unleſs he made a fair and honourable Peace.

Legate, anſwer'd the *Frenchman*, "Tell the Pope "I will in all holy Things regard his Voice, "but for his own Sake I would adviſe him not to "intermeddle in the Diſputes of Kings.—He added, "That he was violating no Part of the Church's "Rights, but was chaſtiſing a Vaſſal who had rebelled againſt him."

Theſe were Terms againſt which the Royal Ear of *England* muſt have wiſh'd Deafneſs to have defended it: but *Henry* was oblig'd to hear them.

After a Reign of ſo much Honour, he was reduced to ſubmit to the moſt harſh Terms: that his Son ſhould be crown'd Succeſſor in his Life-time; that he ſhould pay the Expences of *France* in the War; that his Barons ſhould ſwear, if he in any Point violated this Treaty, they would aſſiſt *France* againſt him; and that he ſhould give into the Hands of *France*, *Tours* and *Mans*, as Pledges of his Performance.

The Spirit of *Henry* was broke with his Fortune. He found his favourite Son *John* had been treacherous; he had correſponded with his worſt Enemies, and join'd in a Conſpiracy to dethrone him: he utter'd Curſes againſt his Children, while he pray'd for Bleſſings on *England*; and in this Deſpair and Agony he expir'd.

Richard attended the Funeral Solemnities; and as he approach'd the Corps it bled. So early as thoſe Times was the Opinion that this Accident accuſed a Murtherer; but here none apply'd it except the Son of *Henry*.

All knew his Death was natural; but *Richard* burſting into Tears ſaid, "There is too much "Cauſe! my Hand has not ſhed my Father's "Blood, but my Crimes have broke his Heart. "What I have done to him of Ill I will redouble "in Good to my People."

Thus dy'd *Henry the Second* in the Year 1189: a memorable Inſtance of the Uncertainty of Fortune.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The Succeſſion of Richard Cœur de Lion.

THE Prince, whoſe turbulent Diſpoſition had involved *England* in the late War with *France*, and whoſe Perfidy had betray'd her Intereſts to that rival Nation, now aſcended the Throne.

He ſlighted the Princeſs whom he had ſo often demanded in Marriage; and ſhew'd he had aſk'd only to be refuſ'd: indeed it could not be ſuppoſed he ſhould entertain any ſerious Thoughts of her.

He made his firſt Act of Royalty the Homage to a King of *France*. He acknowledged his Obligations, thank'd him for his Protection, and vow'd eternal Friendſhip. *Philip* reſtored to him what he had won from his Father; and all ſeem'd ſettled in a laſting Peace.

He began his Reign at home by releaſing his Mother, ſixteen Years a Priſoner, for conſpiring with him and her other Sons againſt her Huſband: but ſhe was the only Perſon whoſe good Offices he remember'd.

Many came about him for Rewards for Services, but he diſcarded them: his Favours were ſhewn to thoſe who had been honeſt to his Father; for they were the Perſons who he ſuppoſed would be faithful alſo to him: 'tis natural, and 'tis well, that this Neglect accompanies diſhoneſt Services: let thoſe remember it who ſacrifice Virtue to the Deſire of pleaſing a Prince.

Richard was crown'd in *Normandy* firſt, and afterwards in *London*. The Prelate who propoſed the Oath obſerv'd to him, that every King ſince the Conqueror had taken it, but not one had obſerv'd its Injunctions. "Archbiſhop, reply'd *Richard*, we "thank your honeſt Freedom: we will take it, and "keep it to."

One would not have ſuppoſ'd *Richard*, a King that ſhould ſacrifice Glory to Religion, but ſo it happen'd. He had vow'd to ſerve in the holy Wars, and *Philip* now reminded him of it. He made ready, and he ſet out at a vaſt Expence. His Father's Treaſures were exhauſted for the Purpoſe; and for a Sum to fit him out more nobly, he ſold the Homage of the King of *Scotland*, and a good Part of thoſe Advantages, at the Price of which his Father had given that Prince his Liberty.

The Heart of *Richard* was ſet upon this holy Expedition; and he had only one Fear accompany'd it: this was of his next Brother. He had feign'd Suſpicions of him during his Father's Life, while he had none; and now he entertain'd ſuch, he concealed them. He bought him to his Friendſhip with vaſt Appointments.

When he had thus ſettled his Mind about his own State, he took Care of the Kingdoms: he appointed the Chancellor and the Biſhop of *Durham* Regents; and having made firm Peace with *Scotland*, and with *Wales*, he embark'd with a vaſt Preparation, and join'd *Philip*.

England had all this Time kept up a Naval Force, and that had preſerv'd her Peace in many Inſtances. *Richard*, who met the *French* King at *Vezelai*, order'd his Veſſels, a vaſt Armament, to *Marſeilles*, but they were ſcatter'd by a Tempeſt, and driven to *Portugal*. *Richard*'s Impatience could not bear to wait for them; he hired Ships for carrying him to *Meſſina*, and met thoſe on the Way that ſhould have brought him thither.

What the *Engliſh* Preparation was may be gueſs'd by the Effects. The King of *France* was ſtung with Envy to ſee himſelf out-ſhone: *Meſſina* was the general Rendezvous of the Croiſade Warriors; and there their Armaments were ſeen together.

It was not *Philip* alone who envy'd *Richard*; for he eclipſed them all. *England* was rich, and he had taxed it highly to furniſh out a Preparation that might do honour to the Cauſe, and to its King.

The Nation was now famous in her Naval Armament, the Sight of *Richard*'s Ships ſtruck all with Aſtoniſhment; and to this were added in ſome Breaſts Envy, and in others Fear.

The King of *France* griev'd to be thus eclipſed by the Glory of *England*; and the *Sicilians* ſaw they had Cauſe of Terror. They were not without Diſputes, and here was a Power capable of turning the Ballance which Way he pleas'd. To the Envy of *France* he anſwer'd, "That in whatever com"mon Cauſe a King of *England* embark'd, it be"came him to be firſt: and to the *Sicilians*, that "thoſe who did no Wrong, need fear none from "the *Engliſh*: to thoſe whoſe Paſſion went no far"ther than their Wonder, he anſwer'd more mildly, "that the Strength and Wealth of *England* were not "known."

The *Sicilians* had ſome Cauſe to fear the *Britiſh* Armament, for they had offended the King; his Siſter marry'd to a former Sovereign, was at that Time impriſon'd, and would never have ſeen the Light of Liberty again, but for this Accident.

The Navy of *England* no ſooner preſs'd her Seas, than the royal Priſoner was ſet at Liberty.

Richard ſaw this as a Confeſſion of Injury that had been done her, and he demanded farther Juſtice. He had the Spirit to act as became a King of *England*: he pointed to his Ships when he made the Demand; and as he found the *Sicilians* ſlow to comply, he ſeized a Caſtle as Security in caſe of Quarrel.

The *Sicilians* on this drove the *Engliſh* out of *Meſſina*; and *Richard* with a Spirit that became him, led them back; not to capitulate and requeſt a Place in the Town, but to command the whole.

Arms were oppoſed to Arms, but unſucceſsfully. The City was defended but a few Minutes, *Richard* became Maſter of it at a ſingle Aſſault.

The *French* had their Reſidence in a Part of the Town by Compact; but *Richard*, now Maſter by Conqueſt, hung out the *Engliſh* Banners every where.

Philip complain'd: and *Richard* readily heard him. "Not againſt you, ſaid he, my Brother and Ally, "but againſt the King of *Sicily*."—And having declared his Right, he took them down.

In all this *Richard*, though he acted civilly, was reſolute and lordly. It gave Offence, but 'twas concealed on the Part of thoſe who were not able to reſent it. The King of *France* prepared for his Voyage in the ſame friendly Manner as at firſt; but 'twas a fair Appearance hung out; where there was hearty Hatred at the Bottom.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Conqueſt of Cyprus *by the* Engliſh.

'TWAS in the Year 1190, that a Part of the *Britiſh* Navy could give Law to Kings: *Richard* had left enough to guard his Coaſt; and many more Veſſels lay ready for Service. With thoſe, which ſeem'd to follow him in Pomp rather than Neceſſity or Uſe, he meditated farther Glory.

He had Support in his Naval Armament for all his Ambition. He let the *French* in the Spring of 1191, ſet Sail before him, that his Force might ſhine upon the Seas alone. It amounted to no leſs than 150 Sail, with fifty-two Gallies, and ten large Ships for Proviſions, beſide the ſmall Veſſels that attended for leſſer Services. Such was the Glory of the *Britiſh* Flag ſo early.

A Storm overtook them on their Voyage, and three of the beſt Ships were wreck'd upon the Iſland of *Cyprus*. *Richard*, when all was over, and the reſt that had been diſpers'd were got together, learn'd his Loſs. He ſent to bring off the Iſland thoſe who had eſcaped the Sea; but he found Man could be more mercyleſs than the Waves.

A *Commenian*, appointed Governor by the *Turks*, had taken the Command under his own Authority, and was an independent King in *Cyprus*. His Name was *Iſaac*, a Name made formidable, not by his Strength but by his Cruelties. Thoſe who had got on Shore he ſeiz'd as Priſoners, and he had inſulted them with every Act of Barbarity.

Richard ſent ſome to tell him that they were the Subjects of the King of *England*, Lord of the Seas; and when he pleas'd Maſter of any little Iſland. *Iſaac* refuſed to deliver them; and the King ſtung with the Inſult, as well as with the Oppreſſion of his People, made a Deſcent upon the Place. His was a Force not to be reſiſted.

He was oppoſed in landing, but he bore down the Oppoſition: he obtain'd a compleat Victory upon the Shore; and purſuing his Succeſs, march'd to the principal City, which he took, and made the Family of *Iſaac* Priſoners.

The *Engliſh* were ſcarce releaſed from their Fetters, when this King who had fled in the firſt Rout ſubmitted. He requeſted in conſequence of this voluntary Act, not to be laid in Irons; and *Richard* ſmiling, order'd Silver Fetters.

He ſoon after ſubdued the reſt of the Iſland, and ſending his royal Priſoner to *Tripoli*, granted all Favours to the Inhabitants.

This is an Expedition of the *Engliſh* lightly paſs'd over by the Generality of thoſe who have written of our Naval Exploits; but they have not conſider'd it ſufficiently.

The Reduction of this Iſland in ſo remote a Part of the World, and by an occaſional, not intended Action; when it is withal conſider'd, that it was perform'd but by a part of the Naval Force of the Iſland, deſerves to ſtand diſtinguiſh'd in the faireſt Colours.

Of many Years the Fleets of *England* had been now kept up without any Occaſion of Uſe. There are thoſe who from their Inactivity, ſuppoſe they were neglected during that Period, but this is all an Error.

We ſee how conſpicuous they became under this firſt *Richard*, without any great Addition to their Force; and we learn withal how truly we are Lords of the Seas, when our Commanders have Courage to aſſert the Title.

CHAP. L.

The Affairs of England *during the King's Abſence.*

RICHARD had taken every Precaution human Wiſdom could deviſe, that while he ſhould be gathering Laurels Abroad, no ill Accident ſhould happen at Home. He had choſen for Regents in his Abſence two Perſons of approved Fidelity and Wiſdom: but they no ſooner ſaw him on the Seas, than each thought himſelf a King, and grew impatient of the other.

Longchamp began the Practice, and he ſhew'd his Aſſociate how dangerous it was to play with delegated Power.

The King had appointed for his Regents a Council of ſix of the firſt Perſons in the Kingdom in Rank and Character: to theſe the two were to communicate their Deſigns; and to hear their Opinions.

If *Longchamp* had ſlighted his Brother Regent, theſe he treated with the moſt extream Contempt. He communicated to them none of his Purpoſes; and when the Voice of the People demanded of them to ſpeak, he refuſed to hear them.

The Lords thus ſlighted complain'd to Prince *John*, and the other Regents with them.

The Prince was glad to be buſy in the Adminiſtration: he joined them and the People againſt *Longchamp*, and he promiſ'd them Protection and Redreſs.

This Regent had done many illegal Things, and would doubtleſs have done many more. His Enemies needed not to have ſtaid long to find Occaſion againſt him; but in that Rage which guides all Parties in the Place of Reaſon, they fell upon for an Act that became his Poſt.

Richard had left in *England* a Baſtard Brother, *Geoffrey*, a Churchman, whom he knew to be of troubleſome Principles, but had kept quiet by keeping him out of Authority.

Geoffrey took Occaſion of his Abſence, and a Vacancy, to be made Archbiſhop of *York*. The King heard of it; and order'd him to be impriſon'd: but upon his Submiſſion, and promiſing no more to claim the See, nor ſend to the Pope for Confirmation, his Priſon was enlarg'd; he was commanded till the King's Return to ſtay in *Normandy*.

Theſe were the Terms, and *Longchamp* on the Part of *Richard* was to ſee them fulfilled.

Geoffrey went over to *Normandy*: but he ſoon return'd uncalled, and brought with him a Confirmation of his Title to the Archbiſhoprick from the Pope.

Longchamp, who had Intelligence of this, order'd him to be apprehended at *Dover*: *Geoffrey* eſcaped into a Church; but the Regent did not allow that Sanctuary againſt what he called Rebellion. He was taken from the Altar, and impriſon'd.

The Regent, whatever were his Faults, in this acted doubtleſs as became him: but this was made the Pretence of his Proſecution, by thoſe whoſe eager Vengeance would not ſtay for a better. Prince *John* exclaimed againſt it, and the Lords joined him.

He demanded of the Regent to releaſe the Archbiſhop, but *Longchamp* anſwer'd properly, "That he "knew the Reſpect he ow'd the Prince; and where "the Obligation of his delegated Power did not forbid, was ready to take all Occaſions of ſhewing "it; but that in this he muſt refuſe: he had the "King's Order, and his entruſted Power, and he "could bear no Command from any other."

This was the Pretence for forming a Court to try him: the Lords Spiritual and Temporal were ſummon'd, and the Court-houſe was the Church of Saint *Paul*. *Longchamp* was cited to appear, and he ſaw all deſerted him; and that there was no reſiſting the Torrent.

When he came there, the leaſt Part of his Charge was the Impriſonment of *Geoffrey*. He was accuſed of Tyranny: he was called upon to anſwer, why he had excluded the joint Regent *Durham* from the royal Power; and why he had refuſed to hear the Council of the ſix appointed by the King to adviſe him.

Theſe Charges admitted of no Anſwer. The Regent was declared incapable, and put into the Care of the Biſhop of *Roan*, an honourable Priſoner, till the King's Return.

This ſeem'd at firſt the Sum of his Sentence, but the Rage of a prevailing Party could not ſtop here. He was commanded to lay down his Legate's Croſs; and he had no ſooner ſubmitted to that Injunction, than he was impriſon'd.

The Party had now Time to cool, and they found they had gone too far. They dreaded the Reſentment of the Pope for the Impriſonment of a Legate, and they releas'd and ſent him at large to *Normandy*.

What *Richard* had avoided carefully, now happen'd in Spite of his Precaution. The Prince had the great Share in the Adminiſtration; and he form'd Deſigns to uſurp the Crown.

While Plots were laid to depoſe *Richard* here, all Glory ſeem'd reſerv'd for him in the Holy Land. The *Saracens* had been ſucceſsful; but upon Notice of the Succours coming, *Luſignan*, and the others of the Chriſtian Party, had laid Siege to *Acres*. The City laugh'd at their Threats, nor was there any farther Hope from the Reinforcement brought by *Philip*: but when it had loiter'd a whole Year, came *Richard* of *England*; his Spirit, and the Powers he brought with him, brought all to a quick Iſſue. *Saladine* delivered up the Place upon Capitulation.

The Year 1192, is ſtain'd with a very bloody Occurrence. *Saladine* refuſed to comply with the Terms he had ſign'd; and *Richard* in the forgetful Fury of his Spirit, order'd the *Saracen* Priſoners to be put to the Sword. He forgot that *Saladine* had alſo Priſoners; whom he devoted by that Act to Death; they fell in Revenge.

A memorable Battle alſo diſtinguiſhes the Story of this Year: *Richard* commanded the main Body of the Chriſtian Force, and by his perſonal Valour and good Conduct, gain'd a Victory when all elſe gave up the Day for loſt.

This Succeſs made the Way eaſy to a Peace. The Terms were ſettled, and the King in the Cloſe of the Year 1192, embark'd for *England*.

A Storm wrack'd his Veſſel upon the Coaſt of *Iſtria*, and he purſued his Journey through the Territories of the Duke of *Auſtria*; one who had ſerved among the Chriſtians, but had deſervedly received an Indignity from *Richard*. He had deſerted the Cauſe, and was now in his own Dominions, full of the Thoughts of Revenge, but without Hope of Means.

The Chance that had directed the King this Way, gave him an Opportunity. He went as a Pilgrim, but he was diſcover'd under that Diſguiſe. The Duke of *Auſtria* order'd him to be apprehended. *Henry the Sixth*, then Emperor, demanded him; and the Duke conſented, bargaining for a good Part of his Ranſom.

England that had before heard from every Quarter of the World the Fame of *Richard*, now learn'd he was a Priſoner.

Prince *John* took Advantage of this Incident to mount the Throne; but all oppoſed it. He was oblig'd to drop the open and avow'd Deſign; but he labour'd the ſame Point in ſecret.

Two Methods he ſaw moſt probable to effect it: the firſt was, to engage *Normandy* in his Cauſe; the other, to ſecure the Aſſiſtance of *Philip*.

The *Normans* rejected his Propoſal with Horror; but *Philip* readily join'd him. 'Twas his Purpoſe any way to embroil *England*. He promiſed all the Aſſiſtance he could deſire, and urg'd him to be bold in his Claim.

John was Brother to the King, and called himſelf Heir to the Crown; but the Impriſonment of *Richard* was not Death. He try'd to gain the King of *Scotland* to his Party, but in vain. Indeed the Fame of *Richard* had ſo filled *Europe*, that none would join but *France* in this Attempt againſt him.

John finding all Means ineffectual to get the Crown from *Richard* while it was known he was living, pretended he was dead. He claimed it upon this, but he was the laſt from whom the *Engliſh* would believe that Report; and they had heard it from no other.

Philip in the mean time attempted *Normandy*, but in vain. *Roan* held againſt him; and after a conſiderable Loſs, he was oblig'd to raiſe the Siege with little Honour.

CHAP. LI.

The Treatment of Richard *by the Emperor.*

THE King of *England* was all this Time a Priſoner; and by a ſtrange Form of Juſtice, he was accuſed of Crimes. The taking *Cyprus*, the Truce with *Saladine*; theſe, and other Articles were brought againſt him, and he was ſolemnly to be try'd by the Diet.

Richard, who knew how to revenge an Injury, knew alſo how to bear it till he had Opportunity. He ſhew'd a ſurprizing Reſolution and Command of Temper on this Occaſion: for he did not diſpute the Power of the Diet over him; but confounded their Charge by his juſt Anſwers.

All the *German* Princes interceded for him: and in the mean time *John*, who knew his Return would deſtroy all his Hopes, engaged *Philip* to join with him in making vaſt Offers to the Emperor to detain him; ſo little is the Regard to the neareſt Ties of Kindred where there is Ambition.

The Emperor and the Duke of *Auſtria* conſulted upon the Offer, and very much to the Diſhonour of Royalty, came to this Reſolution, that if *Richard* would give more for his Liberty than theſe offer'd to detain him, he ſhould have it.

The Terms were drawn up, and propoſed to him: beſide a vaſt Sum, the Reſignation of *Cyprus* was included; and many other Articles as hard. *Richard* comply'd with; but he granted all: he had a Hand in the Mouth of a Lion, and he took the beſt Means to releaſe it.

John was filled with Terror at the News: he again apply'd to the King of *France*, and they overbid *Richard*'s impoſed Terms: but it was now too late. The Emperor delayed the releaſing of the King, and would have evaded the Treaty, but he could not.

The Princes of the Empire addreſs'd him, and he was ſhamed into Compliance. A very conſiderable Part of the Sum was paid down; Hoſtages were given for the reſt; and *Richard* had his Liberty.

CHAP. LII.

The Death of Richard.

ENGLAND about *Lady-Day* 1194, felt the Foot of her Sovereign after five Years Abſence; and no King was ever received with ſuch univerſal Joy. *John* held out againſt him: he had gone too far to retreat; and he play'd the deſperate Game of Oppoſition. One by one the Fortreſſes he held ſubmitted to the King; and Shame join'd with Fear to reduce his Party.

At length finding his Cauſe deſperate, he fled. *France* afforded him an Aſylum, but the King proceeded againſt him regularly in his Abſence. He was cited to appear within a certain Time; and not anſwering, he was ſentenced as a Criminal; his Poſſeſſions were confiſcated, and he was declared incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown.

Richard, offended at the King of *France* for protecting his Brother; and for his Practices during his Abſence, order'd a Fleet to be prepared, and Land Forces to be ready: *Philip* ſaw his Purpoſe, and open'd the Campaign before him; but unſucceſsfully: he beſieged *Verneuil*, but *Richard* was in Time to raiſe the Siege.

While *Richard* was at *Roan*, the Queen Mother interceded for *John*, and ſhe was anſwer'd as became a King and a Son, "Madam, I will ſee him, and "will pardon him; I know he does not deſerve it, "but there is nothing I ſhould refuſe to you."

John was introduced: he threw himſelf at his Brother's Feet, and beg'd his Pardon. The King gave it with theſe memorable Words, "I wiſh I "could as eaſily forget your Offences as you will "my Pardon."

Philip continued the War with more Vigour than Succeſs: he loſt an Action near *Blois*, and among his Baggage the very Records of the Crown.

The Succeſſes of *Richard* made him now ready to receive Terms; and the King who wanted to be back in *England*, did not impoſe hard ones. He made a five Years Truce; and when the two Kings met, *Philip* who had in vain ſupported the Cauſe of *John* ſo long, betray'd him.

It is the Intereſt of *France* to keep up Troubles in *England*; and nothing gave *Philip* more Pain than the Reconciliation of the King and his Brother. He added Falſity to Truth in his Accuſations of *John*, hoping the Reſentment of the King would occaſion his flying off: but he was deceived. *Richard* was clear ſighted; and *John*, ſince his Pardon, innocent. He juſtify'd himſelf fairly, and he was receiv'd to Favour.

Richard was returning to *England*, and would probably have ſeen many happy Years, when a frivolous Diſpute, and the Revenge of a mean Perſon, rob'd him of his Life.

A Quarrel of little Importance led him to beſiege the Caſtle of *Chaluz*, in the *Limoſin*. In this Place was a Man of mean Condition; who, as it happen'd, had ſeen his Father and his Brother fall by *Richard*'s Hand. He reveng'd their Death by an Arrow from the Walls, the Wound inflicted by which, mortify'd.

The King forgave him when he heard the Reaſon, but the Reſentment of the General flead him alive.

Thus fell *Richard the Firſt*; and in a Senſe of *John*'s quiet Behaviour ſince his Pardon, he left him Heir to the Crown by Will, and to a third of his private Treaſure.

CHAP. LIII.

The Acceſſion of John.

JOHN took the Crown; but another had the Right. He was Brother to the King, but there was living of the Royal Line *Arthur*, a Youth, the Son of *Geoffrey*, an elder Brother.

The Will of the King could not ſet *Arthur*'s Right aſide; but the Promiſes of *John*, and the good Service of his Adherents did.

He was crowned in 1199; and knowing how much he ſhould need his Friends, he bound them to his future Service by large Rewards for the paſt.

He was not without Cauſe for his Caution. The Mother of *Arthur*, *Conſtance*, a Lady renowned in Hiſtory for her Spirit and her Misfortunes, threw herſelf and the young Prince into the Protection of *France*.

Philip, who had ſo warmly eſpouſed *John* againſt *Richard*, undertook as heartily the Cauſe of *Arthur* againſt him. The King of *England* was the Object of his Reſentment; and he who could form Pretenſions to the Crown, of his Protection: no Matter for Names, or Perſons.

It happened *Arthur*'s Cauſe was a good one; but if it had been worſe, he would have eſpouſed it as warmly.

Conſtance found the beſt Method ever taken to engage *France* heartily againſt *England*. She put into the Hands of *Philip* all the Right of *Arthur* in *France* to hold for him againſt the Uſurper.

Philip readily undertook the Cauſe, and *John* with a good Fleet croſſed the Seas againſt him. The *French* were in many Places ſucceſsful, but *Philip* diſcloſed his Purpoſes too ſoon. 'Twas ſeen by every Eye that *Arthur* was but his Pretence for getting theſe Places into his own Hands, and for his own Uſe. *La Roche*, the Governor of *Arthur*, had the Spirit to oppoſe it, and the Prudence to aſſure Succeſs. He firſt ſettled all Points with *John*, and then brought to him *Conſtance* and her Son. *John* received him with open Arms, and *Philip* ſaw he was over match'd in Cunning.

Here had the ſame Prudence conducted which began the Enterpriſe, *Philip* had loſt his fine Pretence of Conqueſt: but other Counſellors came in. They repreſented to *Conſtance* the Danger of her Son in the Hands of the Uſurper; and her Affection for him carried him back to *Philip*, who received them again with open Arms; looked upon all that had paſſed as the Effect of fooliſh Counſel, and promiſed his Protection more firmly than ever.

Philip determined to puſh the Conteſt now with Spirit; and *John*, who ſaw how much there was againſt him, ſtrengthened himſelf by powerful Alliances.

Thus cloſed on the Affairs of *Britain* the twelfth Century.

THE

THE
NAVAL HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.

BOOK XIII.

Containing the Tranſactions of the thirteenth Century.

CHAP. I.

The Event of John's *Preparations.*

PHILIP found *England* too powerful, and he propoſed the Terms of Peace. Thus the thirteenth Century, which ſeemed to threaten opening in Blood, ſaw a Reconciliation between thoſe whoſe Oppoſition had appeared ſo deadly.

Arthur was ſacrificed to this Treaty; and the King of *France* his ſworn Aſſiſtant, and the Aſſertor of his Right, engaged himſelf to give the King of *England* no Oppoſition in the Entrance on his *French* Provinces.

Conſtance exclaimed, but vainly: what are the Words of a weak Woman, when the Intereſts of Kings are in the Balance.

Bretagne and nothing more remain'd with *Arthur*. To this *John* could lay no Claim; and all the reſt, the Weakneſs of that Prince, and the free Conſent of *Philip*, had yielded to him.

John was at this Time married, but he ſaw a handſomer Lady. This was *Iſabel* of *Angouleſme*; and he found out ſoon after his Wife *Aviſa* was too near of Kin to him: he made this an Occaſion of being divorced from her without any Fault of hers, and married his new Miſtreſs.

In the Treaty *John* had ſign'd with *Philip* he had paid ſome Money, and given up ſome Places to be allowed quiet Poſſeſſion of the reſt. He thought he had made good Terms, but the People of *England*, accuſtom'd to command in *France*, and not to purchaſe Terms, thought it not very honourable.

They were offended alſo with the Divorce, and with the *French* Queen. They looked upon him as a bad and a weak Man; and when a King becomes deſpiſed by his Subjects, he ſeems in little Hope of Peace.

On his Return to *England*, he laid before the People the late Expence, and demanded of them a Subſidy, which was diſputed before it was granted.

Geoffrey, the Baſtard Brother of the King, and ill acknowledged Archbiſhop of *York*, made this an Opportunity of ſeating himſelf firmly in his Poſt. The Method he took was an odd one, but he knew the King he had to deal with. He oppoſed the levying of this Subſidy in his Dioceſe, and talked loudly and boldly; but he found few ſupport him. The Churchman was now rous'd in him, and he ſought all the Church Weapons: he excommunicated the Sheriff of the County, who had endeavoured to levy it againſt his Command; and laid his own Dioceſe under an Interdict for not joining him.

John had thought to humble him at firſt; but he now ſaw another *Becket*. He let him know privately that he was inclined to be reconciled to him; and the Archbiſhop, who if he had been ſupported, would have held to the utmoſt againſt him, to encreaſe the Terms, now with great ſeeming Reluctance complied. He and the King agreed well, and performed the beſt Offices in their Power for one another. The King confirming him in his See; and he crowning again the King, and with him his new Queen.

John acted with Addreſs in every Inſtance: he had Difficulties with the King of *Scotland*, but he contrived to evade all that would be unpleaſing to himſelf in their Conſequences. He found the Way to get the King of *Scotland's* Homage, and to put off till ſome other Time the moſt unpleaſing Articles of his Demands.

The People, though they diſliked the King, were quiet; and he hoped he had ſecured the Clergy by his Favours to the principal, and his Reſpect for all: but he could not avoid Diſputes with them. They ſaw his eaſy, or if the Reader pleaſe his fearful Diſpoſition, and they determined to take Advantage of it, to re-aſſert whatever Rights they had claimed in the moſt favourable former Reigns, and to enlarge the Catalogue.

Kings uſed to nominate to Sees, and *John* in his ſecond Year appointed one to *Lincoln*, then become vacant: the Canons rejected the Royal Nomination, and gave the Honour to another.

John had not Time to reſent this, when a new Indignity was offered him. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had been in his Intereſt, ſacrificed that Kindneſs to his Reverence for the Church, and called a Synod without his Conſent or Knowledge.

Nothing like this had been done in many Reigns: but the King, tho' thoroughly mortified at this Stroke of Independence of the Church, ſmothered his Reſentment, and paſſed it over.

The Example of his Father was before his Eyes; but this Submiſſion hurt him more than all that could have followed the moſt reſolute Oppoſition.

The Archbiſhop *Hubert* now ſaw the King a Perſon whom he could terrify; and he aſſumed upon it a State not fit for a Subject. He was rich, and he became laviſh to favour a magnificent Appearance: when he was ſeen in publick he eclipſed the King.

CHAP. II.

The Barons grow troubleſome.

WHILE *John* paid this mean and ſilent Submiſſion to the Clergy, he was beyond all former Kings inſolent to his temporal Lords. They ſaw him every where increaſe the Royal Prerogative, and in every Inſtance retrench their juſt Privileges: they repreſented it to him modeſtly; and he anſwered arrogantly: they did not ſee ſo well as the Churchmen which Way to manage him: had they been as reſolute, he would have been as complying.

They found this afterwards, and they determined to oppoſe him in ſome weighty Point. It was their Reſolution not to ſubmit to a tyrannic Power, and they reſolved to tell him ſo.

An Incident of this Year gave them Opportunity. A Revolt in *Poictou* called him neceſſarily over; and he ſummoned them in his haughty Way to attend him, arm'd for the Expedition, on a certain Day, at *Portſmouth*. They anſwered, that before they attended him out of the Kingdom, he muſt reſtore to them their Privileges, enjoyed in former Reigns, and promiſed at his Coronation.

John was as haſty as he was timorous: he ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of a Force to humble them, and he determined to uſe it; he conſidered no farther: and he thought he had done wiſely as well as bravely, when he had taken *Belvoir* Caſtle, and inſiſted upon the Submiſſion of the others.

The Barons found they were not prepared for ſupporting their Claim at preſent, and they ſubmitted. They conſented to go with the King; but as he ſaw they had rather remain in *England*, he took Money for their Excuſe, and went without them.

Philip ſaw the Arrival of the King of *England*, with Concern. He determined to oppoſe him reſolutely, but he had in a conſummate Degree that *French* Virtue Diſſimulation.

He met him upon friendly Terms at *Roan*: confirmed the former Treaty, and requeſted he would ſpend ſome Time with him upon a brotherly Viſit.

John's Talent was not Diſcernment. He accepted the Invitation; and while he ſpent the Time in Revelry, *Philip* under the Maſk of Friendſhip, was labouring his Deſtruction.

He joined in his Purpoſes *Arthur* and the Earl of *Marche*; and, when all was prepared, he cited *John* before a Court of Peers, demanding all the Provinces held by the *Engliſh*, in *France*, for *Arthur*.

England has had her Kings who would have reſented this properly; but *John* was not one of them. He deſired ſafe Conduct; to which *Philip* anſwered, he might come in Security. He then demanded a ſafe Conduct for his Return; but *Philip* anſwered, that he muſt abide by the Opinion of the Court; and his Return depended on their Sentence: this Inſolence will Succeſs give to *French* Pride. *John* was declared, as Duke of *Normandy*, a Vaſſal of *France*: and, on his not appearing, Sentence was paſſed, "That the Provinces were forfeited;" and they were ordered to be reunited to the Crown.

This was the laſt Determination of that Court, to which *John* had refuſed Submiſſion. But before this, *Philip* invaded *Normandy*.

To colour his Deſigns, he in the moſt publick Manner eſpouſed the Cauſe of *Arthur*: he treated him with the Reſpect due to a ſovereign Prince, and married him to his Daughter.

CHAP. III.

The Death of Arthur.

ARTHUR, undoubted Heir to the Crown of *Britain*, was now the Son-in-Law of *France*. *Philip*, who aim'd all for himſelf, never took a more maſterly Courſe in his Policy than this. He had a natural Right to ſupport him, and could incur no Cenſure the People of *Poictou*: wanted only a Head, and *Arthur* was aſſiſted with a Force to join them.

He put himſelf at their Head, and led them againſt *Mirabel*, where the Queen Mother was, and where the Garriſon was weak.

John was at the Head of a Force to oppoſe them dangerouſly, but they depended on his Diſtance: he marched with all the Expedition of a Son tender of his Mother's Safety, and of a King whoſe Dominions were at Stake.

He appear'd before the Place, when they had but begun the Siege; and his Force was much ſuperior. The Officers in the Body commanded by *Arthur* adviſed him to retreat, which they ſhewed him might be done with Safety, and, as it was from a ſuperior Force, no Way to his Diſhonour. But he was too young; and his Aſſociate the Earl of *Marche* too full of Rage, to hear of it.

They encouraged their Troops, and drew them up in Order of Battle. *John* had not expected this, and he was ſomewhat daunted by their Spirit and Reſolution; but the Soldiers fought, as thoſe whoſe Number promiſes Victory. The Event of the Day was wholly with *John*, and *Arthur* fell into his Hands a Priſoner.

Philip had very gloriouſly laid Siege a little before to *Arques*, but he was a perfect *Frenchman*, he was terrified at the Succeſs of *John* in the Affair of *Mirabel*, and he raiſed the Siege for Fear of a like Fortune.

Bad Men have Fears which ſerve as Virtues. *John* dreaded the Reſentment of all *Europe* if he deſtroyed his Nephew, and he determined, if poſſible, to make him a Friend.

He went to him in *Normandy*, where he was a Priſoner; repreſented to him the treacherous Friendſhip of *France*, and made him great Offers: *Arthur*'s Youth denied him Prudence: he rejected the Propoſal, and declared that while he lived he would aſſert his undiſputed Right to the *Engliſh* Crown, uſurped by him.

The King could not ſpeak longer with him. He ordered him to *Roan* a Priſoner: and no more was heard of him. 'Twas ſaid he periſhed in attempting to eſcape; but of this there is no authentick Account: it is more probable he was privately murther'd.

John was by the Death of *Arthur* entitled to the Crown of *England*, againſt all other Claim; and he was ſenſible of the Superiority of ſuch a Title to the raſh Hand he had laid before upon the Diadem. He came into *England*; and declaring the Death of *Arthur*, who he ſaid periſhed in the *Seine*, attempting to eſcape: he was crowned again a fourth Time King of *England*.

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CHAP. IV.

Philip *creates more Diſturbances*.

WHILE *John* was ſecuring himſelf by new Ceremonies in *England*, the Inhabitants of *Bretagne* were loud in their Complaints. They reverenced the Spirit of the young *Arthur*; and every Eye wept his Misfortune.

From Compaſſion, the Tranſition is eaſy to Revenge. They apply'd to the King of *France*; and he returned for Anſwer, that if they thought proper to addreſs him as *John*'s Sovereign in their Reſpect, he would give them full Protection. They underſtood the Meaning of this, and they complied readily: they appointed a ſolemn Deputation, and upon this Addreſs it was, that *Philip* renewing his Summons to the King of *England*, made his Dominions forfeit for Non-appearance.

This was a Stroke upon which the Eyes of *Europe* were bent with Expectation; but *John* felt it leſs than any could have thought.

Philip confiſcated nothing leſs than all the *Engliſh* Dominions in *France*; and he proceeded to make good his Claim to them on the Peers Sentence.

He entered *Normandy* with a large Force, and for ſome Time was ſucceſsful.

The King of *England* was there; and many of the moſt gallant of the *Engliſh* Barons, who had from Time to Time gone over.

Theſe repreſented to him his Loſs of Honour as well as Territory: they urged him by every Reaſon to exert himſelf, but an infatuating Sloth poſſeſſed him: he would do nothing; upon which the Barons deſpairing, left him, and returned to *England*.

Philip all this Time continued his Progreſs with that Rapidity *France* always uſes when unreſiſted; and *John*, who thought it now not ſafe to ſtay ſo near a victorious Enemy, embarked for *England*.

Many had ſubmitted while he was there, becauſe they could not reſiſt, and he did not ſupport or defend them; but his Departure gave up all: thoſe who had held out againſt the Arms of *Philip*, while he remained among them, thought this an Abdication, and ſubmitted. They acknowledged the King of *France* their Sovereign.

The King, who had remained unactive while on the Spot, determined on great Oppoſition as ſoon as he was on the Sea: he had Strength before, but he wanted Reſolution; and he now entered raſhly on the Purpoſe.

He knew his Subjects here would accuſe him, if he did not throw the Blame upon ſome other, and he laid all to the Charge of the Barons. Thoſe very Perſons who had entreated him to fight, were accuſed of being the Cauſe of the Loſs of *Normandy*, by their deſerting him: and upon this Pretence he exacted great Contributions from them.

The People, who had been long aſtoniſhed at his Conduct, ſtood moſt of all amazed at this. There were Murmurs, and thoſe very dangerous at firſt, but the Strangeneſs of the Proceeding at length carried all in the King's Favour.

The People began to believe the Barons had indeed deſerted him without Cauſe, and been the Occaſion of the Loſs of thoſe Provinces; they turn'd their Hatred from him to thoſe whom he accuſed, and they granted him a very conſiderable Supply for the neceſſary Service.

The King had been reſolute and active in the former Part of his Life, and they could not believe Sloth the Cauſe of what appear'd in his Conduct at this Time: they waited with ſome Impatience to ſee what it was he had been all this Time deliberating, and expected ſome great Blow; when they found he thought of nothing but Pacification.

The Money he had ſo ſtrangely demanded, and ſo much more ſtrangely obtain'd, he waſted in Amuſements at Home; and did not venture any Part of it even to ſecond his Deſire of Peace. The People ſaw their Error now; and they hated him as much as they deſpiſed him.

Philip thought no better of him than his Subjects. His Succeſſes made him laugh at the Propoſal of a Peace; and he demanded *Eleanor*, Siſter to *Arthur*, now a Priſoner with the King of *England*, as a Wife for another of his Sons; and all the Territories *England* enjoy'd in *France* as her Dower.

This could not be comply'd with, and the Embaſſadors return'd.

Philip in the mean time purſued his Conqueſts, he took *Roan*, and that Stroke gave him the reſt of *Normandy*. *Britain* ſaw the Reign of *John* mark'd with an indelible Stain from the Loſs of thoſe Provinces, it was ſo much her Honour to hold in *France*.

CHAP. V.

An Accident rouſes the King's Spirit.

WHILE every Body in *England* gave up the *French* Provinces for loſt; they did not chuſe to be ſo won. *Philip* could not bear Succeſs, and he had never failed to mark the Steps of his Victories with Oppreſſion.

Poictou now felt it in the heavieſt Manner; and the People determin'd to revolt. They knew their Importance to *England*, and they ſent Meſſengers to the King; that they reverenced the *Engliſh*, and wiſh'd to continue under their Government; and that they would join any Attempt to free them from the Yoke of *France*.

John determin'd to take this glorious Opportunity: he order'd a Fleet to *Portſmouth*, ſummon'd his Barons to attend him, and reſolved to act with Reſolution. The People rejoiced: but there are in all Ages private Intereſts to deſtroy publick Expectations.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Pembroke* oppoſed it, bought beyond a Doubt by the *French* to their Intereſts. They placed Difficulties in the Way; but the King ſeeing the Spirit that invited and ſupported him in the Peoples Minds, deſpiſed them.

When he would not be prevailed upon by Reaſons, the Inſolence of theſe Nobles roſe to Threats: he found that he muſt endanger his Crown at Home to attempt any Thing in *France*; and appealing to God and to his People, whether it were not now the Barons who prevented him, he laid aſide the Enterprize.

He reſented the ill Behaviour of the Nobles by demanding large Contributions from them; and he hated them, though he ſuffer'd them to enjoy their Poſts and Honours.

The next Year he purſued his Point more ſucceſsfully. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dy'd, and *Pembroke* dared not controvert the publick Voice alone. *John*, who fear'd no-body but that Prelate, embark'd about *Midſummer* 1206, at *Portſmouth*, and was brave and ſucceſsful.

France that had talked ſo high, and been ſo valiant when there was no Enemy, became more humble now ſhe was oppoſed. *Poictou* was recover'd preſently, and *John* talked of nothing but continuing his Undertakings with the moſt reſolute Spirit.

His Courage blaſted that of *Philip*. He pauſed: he talked no longer of demanding all the Provinces; but he let *John* know he was willing to hear amicable Terms. 'Tis thus in all Diſputes from the private Duel to the Quarrels of Kings, the Courage of one Party grows upon the Fears of the other.

John ſhould have rejected *Philip*'s Terms with twice the Contempt that he had thrown on his; but he was of too ſoft a Diſpoſition: his Reſolution was but for a Moment. When the Terrors of the *French* would have open'd the Way to the Recovery of all his Provinces, he granted a two Years Truce.

So early as in 1206, had *France* the Addreſs to beg Peace till ſhe could be formidable in War, and for ſo many Centuries has *England* been ſo weak upon ſuch Terms to grant it.

CHAP. VI.

The Diſputes of John *with his Clergy.*

THE King did not receive more Advantage from the Death of his mercenary Archbiſhop, than it entailed upon him Trouble. He found no Oppoſition to his going to *France* after that Prelate's Mouth was cloſed; but there were dreadful Conſequences of it at Home.

He had hitherto remembered the Diſtreſſes brought upon his Predeceſſors by the Reſiſtance of their Clergy, and he had bribed and flatter'd that inſolent Body to decent Terms. He now forgot the

Leſſons thoſe Diſaſters had placed once ſo ſtrongly in his View; and enter'd into Quarrels with them needleſly.

The Pope who had ſeen how *Henry* could be bullied, feared not the Effect of the ſame Meaſures upon *John*. He took Part with the Clergy, and the Nation became involved in Troubles.

The Monks elected an Archbiſhop; the King terrify'd them from their Purpoſe of inſiſting on the Nomination, and propoſed to them another: the Pope, to whom the Matter was refer'd, voided both Elections, and himſelf named a third.

King and Clergy were concerned together in this, but the Papal Power carried it againſt them both, and *Langton* recommended thence was choſen.

While the Clamours on this Head ran high, the King, who never needed more the ſtaunch Affections of his Subjects, forfeited them utterly by an oppreſſive Action: he demanded, by way of Subſidy, a thirteenth of their perſonal Eſtates. None were exempted, nor could any Remonſtrance prevent the rigorous Execution of the Order.

'Twas *Innocent* the Third who then filled the Papal Chair.

John might have oppoſed his imaginary Power with the Aſſiſtance of his People, but not when he had loſt their good Opinion.

He refuſed to admit *Langton* as Archbiſhop. The Pope wrote to him; and he returned an Anſwer full of proper Spirit. *Innocent* ſaw all at Stake, and he put on a reſolute Behaviour; he threatened *John*, and reminded him of *Becket*'s Story.

The King made no Uſe of the Recollection; but to inſpite him with new Reſolution: he told the Pope he would ſhake off a Yoke unworthy of a King to bear; and moſt unworthy of a King of *England*.

The Pope ſaw now no Terms could be obſerved: he order'd three of the Biſhops to lay the Kingdom under an Interdict, if the King held his Purpoſe. They told him of their Commiſſion, and he deſpis'd it: He ſaid he would ſend all the Clergy out of his Kingdom, if they proceeded to the Execution of their Commiſſion.

They thinking their Obedience to the Pope more a Duty than their Allegiance to the King, publiſh'd the Sentence, and got off to *France*. Divine Service ceaſed in all Churches; and no Prieſt would read the Burial Office.

John acted now with a becoming Spirit: he confiſcated the Effects of all the Clergy, and ordered the whole Body to be expelled his Kingdom. Here was the Stroke, but now the People fail'd him: no Sheriff dared to execute the Order.

The Nation ſuffer'd; but neither the King nor the pious Pope regarded it. Things might for the latter have ſtood thus for ever; but *John* determined otherwiſe: he knew an Army was a King's ſole Strength who had not the Affection of his People: he raiſed a large Force, and the Pretence was a frivolous Quarrel with the King of *Scotland*.

Thither he marched his Army, and there the Diſpute was eaſily accommodated; but he had his Revenge to proſecute againſt his People in the Northern Counties, who had too openly eſpouſed the Pope.

None appeared againſt him, nor did he fall upon any; but he laid all the Country waſte. His Army broke down and tore away all Fences, and left the whole a Deſart.

'Twas now 1208, the Interdict had continued in Force a Year, and the Pope ſhewed no Deſign of taking it off.

John awed thoſe who did not love him; and he demanded a new Oath of Homage. All his People took it; to have refuſed would have been Rebellion; and he had a Force none dared oppoſe.

The Pope on his Part roſe to higher Meaſures: he ordered the Excommunication of the King. Thoſe who feared to publiſh ſuch a Sentence made it no Secret that they had received Orders from *Rome* to that Purpoſe; and the People began to look upon the King as excommunicated, though the Ceremony was not performed.

Nothing is ſtranger in our Hiſtory, than theſe bold Acts of Papal Power. What was the Pope to *England* in thoſe Times; or who were the whole Body of the Clergy, that a King ſhould fear them, or his Subjects mind their Paper Threatnings.

One among them, the Archdeacon of *Norwich*, ſet an Example: he had an Office in the Exchequer, which he threw up, declaring he would not ſerve an excommunicated King.

John was ready in his Reſentment; he filled the Vacancy with a Man of Credit: and he ordered the Archdeacon as a Rebel into Priſon, where he was preſs'd to Death.

No Step in the whole Conteſt alarmed the Pope like this. He ſaw the King, whom he thought a Man eaſily terrify'd, deſperate in his Reſolution. The Power of the Church was at Stake, and he was equally afraid to drop the Cauſe, and to proſecute it farther. If the King continued reſolute, and the People joined him, *Rome* would have no more Power in *Britain*.

He ſent over two Nuntio's, and there was a Proſpect of Accommodation. The King conſented to receive *Langton* as Archbiſhop: this Prelate's Cauſe had been the Occaſion of the Diſpute, and it was natural to think this Conceſſion would have ended it.

Churchman are errant Cowards, terrified at Oppoſition, but inſolent on the leaſt Compliance. The Nuntio's who would have ſubmitted to any thing, had the King kept his inflexible Reſolution, no ſooner ſaw him yield one Point, than they demanded twenty.

He ſaw their Ingratitude, and had a freſh Inſtance of their tyrannic Spirit: he refuſed any farther Conceſſion, and the whole came to no Accommodation. The Nuntio's pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication againſt the King; and left the Kingdom.

John ſtood unterrify'd at this; and he received with the ſame Neglect, another and a greater Inſtance of the Pope's Inſolence: this was a Bull abſolving the whole People from their Oath of Allegiance.

He told his Subjects the Pope's Power was an imaginary [illegible] and till his Holineſs would lead an Army to ſupport his Bulls, he ſhould pay no Regard to them.

Oppoſition gives ſome Minds a Spirit they can never attain from any other Means, 'twas ſo with him: the haughty Reſolution with which he oppos'd the Pope, transfuſed itſelf into his whole Conduct.

The *Welch*, who had been beat into good Temper, had given Hoſtages of their future pacifick Conduct. They forgot theſe Promiſes as ſoon as Opportunity offer'd of being troubleſome; and they forgot with them their Hoſtages in *England*. *John* order'd them to be hang'd, and then gave Orders for an Army to be raiſed, and to follow him to *Wales*.

The People were as uncertain in their Temper as their King. They were influenced againſt him ſtrongly by theſe Meaſures, yet they obey'd him. An Army attended him to *Wales*, where he would have done great Things; but that he received Intelligence a Conſpiracy was form'd againſt him.

He had Information of this before, but ſlighted it; and he would ſtill have been above the Fear, had not Circumſtances confirm'd Report. He diſbanded his Army whom he could no longer truſt; and taking a new Guard after ſome Stay at *Cheſter*, he return'd to *London*.

CHAP. VII.

The Pope's Negotiations ſucceed.

JOHN's Reſolution terrify'd the Pope. There was but one Step more; and if that failed, the holy Cauſe was loſt. He had excommunicated this obſtinate King, and there remain'd nothing but to depoſe him.

The Pope did this ſo far as a Sentence could effect it; and he beſtow'd the Crown of *England* upon the King of *France*, provided he executed the holy Sentence; others he engag'd by a general Pardon for their Sins; and ſome of the leſs bigotted he purchas'd.

Thus was all *Europe* in Arms againſt the King of *England*, as a Rebel to the Church of *Rome*. They ſhould have ſeen how much they undermin'd in ſuch an Act the Foundations of their own Dignity.

John treated them all with the Contempt their ſervile Spirits merited: the Naval Force of *England* was very formidable, and all was order'd out to Service.

Philip, who had accepted the Pope's Commiſſion readily, was as buſy on his Part; and his Ships were in equal Readineſs. A Sea Engagement was to prepare the Way for one at Land.

John had yet ſo much Intereſt, that a large Force follow'd him, and with theſe he waited on the Shore to receive thoſe who ſhould eſcape the Fury of his Veſſels. 'Tis thus a King of *England* ſhould act when threaten'd with a *French* Invaſion.

The Pope's Dread of the Conſequences ſtop'd this Action, unhappily for the *Engliſh*; who would beyond a Doubt have gain'd over *France* the greateſt Victory they ever did, and with the greateſt Slaughter.

Pandulph, a Name famous in the Hiſtory of this Period, had been one of the Nuncio's in the former Buſineſs; and he was now ſent Legate.

He came through *France* to *England*, and he told the King the *French* were too numerous to be reſiſted; and his own People too unfavourable to him to be truſted. He improved both Dangers by his beſt Art; and when he had enough terrify'd the King, offer'd him the Pope's Protection.

The Terms were plain, an abſolute Submiſſion, and to this he ſwore.

The Pope knew what he might be brought to, and the Legate how to do it. He demanded in his Holineſſes Name his Crown: the Oath, and the Neceſſity, conſpir'd to urge this terrible Propoſition. *John* conſented; and in a publick Aſſembly gave up the Crown to the Pope; and by an authentick Charter, reſign'd to him the Kingdom of *England*, and Sovereignty of *Ireland*.

All Eyes were on this new Ceremony: but none underſtood it except thoſe concern'd. All was ſettled by Compact, and confirm'd beyond Danger of Treachery on either Side. The Legate kept the Enſigns of Royalty five Days; and then ſending for *John* into his Preſence, beſtow'd them on him as a moſt ſignal Favour.

Philip had not perceived till now that he was but the Tool of *Rome*. The Legate who had reconciled *John* to the Church, order'd the *Frenchman* to diſband his Army; but Ambition had as loud a Voice with him as with the Pope: he refuſed: he perſiſted in his Deſign of dethroning *John*, and inſiſted in his Claim of the Crown, as his Reward, from the Pope's Grant of it.

He called a Council of thoſe who were concern'd with him, who were the principal Vaſſals of the Crown of *France*: he told them of the Legate's Proceedings, and he could now urge the ſuperior Right and Independency of Kings.

The Legate had not left himſelf without a Friend in this Aſſembly: he had commiſſion'd in his Intereſt the Earl of *Flanders*; who when the reſt were of the King's Opinion, boldly oppoſed it. He ſaid the King's Right to the Crown of *England* had been by the Pope's Grant, which was now revoked; and that the Expedition in theſe Circumſtances, was neither juſt nor honourable.

Philip could not be ignorant whence this proceeded; but he was ſilent on that Head. He took Arms againſt the Vaſſal who oppoſed his Pleaſure; and the Earl of *Flanders* ſeem'd devoted to Deſtruction. The Legate ſaw this, and he repreſented his Caſe to the King of *England*, who found his Honour engag'd to act in his Favour.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The English *engage the* French *Fleet.*

WE have obſerv'd that for ſome Years paſt, the Naval Power of *Britain* had been kept upon a very reſpectable footing. Under *Henry* it had been very well preſerv'd: under *Richard* it had been raiſed to a Height that at once commanded Envy, and inſpired Fear.

John had been far from ſuffering it to decay: he had the Command of his Peoples Purſes as largely as any of his Predeceſſors; and none knew better the Importance of a Naval Power.

He had kept on foot a very conſiderable Fleet at all Times, and he had put every Ship into Commiſſion, and added all his beſt Diligence could to them on this Occaſion. His Crown depended in a great Meaſure on the Succeſs of a Sea Engagement; for had the *French* been Maſters there, his People would have been too much diſhearten'd to have faced them on Shore.

This was the Condition of the *Engliſh* Navy in 1213. The Pope's Declaration in favour of *John* made it a kind of Sacrilege for the King of *France* to invade his Dominions; and the Earl of *Flanders*, againſt whom was now turn'd the Force meant to reduce *England*, implored the Aſſiſtance of the King, in whoſe Cauſe he had drawn the Fury of *Philip* upon him.

The *French* Fleet was order'd to attack his Coaſt, while the Army under the King in Perſon march'd into his Territories.

John ſaw the Neceſſity of acting vigorouſly in his Defence: the Legate preſs'd it; and the Time preſs'd more. The King gave the Command of his Fleet, amounting to eleven hundred Sail, to a brave and an experienced Commander, the Earl of *Saliſbury*; and gave him ſhort Inſtructions.

The Deſtruction of the Enemy, he told him, was more important than the Glory of a Conqueſt. He had his Reaſons; for in that Caſe he not only ſaved the Earl of *Flanders*, but ſecured himſelf: *Britain* could be in no Danger from *France* without a Navy.

The Earl of *Saliſbury* obſerv'd his Inſtructions punctually. He kept a good Intelligence of the Motions of the Enemy, and he ſaw them ſail. He repreſſed the Ardour of his Men; and ſome thought him deficient in Courage. Two Days he bore the Reproach of many of his Officers, following the *French* Veſſels, which amounted to more than nine hundred Sail ſlowly, and with a watchful Eye.

On the third Day a ſlight Storm put them into Diſorder; the *Engliſh* were always better Sailors than the *French*, and their Commander took this Opportunity to obey his Orders. He gave Command to fall upon them in their Diſorder; and to deſtroy, not take them.

The Winds had terrify'd the *French* enough, they were in no Condition to ſtand before a furious Enemy. The *Engliſh* were among them in a few Hours, deſtroying every where.

The Surprize added to their Succeſs, and the Enemy loſt all Power of Reſiſtance: of nine hundred Sail, ſcarce forty reach'd any Port in *France*. The *Engliſh* had ſunk more than a hundred Sail; when the Commanders among the *French* ſeeing they could not reſiſt them, ran on Shore. They got their People out as faſt as they could; and fired the neareſt Veſſels, ſending them out among the reſt to ſpread the Conflagration.

The *French* here helped the Purpoſes of *John*, but in the Confuſion ſome of the *Engliſh* Veſſels were endanger'd: this was ſoon over, and the Earl of *Saliſbury* when he had lain off a Day and a Night to ſee near five Hundred periſh by the Fire, underſtood that he had enough executed the Purpoſe of Deſtruction, and took the remaining three Hundred to *England*.

The *Engliſh* ſcarce loſt any in the Action; and the Triumph of the People on ſeeing the miſerable Remains of ſo vaſt an Armament brought into their Ports, was extravagant.

The Effect this Incident took on the two Kings, was as great as on their People. *Philip*, diſmay'd and terrify'd, called back his Force intended againſt *Flanders*; and *John* talked of nothing but carrying an Army into the Heart of *France*.

CHAP. IX.

The Deſigns of John *upon* France.

THE King of *England* needed no Spur to urge him to revenge the Inſults, and the Deſigns of the *French*. His Territories there employed all his Attention, and he determin'd to recover them. The Earl of *Flanders* ſaved by his Aſſiſtance, engaged to make a Diverſion in his Favour; and many other Circumſtances concurred to inſpire him to the Action.

He called together his victorious Fleet, and order'd them to rendezvous at *Portſmouth*: he order'd his Land Forces to attend him there; and he march'd thither after a few Days, prepared in every Article to do himſelf Juſtice.

Philip depended more on Treachery than on Courage: he bribed the Barons; and they refuſed to go. The Pretence was a very frivolous one, the King's Excommunication, which was not yet taken off; but as he was reconciled to *Rome*, and now under the Pope's Protection, the Form was all that could be ſuppoſed wanting.

The King repreſented this to them; but they were determin'd. He was oblig'd to ſtay the Form, and for that Purpoſe to haſten *Langton* over. That Prelate perform'd the Ceremony of Abſolution; but he firſt made the King renew his Oath of Allegiance to the Pope, and ſwear alſo to maintain the Church in all her Privileges.

This Obſtacle removed, the King with a new Spirit and Alacrity, repaired again to *Portſmouth*. There his Fleet lay ready, and there the Barons remain'd waiting, as they pretended for the Abſolution.

John had ſo haſten'd Matters, that he was back before they imagin'd the Ceremony could poſſibly have been perform'd. They had their Reaſons for not attending him; and Excuſes were eaſy. What had been done ſo much more ſpeedily than they expected, they complain'd had been moſt tediouſly delay'd; and they declared with one Voice, that they now had it not in their Power to attend him: that the Money which ſhould have carry'd them over, was ſpent in this Attendance, and that it was impoſſible for them to embark.

The King, provoked by their Excuſes, ſailed before them. He told them their Honour was concern'd, and he depended they would follow him. He ſailed to *Jerſey* in this Expectation, and waited there till he found he had deceived himſelf. None follow'd, and he had only to puniſh thoſe in their Fortunes who would not let him conquer. Here he was again thwarted: *Langton* took the Part of the Barons, and he found too great an Oppoſition to be conquer'd.

The Church never knew where to ſtop: *Langton* having prevented the King from falling upon the Barons, brought them into a League againſt him. He ſhew'd them the Charter granted by the firſt *Henry*, and let them know they had Rights too great to lie neglected.

John, terrify'd at the League he ſaw form'd againſt him, ſent to the Pope, calling himſelf his Vaſſal, and deſiring his Protection: the Pope ſent a Legate, he offer'd his Service, but he inſiſted on hard Terms, a ſecond Reſignation of the Crown.

To this the King conſented, and this terrify'd the Clergy. They had been us'd to plague their Kings with the Pope's Power; but when their Kings ſhould be theſe perfect Servants of the Pope, they had no more Hope.

Langton proteſted againſt the King's ſecond Reſignation, and laid his Proteſtation on the Altar. This was ineffectual: the King's Act was not to be authenticated, or annulled by him: the Pope had all he wiſh'd; and he committed to his Legate in return a Power which he abuſed.

New Complaints aroſe; but the Papal Power was too much to be oppoſed by Biſhops. All was compromis'd on Terms very eaſy to the Government, and thoſe who murmur'd were oblig'd to do it ſecretly. *John*, by ſubmitting to the Church, conquer'd his Clergy.

CHAP. X.

The King purſues his Deſigns in France.

THE Kingdom being quiet, and the Pope's Protection taking off all Fear of Troubles from the Clergy, *John* in 1214 renew'd his Deſigns on the *French* Territories, and began with Vigour.

Poictou was his firſt Aim, and he became Maſter of it eaſily; from thence he proceeded to *Anjou*, and beſieged *La Roche*.

Philip being engag'd elſewhere with his Arms, heard with Terror and Aſtoniſhment the Rapidity of *John*'s Conqueſts: he could not leave his other Purpoſes to oppoſe him; but he diſpatch'd his Son.

The Dauphin *Lewis*, ſpur'd by the Fire of Youth, and by the Deſire of Glory, march'd with Expedition, and appear'd with a Force equal to that of the Beſiegers, ſome have ſaid ſuperior: but the Difference was not much.

The King of *England*, ſpirited by his Succeſſes, determin'd to end all at a Blow: he rais'd the Siege to fight the Dauphin.

There were Hopes from his Spirit, but a part of his Army refuſed to engage, the Recruits he had brought from *Poictou* would not fight againſt *Lewis*; and *John* found it needful to retreat.

Lewis, who ſaw his Numbers, but knew nothing of the private Diſcontent among them, did not attempt to ſtop him, or to moleſt his March.

Philip was all this Time in *Flanders*, and juſt upon the preſent Incident he fought and won the memorable Battle of *Bovines* againſt a Hundred and twenty Thouſand Men.

This Incident terrify'd *John*, and he requeſted a Truce: the Pope's Legate interfer'd, and puſh'd his Intereſt to the utmoſt: by this Means it was ſettled; and the Term was five Years.

The King, ſatisfy'd with this Proſpect of paſſing the Remainder of his Life in Peace, return'd to *England*; but he found preſently that domeſtick Broils could torment equally with the worſt foreign Quarrels. He found his Barons violent in the Demand of antient Privileges.

The Laws of *Edward*, and *Henry*'s Charter were the great Objects of their Purſuits; and *John*, after putting off his Anſwer from time to time, at length when they would wait no longer, refuſ'd.

What they had ſollicited by Treaty, they now demanded abſolutely; they choſe *Fitz-Walter* their General, and declared their Independence.

The King did not know what he entailed upon himſelf: their joint Force, after ſome ſlight Succeſſes in the diſtant Counties, march'd for *London*. They became Maſters of it, and he retired into the Tower, there they beſieged him.

His Adherents, through Fear, or Favour to the Barons, grew cool, and from time to time forſook him: he ſaw the Danger, and he threw himſelf upon the Barons Mercy. They inſiſted on a Charter, and they impoſ'd what Terms they pleas'd.

The *Magna Charta* was drawn up in the ſtrongeſt and moſt favourable Manner to publick Liberty, and the King ſign'd it. With this they propoſed another concerning Liberties of Foreſts, which he alſo ſign'd; and they appointed Judges of all Pleas of its Infringment.

Never was a King ſo reduced as *John*; a Vaſſal to the Pope, a Slave to his Barons, and happy in a Truce from *France*.

It was not long before he ſaw his Error; and with a Weakneſs equal to that of ſigning, he wanted to annul the Charter. The Barons would not hear of this; and he apply'd to his Protector the Pope. *Rome* threaten'd, but they liſten'd to its Thunder leſs than Kings.

The Pope abſolved *John* from his Oath, and by his Sovereign Power annulled the Charter. The Barons diſputed his Authority, and in Arms aſſerted their Rights; they took *Rocheſter*; but ſoon after *John*, who had retired to the *Iſle of Wight*, appear'd before it with a larger Force, and re-took it after ſome Reſiſtance.

England became again a Scene of Blood in every County: the King's Troops falling upon the Barons, and butchering Thouſands of innocent People, under Pretence they had join'd them.

While this was done by Arms, the Thunder of *Rome* came forth; in an Excommunication of the Barons. *Langton*, whoſe Office it was to publiſh this terrible Sentence, refus'd. *Pandulph* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, commiſſion'd with this important Service, ſuſpended him for the Refuſal, and themſelves publiſh'd the Sentence.

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CHAP. XI.

The Troubles of the Kingdom continue.

THE Barons held the Sentence at Defiance, and the King ſhew'd no Mercy: his Troops were too powerful to be reſiſted, and being moſtly foreign Mercenaries, they could not be brought over by the other Party: under the Name of puniſhing the rebellious Lords, the People were deſtroyed without Mercy.

The Barons found they could not ſupport their Cauſe, and they determin'd not to give it up: they called in the Aſſiſtance of *France*; and offer'd *Philip*, if he undertook their Cauſe in earneſt, the Crown of *England*.

He could not find any Difficulty in complying: he raiſed a vaſt Force, which was to land in *England*, and to join the Barons.

The Pope threaten'd, but *Philip* not aw'd by that, return'd for Anſwer, "That his Holineſſes Title "was imaginary, that *John* had ſubjected the Kingdom without Conſent of the States, and that it "was therefore an Act void in itſelf."

Philip ſhew'd he was in earneſt, for he ſeconded his Anſwer by his Actions; and in 1216 *Lewis* carry'd a vaſt Force to *England*, in near ſeven Hundred Ships. He landed at *Sandwich*, and took *Rocheſter*; and in conſequence all *Kent* ſubmitted, *Dover Caſtle* alone excepted.

The Pope did not ſpare his ſpiritual Thunder. *Lewis* was declared excommunicated the Moment he ſet Foot in *England*; and the Bull of Excommunication was again pronounced againſt the Barons, with their ſeveral Names. They were too deſperate, and *Lewis* was too raſh to regard it. He received their Oath as freely as they offer'd it; and by his imagin'd Royalty, made *Langton* Chancellor.

All went againſt the King: *Lewis* was Maſter of the ſouthern Counties, and he was buſy in reducing the Northern; he beſieged by part of his Troops *Dover Caſtle*; and to keep up a Face of Regard to the Pope, ſent Embaſſadors in the mean time to him, to plead his Claim to the *Engliſh* Crown. He declared *John* depoſed by the univerſal Voice of the State, and inſiſted on his Right as Huſband to *Blanch* of *Caſtile*, his Niece.

While this amuſed the Pope, *John*, who had remain'd all the Time at *Wincheſter*, ſeeing part of the *French* before *Dover*, and part before *Windſor*, march'd into the ſouthern Counties, and puniſh'd thoſe who had ſubmitted.

While *England* was thus waſted by a War, of which there appear'd no Proſpect of an End, an Accident gave a ſtrange Turn to the Affairs of *France*.

Lewis, tho' invited by the Barons, was conquering for himſelf; and he had beſtow'd no Favours upon them, while he laviſhly rewarded the Services of his Followers. This gave them Umbrage, and the Confeſſion of a dying Man, the Count *De Melun*, confirm'd them heavily.

He told them they were devoted to Deſtruction; that *Lewis*, in whoſe Cauſe they fought, conſider'd them as Traitors; and while they expected Rewards, had ſettled Puniſhments.

They were ſhock'd at this Diſcovery; and the next general Voice was Submiſſion to the King, and Puniſhment of the treacherous *Frenchman*.

John did not live to receive their Propoſition: harraſs'd to Death from Place to Place, and broken hearted, he dy'd in Autumn 1216 at *Newark*.

CHAP. XII.

The Acceſſion of Henry *the* Third *to the Throne.*

THE conſcientious Confeſſion of the Count *De Melun*, was one of thoſe Events Men ſhould attribute to the Providence of God, watchful over States. To that Incident ſo happy in point of Time is owing, that *England* did not become a Province to *France* in the Year 1216.

Lewis was ſucceſsful, he had undertaken the Cauſe at the Requeſt of the People, and *John* was dead. Nothing could be ſo natural as for thoſe Barons who had invited him, to have crown'd him; but they were juſt inform'd that his Acceſſion would be their certain Ruin. Care of themſelves, no regard to Juſtice or the royal Line, gave the Turn in their Country's Favour.

The Earl of *Pembroke* ſummon'd them together, and repreſented to them their Condition. " We
" ſupport *Lewis*, whoſe Succeſs muſt be our De-
" ſtruction; to propoſe an Oath to him were vain,
" for what *French* Monarch ever regarded one. Our
" Intereſt, as well as Duty, commands us to ſup-
" port the Royal Line; and the King we ſhall ap-
" point will be taught by Gratitude, and by the
" Miſeries of his Predeceſſor, to treat us better?"

There was too much Reaſon in this to be reſiſted: *Pembroke* ſaw in the Faces of the whole Aſſembly their perfect Compliance; and leading in *Henry*, the eldeſt Son of *John*, then between nine and ten Years old, he ſaid, " See our King." All ratify'd what he propos'd; and after the Coronation Oath, and a Submiſſion to the Pope in the Perſon of his Legate, then not to be refus'd, *Henry the Third* was crown'd.

'Twas an imperfect Ceremony. The very Crown was loſt: *John* had drop'd it in a River which he croſs'd in haſte, and 'twas not to be recover'd. A plain Circle of Gold anſwer'd its Purpoſe on this Occaſion.

The material Part, however, was gone through with great Regularity, and the Barons ſhew'd their Gratitude for the Services of the Earl of *Pembroke*, by appointing him Guardian of the King, and under him Regent and Protector of the Kingdom.

Now open'd upon *Britain* a new *Æra*: *Pembroke* uſed every Means to ſtrengthen his Party: he ſent Deputations to the Barons not preſent at the Coronation, to acquaint them with his Motives and his Conduct, and to enjoin their Aſſiſtance: The Eyes of all were open'd, *De Melun*'s Confeſſion work'd Miracles; and every one talked of leaving *Lewis*.

This ambitious Youth ſaw his Cauſe declining, and he attempted to revive the Spirit various Ways, but ineffectually. The Reſiſtance of *Dover Caſtle* was ill-timed for him. The Aſſaults of the *French* had been bold, but unſucceſsful; *Lewis* offer'd Money to the Governor, but that was rejected with more Diſdain.

Hubert de Burgh was in Commiſſion, and he was the *Blakeney* of thoſe Times, or ſomething more: for though aſſaulted by a numerous Enemy, and cut off from all Succour, he diſdain'd to ſurrender; and he preſerv'd the Fortreſs.

Lewis retired from before *Dover*, and march'd his Force to *Hertford*. There was a Caſtle leſs ſtrong by Nature, leſs ſecured by Art, and much worſe garriſon'd. He took it after a few Days; and he ſhew'd his Deſigns very unwarily in this Inſtance. *Fitz Walter* was of all Men the laſt he ſhould have offended; the Head of the Rebel Barons, and the very Perſon who had brought him over.

This Caſtle belong'd ſome time before to his Family, and he was highly pleas'd with this Opportunity of ſitting down Lord of his antient Patrimony: he aſk'd of *Lewis* the Government of it, and he heard himſelf deny'd; he ſaw *French* Troops led by a *French* Officer to garriſon it. This Stroke was *Lewis*'s Deſtruction.

Fitz Walter was a Politician as well as Soldier: he paſs'd over with an unruffled Countenance, an Inſult that ſtung him to the Heart. He aſſembled the Barons; he repeated to them *De Melun*'s Confeſſion, and he laid before them *Pembroke*'s Invitation.

Upon the very Time of this came new Orders from *Rome*: the Pope recognized *Henry*, and renewed his Orders to excommunicate the Rebel Barons. They were influenced by all theſe concurrent Incidents to declare for *Henry*: and the firſt Step toward the Peace of *England* was a Truce.

Lewis, whoſe fine Spirit was fatigued with the Continuance of theſe rough Operations, made no Uſe of the Ceſſation of Hoſtiſities but for Reſt. On the other hand, *Pembroke* more converſant in the Affairs of State, employ'd every Moment of it to the Advantage of his Cauſe. He renew'd his Applications to the Barons, ſiding with *Lewis*; he was more and more ſucceſsful; and he every where ſpread ſo many Reports to the Diſadvantage of the *French*, and to the Advantage of the Royal Party, that all Eyes, and almoſt all Hearts were turn'd to the King.

Lewis now moſt unpolitickly return'd to *France* to conſult with his Father the ſucceeding Operations: his Abſence gave full Scope to the Addreſs of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who firſt drew off his Son, *Marſhall*, before a firm Friend of *Lewis*; and then one by one many others.

CHAP. XIII.

The English *and* French *Fleets engage a ſecond Time.*

THE Year 1216 ſtands diſtinguiſh'd in the *Engliſh* Annals for a very bold and glorious Naval Engagement. There had been long Periods of Time in which this national Strength had been neglected, but ſo many Inſtances of the fatal Conſequences of that Neglect had cured ſucceeding Kings of their Remiſsneſs.

The beſt Accounts make the Number of Ships at this Time in the *Engliſh* Service not leſs than eighteen Hundred. They lay in various Ports, and many of them were unfit for Service, without Time for Preparation and refitting.

The Earl of *Pembroke* ſaw the Advantage of diſputing the Paſſage of the Seas with the *French*, and he uſed all his Addreſs to raiſe a Force: there were many Diſadvantages; a ſhort Time for Preparation, and an unſettled Temper in the People.

He had addreſs'd all the principal Places in the King's Behalf, but he uſed ten-fold Diligence at the Cinque Ports: he told them they were on the point to be for ever free *Engliſh* Subjects, or *French* Slaves: he entreated them to ſave themſelves and their Country; and he promiſed every Thing from his own Power now, and in the King's Name afterwards.

Sandwich declared for the Royal Party; and the Example was followed by the reſt.

Pembroke no ſooner ſaw himſelf Maſter of the Cinque Ports, than he repreſented to them the preſent Advantage, which, if not ſeiz'd, would never return. He reminded them how ſuperior the *Engliſh* had been at all Times to the *French* on the Seas, and he urged them to uſe all Diligence to fit out and man a Fleet, that might either have the ſole Glory of reſcuing the Kingdom, or muſt at leaſt render that Taſk eaſy to the Land Force, who could well oppoſe an Army, half beaten on the Sea.

All ſaw the Wiſdom of the Propoſal, and every Hand was ſet to work. *Lewis* heard of it; and he order'd an equal Preparation: far from being diſhearten'd, he gathered Courage from the Oppoſition; and his Father joined with him a Marſhal of *France*, the Earl of *Perche*, and many other experienced Officers.

In the Spring 1217, the Armament from the Cinque Ports aſſembled off *Sandwich*, and made a Fleet of eight hundred Veſſels. *Lewis* appeared with more than nine hundred; but theſe were Times when *Britiſh* Sailors did not think a little Advantage was of any Conſequence to an Enemy.

The Fleet of *Lewis* was no ſooner ſeen than every *Briton* ſet up a Shout, and bore down with eager Valour upon them. No waited Signals detain'd them from the Service; no Line of Battle reſtrained the Courage of the Leaders.

Every Ship of the *Britons* bore down upon ſome one Ship of the Enemy, and the Sea redned that ſurrounded them: four Hundred of the *French* Veſſels were deſtroyed. But the Diſadvantage in Number that neither terrified our People from engaging, nor prevented their Succeſs, made it impoſſible for them to prevent the Landing of *Lewis* with good Part of his Forces.

The Engagement happened off *Sandwich*, and thither *Lewis* bent his Courſe. 'Twas not his Buſineſs to fight at Sea; he haſted to the Shore his Troops, purſued and ſlaughter'd by the victorious *Engliſh*; but ſtill many landed.

His firſt Reſentment was to fire the Town, which he ſaw reduced to Aſhes; and thence marching forward, he was joined by large Reinforcements.

CHAP. XIV.

The Earl of Pembroke *greatly diſtinguiſhes himſelf.*

LEWIS, who had ſtaid beyond the Term of Truce, not expecting that he ſhould be attacked, was confounded to hear that the Land, as well as the Sea Force of the Iſland, was in Action againſt him.

He found *Pembroke* the Life and Soul of the Oppoſition, and he attempted him by private Negotiation. That honeſt *Briton* refuſed to hear his Terms: he told him, that their Swords muſt determine the Matter, and Words could be but uſeleſs.

He deputed the Earl of *Cheſter* to command a Party, and ſent them againſt a *French* Fortreſs in *Leiceſterſhire*. The little Town *Mountſorrel* now became eminent: it is a Place of vaſt natural Strength wall'd in by Nature with Rocks of Porphiry. The *French* had here a large Garriſon, and it was againſt theſe the Earl of *Cheſter* went.

Lewis diſpatched the Marſhal *Perche* to its Relief; and by a right Policy he gave him a great Force: no leſs than twenty thouſand Men. He knew the Effect a Blow againſt him would have upon the *Engliſh* who favoured his Cauſe: this was the only one that threaten'd, and this he obviated by his great Force. The Earl of *Cheſter*, not able to oppoſe it, raiſed the Siege.

The Earl of *Perche*, not ſatisfied with this Succeſs, conſider'd where his Force could be moſt ſerviceable. To have raiſed a Siege was little Glory to his towering Mind: and hearing *Lincoln* Caſtle held out againſt *Lewis*, he ſat down before it. This was a Thing of great Importance. The City of *Lincoln* joined the Barons againſt the King, and *Lewis* had his People there; but the Caſtle was another *Dover*.

Pembroke, who reverenced the Virtue of the Governor, and the Courage of his Garriſon, would not ſee them reduced to Extremities: he marched to raiſe the Siege.

The *French* defended the Town againſt him, while they beſieged the Caſtle; but *Pembroke* firſt throwing Succours into the Caſtle a back Way, made the Signal of Attack.

Fulk de Brent led out, at the ſame Inſtant that *Pembroke* attacked one of the City Gates, the whole Garriſon in a Sally. The *French* were between two Armies, and could reſiſt neither. The young Marſhal fell in the Action, and a vaſt Slaughter of his Troops, with perfect Victory to the *Engliſh*, and very little Loſs, crowned this glorious Action. The Regent, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Battle, rewarded his ſucceſsful Soldiers nobly. He not only gave them all the Plunder of the Enemy, but of the City, which had ſo long taken Part with *Lewis*.

One Stroke like this entails a thouſand Conſequences. *Lewis* deſpaired: he raiſed the Siege of *Dover*: retired in Terror to *London*, and ſent preſſing Letters to his Father for Advice and Aſſiſtance.

The Pope declared Vengeance againſt all who oppoſed the royal Line of *England*; and *Philip*, who had deſpiſed his Threatenings in his Succeſs, now feared them. He publickly acquainted his Son, that he could no longer interfere in this Diſpute; but this was only to keep Terms with the Pope, for he privately at the ſame Time encouraged him to perſevere againſt all Accidents, and promiſed him a ſpeedy Aſſiſtance.

CHAP. XV.

A third Naval Engagement with the French.

PHILIP, who had learned by his Son's Meſſage that as his Fortune declined the *Engliſh* cool'd toward him, determined to revive the Cauſe, by pouring in freſh Numbers of his own Forces. He got together the Remains of the Fleet, that had eſcaped in the laſt Action, to the Number of fourſcore large Veſſels; he filled them with his beſt Forces; and to hide his Concern in it, gave them the Name of *Blanch*'s Squadron, the Wife of *Lewis*, in whoſe Right he claimed *Britain*.

The News of the Preparation reached *England* preſently, and *Pembroke* again addreſſed himſelf to the Cinque Ports: he laid before them the Advantages their Country had received from their Valour on the former Occaſion; for to that he attributed all his good Fortune; and he preſſed them by every Motive of Honour and of Intereſt to be earneſt in their Preparations now.

The *Sandwich* People led the Way: eager to revenge the Burning of their Town, and inſpired with a true Love of their Country, they haſtened the other Cinque Ports; and before the Fleet of *Blanch* was ready for the Sea, they were prepared with a Force to oppoſe it. The Time was too ſhort for fitting out many Veſſels. They went out but to the Number of forty-four from all the Cinque Ports; but theſe, knowing they were to oppoſe an Enemy of double Force, were manned with the beſt People the Places afforded. Two very diſtinguiſhed Commanders were appointed by *Pembroke*, *Philip d'Albiny* and the famous *Marſhall*: they haſten'd the Men on board; told them how honourable it was to be firſt in the Field; and reminded them of their former Conqueſt.

The Eighteenth of *Auguſt* the Men were all embark'd, and the Commanders dividing the Force into two equal Squadrons, led them towards the Enemy's Ports.

On the Twenty-fourth of the ſame Month the *French* were on the Seas; and toward Noon they came in Sight. The Enemy's were not only more numerous, but larger Veſſels; but this did not diſcourage the *Engliſh*: they ſet up the Huzza, the Prelude of Victory, and tacked to Windward in their two Diviſions.

The *French* received them with great Reſolution; but theſe were Times in which the *Engliſh* Courage was much greater. The *French* Commander *Euſtace*, a Man of deſperate Spirit, bred to the Church, had thence become a Pirate, and was now raiſed to the Command by his perſonal Courage: he placed himſelf where the Danger ſeemed greateſt; and kept up the Spirit of his People a long Time. The *Engliſh* were ſucceſsful, and they took, one after another, a great Part of the Ships: but ſtill this *Euſtace* ſtood againſt them.

The two Commanders had ſent ſeveral Veſſels to take him, who were unſucceſsful, and he held out till a Baſtard Son of the late King's, *Richard*, a Perſon of diſtinguiſhed Courage made up to him. The Men fought deſperately on either Side, but *Richard*'s perſonal Valour ended the Fray: he ſtruck off the Head of *Euſtace*, and held it up to animate his own, and to diſpirit the other Party. It took the full Effect, the People in that Ship loſt all Reſiſtance, and with them all the others.

The ſingle Bravery of this Man had inſpired them, and they gave up the Cauſe when he fell. Of the eighty Ships of *France* no one arrived in *England*, and very few got back to their own Ports.

CHAP. XVI.

Lewis *is reduced to Diſtreſs.*

THE Dauphin who had for ſome Time carried all before him, was ſtruck with two ſuch Loſſes: he grew afraid of every thing, but moſt of *Pembroke*: he never heard the Name without Terror.

He had retired to *London* upon his firſt Loſs, and *Pembroke* now publiſhing the News of this Sea Victory, took the Advantage of that Spirit and Fury which riſes in common Minds from Conqueſt, to lead his Force thither.

His Approach put a Period to the long Diſpute; the Dauphin ſued for Peace, and deſired Liberty to return. *Pembroke* knew that the beſt Virtue which could attend Succeſs was Moderation; he readily granted it; and gave out full and free Pardon to all who had adher'd to the *French* Intereſts.

The Barons on this all ſubmitted to *Henry*; and *Lewis* returned to *France*.

Thus the Prudence of *Pembroke*, rarely attendant upon ſuch Succeſſes, reſtored perfect Peace to *England*.

In 1217, *Henry*, on the Departure of *Lewis*, made his Entry into *London*, and was received with every Mark of Honour.

The King of *Scotland* came in like the Subjects of *England*, and did Homage to him: only the Clergy were unhappy, they were left open to the Pope's Indignation: the Legate was commiſſioned with the holy Cauſe; and if Revenge were Juſtice, he did it ſtrictly; the Churchmen of thoſe Times never pardon'd any.

The ſucceeding Year was employed in ſettling the Affairs of the Kingdom; and in 1219, the great *Pembroke* died.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was made Regent in his Place.

In 1220, *Henry* was crowned again with more Solemnity than at firſt; and in the ſucceeding

Summer he made the Tour of his Kingdom, attended by his Regent, and every where acting with Spirit at once, and Juſtice.

The fortify'd Caſtles of the Barons had long been declared illegal, and moſt were render'd up, but ſome of their Poſſeſſors were obſtinate in preſerving them.

In this Progreſs the Regent order'd all ſuch as remain'd in this State to be reduced to the Condition of the reſt; and he met with no Difficulty in the Execution of this juſt Purpoſe, but from an Earl of *Albemarle*. He refuſed to ſubmit to the Conditions of the reſt, and he fell into an open Rebellion: the royal Power executed its Purpoſe; and then pardon'd him.

Thus was every Thing ſettled upon a peaceful and an honourable Footing: the Laws were put in Force, and the Liberties of the People were ſtrictly and faithfully preſerv'd.

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CHAP. XVII.

Diſputes with France.

FRANCE we have ſeen by the Hiſtory of many Ages, is naturally and unalterably the Enemy of *England*: if ſhe ever appears otherwiſe, 'tis from Deſign, or Weakneſs; for whenever ſhe has the Power, ſhe has the Will to hurt us. Such let our People always look upon her; and let them learn by theſe the true Accounts of a preceding Time, that there is no Way to keep her quiet but to humble her.

Lewis in 1217, was driven from *England*, and ſign'd Articles very honourable to the State. Among the reſt was one whereby he promis'd to reſtore all the Territories taken by his Father from us, in the Reign of *John*, when he ſhould come to the Poſſeſſion of the Throne.

The Year 1223 ſaw him exalted to this high Dignity. *Philip* dy'd: but the Dauphin no ſooner ſaw himſelf King, than he underſtood no former Articles could bind him.

The Regency of *England* ſent Compliments of Condolance; and reminded the new King of this Engagement, but he refus'd to comply with it. This threaten'd Troubles, and the Regency conſequently were alarm'd. The Juſtitiary *Hubert* ſaw it more evidently than the reſt, and he thought upon the Method to take the Burthen from their Shoulders. He uſed his Intereſt with the Pope to declare the King of Age to govern; and a Bull from *Rome* came to confirm it.

The Barons refuſed to acknowledge the Force of a Bull that contradicted the Laws of the Realm; and the King remain'd under the Regent's Care. *Hubert* reſented this by an Attack upon their Caſtles, the old and everlaſting Subject of Diſpute. He privately engag'd the King to demand his; and he ſubmitted, provided others did the ſame. He ſurrendered the Tower of *London* and *Dover Caſtle*; and the reſt follow'd the Example.

As ſoon as the King was poſſeſs'd of theirs, he reſtored *Hubert*'s to him, and the Barons then ſaw the Treachery; they left the Court, and they ſwore Revenge.

Lewis the Eighth, ſo we are now to call the late Dauphin, not only refus'd Performance of his Engagement, but declared all the *Engliſh* Poſſeſſions in *France* confiſcated; and enter'd *Saintonge*, where he took ſeveral Places. 'Twas ſeen that he propos'd to take Advantage of the King's Minority, to drive the *Engliſh* out of *France*. They who perceiv'd it knew how to prevent it, and theſe were Times when thoſe in Power were honeſt.

It was determin'd to ſend an Army into *France*; the Subſidies were granted, the Force order'd to be got ready, and the King declared of Age, tho' yet under the lawful Time: they ſaw the Propriety of this Meaſure now, who had ſlighted *Hubert*'s Reaſons.

The Fleets were fitted out, and the Soldiers ready, when an Order from the Pope ſtop'd the Progreſs of this honourable Deſign. *Lewis* having been engag'd againſt the *Albigenſes*, was conſider'd as engag'd in a holy War; and *Rome* order'd all Chriſtian Princes to ceaſe Hoſtilities againſt him.

His Death in 1226, left the Crown to *Lewis the Ninth*, an Infant; and *England* might have taken great Advantage of the Incident; but it was neglected.

We have ſeen *Henry* hitherto a Minor, and have had but one Act by which to judge of his Diſpoſition; this promis'd badly, and what follow'd anſwer'd it. The defrauding the Barons of their Caſtles was a Piece of unkingly Craft; and now he was in Power for himſelf, he began by an Act of tyrannick Injuſtice.

The Parliament had lately granted him a large Sum, and the Sight of ſo much made him deſire more: from them it could not be aſk'd, ſo he fell upon others. He order'd all who held Charters of the Crown to bring them in; and he demanded from every one a large Sum for renewing them.

Hubert concur'd in this, he had got the King declared of Age, that *Wincheſter* might have no more a Share of the Power: he now had him order'd to his Dioceſe, and he became the firſt Favourite; the Earldom of *Kent* was given him, and with it vaſt Poſſeſſions.

The Favourite knew how to flatter a young Sovereign, he adviſed him to be abſolute; and the Oppreſſions of the People mark'd the Beginning of this Reign.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

CHAP. XVIII.

Troubles in the Beginning of Henry's *Reign.*

FAvourites rarely adviſe Kings well. *Henry* incur'd Danger very early by following the Advice of *Hubert*. He annulled the Charter of King *John*, and by that made the People outrageous; and he oppreſs'd the Barons with a more arbitrary Hand than any had done before him. They murmur'd in ſecret; and an Occaſion ſoon offer'd for open Rebellion.

The young King tyrannized over his Brother *Richard*, who told him, "He diſdain'd to bear it; "and took up Arms." Many join'd; the King was all Defiance and Fury, but *Hubert* had more Diſcretion. He ſaw his own Ruin certain from this Confederacy; and to prevent the King's being brought to bear their Terms, he cauſed him to offer them. He gave *Richard* a large Inheritance, and ſo the League was broken.

An Opportunity never offer'd more favourably for diſtreſſing the *French*; a Woman was the Regent for an Infant, and *France* poſſeſſed many Provinces of Right belonging to *England*. Diſputes aroſe, and the *Norman* Subjects of *England* took their Part in them: they ſaw every Thing might be recover'd, but when they apply'd to *England*, they found there ſat an idle, weak, and avaritious Boy upon her Throne; and they deſiſted.

The Pope in 1228 began to lord it over *Britain*; he would appoint to the great Church Dignities, and he would have the Tenths collected here. The People oppoſed, but the King fearful to offend *Rome*, join'd the Papal Claim: *Henry* thought it leſs dangerous to loſe his People's Love than *Rome's* Protection, but he was a Boy. He was ſoon taught better; and wiſer Councellors and honeſter coming to his Ear, he began to know his Intereſts.

He was fir'd up to a Thirſt of Glory; and as Youth is always violent, no King ever purſued it with more earneſt Reſolution. He ſaw the Advantages he had over *France*: he was made to underſtand the Value of his Provinces, and he order'd Troops to be levy'd, and Veſſels to be fitted out to tranſport them.

The Regent of *France* was fearful, and it was ſeen ſhe was alſo wiſe; it was not eaſy to reſiſt ſuch a Force; but it was eaſy to prevent it.

The Troops aſſembled at *Portſmouth*, and there were not Veſſels to receive them. *Hubert* had the Charge of this Matter; and the King called him Traitor; he charg'd him with having *received the Gold of* France *to prevent the Succeſſes of the* Engliſh *Arms.* Too probably 'twas true.

A Year was loſt by this, but better Councellors prevented farther Diſappointment: In the Spring 1229 *Henry* embark'd with a large Force at *Portſmouth*, and landing at St. *Maloes*, ſoon recover'd his loſt Provinces in *Bretagne*.

The firſt Succeſſes of the *Engliſh* brought in Numbers to their Party; the King's Force encreaſed hourly, the *Normans* requeſted him to come among them; and all that *John* had loſt in *France*, courted the Acceptance of *Henry*.

The Boy here got the better of the King again. His Valour had been but a youthful Flaſh, and it was cooled: he grew ſick of the Fatigue, and Danger of Battles; he recalled his Favourite *Hubert*, who received *French* Money, and this fair Proſpect vaniſh'd.

The Queen Regent follow'd her Money with her Arms, and ſhe depended not vainly upon the Intereſt and Advice of *Hubert*. He perſuaded the King he was no Match for the Force marching againſt him; and without ſtaying to ſee what Force that was, the valorous *Henry* came back with his beſt Speed to *England*.

CHAP. XIX.

Troubles of the King with his Brother.

WE have ſeen *Richard*, the King's Brother, once already awe him into Reaſon; but the Effects of Force are not laſting. He ſoon forgot the Danger to which he had been expos'd, and idly, and unjuſtly again oppreſs'd him, when more able to reſent it.

Richard, in 1231, marry'd the Siſter of that Earl of *Pembroke*, who had given the Crown to *Henry*, and reſcued his Country from the *French*. The People almoſt worſhipped him; and after his Death, which happen'd the Year of his Siſter's Marriage, they transfer'd all their Eſteem and Reverence to her.

In this Situation was *Richard* when his Brother attempted the moſt unjuſt Oppreſſion againſt him. The Earl of *Pembroke* bequeath'd to him his Fortune: he was at his Death in *Bretagne*, fighting the deſperate, and neglected Cauſe of the *Engliſh*; and 'twas in this Circumſtance *Henry* ſeiz'd the Inheritance. To ſupport his Claim, he accuſed *Richard* of an unfair Correſpondence with the *French*.

This he diſdain'd to anſwer: he went to *Ireland*, where he had vaſt Poſſeſſions by the ſame Will, and where there were now dangerous Diſturbances. He hired Forces, and he ſent no Meſſage; but left Fame to tell his Brother, that what he detain'd from him in *England* he had taken there.

Henry was frighted to good Terms; he offer'd every Thing that could be aſk'd, and *Richard* with great Honour return'd to his Country.

The Ruin of *Hubert* marks the Year 1232. He was by a new Intereſt turn'd out of his Poſts, and cited as a Criminal. He knew how little Chance of Juſtice there was for a diſcarded Miniſter, and he [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and raſh at once, was as inveterate now againſt him as ever he had been partial to him. He order'd him to be drag'd from the Sanctuary whereto he had fled; and confined in the Tower.

The Biſhop of *Winchester* whom *Hubert* had diſplaced, was at the Bottom of this; but though he had plann'd his Scheme well, he was not expeditious enough in the Execution. The King had Time to cool, and he grew ſenſible *Hubert* had been his Friend; he was releaſed from the Tower, and ſent a Priſoner at large to a remote Caſtle.

The Biſhop griev'd to ſee his Scheme in part fail, but he continued in Favour, and in Power. He ſaw the Barons hated him; and to ſecure himſelf, not as he pretended, his Country, he ſent for Foreigners, and adviſed the King to beſtow Poſts and Honours on them. *Henry* conſented; but the Earl of *Pembroke* repreſented to him the Folly of the Proceeding, and the Wickedneſs of the Adviſer.

Winchester was preſent, and he was loud in his Reſentment. He told him, "Such Inſolence demanded a foreign Rebuke: that the Arrogance "of the Barons was the Cauſe of the King's ſending over for theſe; and if they were not enough "to curb them, more ſhould be called in."

The weak King authenticated all his inſolent Miniſter thought proper to adviſe; and the Barons ſaw the Nation again devoted. *Richard* placed himſelf at their Head, and the Oppoſition was determin'd.

Soon after a Parliament was called at *Oxford*; and the Barons refuſed to attend. *Richard* delivered their Anſwer: they were threatened, and he moſt; and to this he anſwered, ſooner than they, and what was dearer, their Country, ſhould be oppreſſed thus, they would elect another King.

No Churchman, while *Rome* had Authority in *Britain*, was ever fit to be truſted with Power: *Winchester*, more impatient of Controul than the King, could not bear this: he adviſed him to have Recourſe to Arms; and *Pembroke*, cautioning them to be gentle for a Time, retired.

The *Welch* had been bold and miſchievous; they had been bought off by a Treaty; but the ſame Spirit liv'd in them, and the ſame Prince commanded. 'Twas thither *Pembroke* went: he entered into a Treaty with the Prince; and that ſettled, returned to his Party, telling them what he had done, and inſpiring them with Courage.

While the Barons ſtrengthened themſelves among the People, the King, guided by his Miniſter, brought over foreign Troops: with theſe he marched to *Hereford*, to ſeize a Caſtle of the Earl of *Pembroke's*; but he found too ſtrong an Oppoſition; and frighted by the Strength of his Enemy, he propoſed Terms.

He promiſed on the Royal Word, that the Complaints of the Barons ſhould be conſidered in a Parliament; he made the Biſhops Sureties for his Faith, and he required the Earl of *Pembroke* to teſtify his Sincerity, in acquieſcing to the Propoſal, by delivering up the Caſtle; which on the ſame Royal Promiſe, and under the ſame Sureties of Performance, he agreed to deliver up again after fifteen Days.

Pembroke conſented; and the King, when he had taken Poſſeſſion, laughed at his Credulity.

Henry kept Poſſeſſion: and *Pembroke* was ſilent. This was a private Injury to him; the Nation's Grievances were to be redreſſed, and he bore this to ſee the Conſequences. The Parliament met, and the Complaints were made, but fruitleſly; the Biſhop of *Winchester* ſhewed there was no Expectation of Redreſs.

Pembroke on this laid Siege to his Caſtle, and in a few Days took it. The King marched againſt him raſhly; and he taking every Soldier-like Advantage, fell on the Royal Party in the Night, and after a vaſt Slaughter took their Baggage, and a great Number of Priſoners. Thus was *England* in 1223 plunged again into all the Miſeries of a Civil War.

CHAP. XX.

The Death of Pembroke.

WINCHESTER ſaw he had no Hope to enſlave his Country, while this Aſſerter of its Liberty *Pembroke* lived: and with the Baſeneſs of a Coward he contrived his Abſence and his Death. *Pembroke* had great Poſſeſſions in *Ireland*: theſe the Biſhop cauſed to be attacked; and this carried him over thither: his Friends in the Expedition were corrupted by the Churchman's Gold, and the great Aſſertor of *British* Liberty was ſtab'd behind by one of them in the Heat of a little Engagement.

Here Policy overſhot its Mark. 'Twas ſeen that *Winchester* had been the Cauſe; and there were thoſe about the King who ventured to remind him how dangerous to himſelf it was to keep about him any who had the Art of ſecret Murther. This took Effect: the King's Fear repreſented to him his own Danger on any Pique, and he diſcarded *Winchester* at once; with him went the Foreigners; and *England* ſaw again a Proſpect of Tranquillity.

Peace at home all know was the proper Way to Succeſs abroad. A Truce had ſuſpended the *English* Arms in *France*, and it now expired. *Henry* at the Inſtigation of his Barons, and his People, purſued the War; and he would have been ſucceſsful, could he have kept good Terms at home; but he recalled his former Miniſter: all was now given up for loſt, and the foreign War came to nothing.

With *Winchester* the other Foreigners returned, and they were employed again: the Parliament complained; and, after ſome Remonſtrances, the King ſeemed to underſtand his Error. He promiſed every Thing; but of all the Kings who have filled the *British* Throne, there has not been one ſo ready to promiſe, or ſo careleſs to fulfil Engagements.

In 1240, a new Quarrel broke out with *France*;

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Lewis gave *Poictou* to his Brother *Alphonſo*; and *Henry* had before bequeathed it to Prince *Richard*. This was one of the Provinces *Philip* had won from *John*, and 'twas not yet wholly retaken. The Kings on each Part reſolved to ſupport what they had done.

Henry's Cauſe was ſuch as would at any other Time have won the *Engliſh* to join readily and heartily with him, but he had wholly forfeited their Eſteem: they ſaw him faithleſs and oppreſſive; meanly condeſcending when in Fear, and haughty beyond all former Kings when freed from Apprehenſions: they would engage in nothing with him, and they refuſed the Supplies he demanded. The oftener he renewed the Subject, the oftener he was mortified, not alone with the Refuſal, but the Reproaches of his Parliament convey'd in their Reaſons.

What he could not obtain by publick Authority, he raiſed by private Oppreſſion: he uſed every mean and cruel Act that had diſgraced former Reigns, to get Money from his People; and having thus raiſed a ſmall Sum, and a ſmall Force, he marched to *Portſmouth*. He embarked, and he began his Operations, but the Event anſwered to the Beginning of the Expedition: the Earl of *March* who had invited him over, went off to the *French*; and *Henry* was reduced to make a diſadvantageous Treaty: a Truce, for five Years, was all that he obtained; and the *French* King, who granted it, meant nothing more than to take that Opportunity of ſtrengthening himſelf for Action.

In 1244, *Lewis* called before him the *Engliſh*, who were in *France*. He told them the Expiration of the Truce would renew the War; and as they could not favour both, he deſired thoſe who loved him would ſtay with him; and thoſe who choſe the King of *England* for their Sovereign, would go thither; he promiſed them they ſhould retain their Lands and Poſſeſſions: but he would not have them at that Time in his Kingdom.

Here was an Example that *Henry* ſhould have followed; but he had too little Honour, and too much Avarice. He confiſcated the Lands held by the *French* in *England*; and *Lewis*, when he had remonſtrated in vain, anſwered to his Refuſal, that he would not break the Truce eſtabliſhed on the Faith of Kings; but he would remember this when it expired.

This and the ſucceeding Year *England* received great Inſults from *Rome*; but the Barons were at length rouſed, and they oppoſed the Pope with Violence.

The *Welch*, during theſe Diſputes, infeſted the Borders; and the King, with the Vehemence of Reſolution natural to light Minds, made a vaſt Preparation, and marched againſt them; but after haraſſing himſelf ſome Months to little Purpoſe, he returned with as little Honour.

Parliaments were all this Time occaſionally called becauſe the Supplies came through their Means; and at every one the King enlarged his Demands; and he enlarged his Promiſes, but he performed nothing.

In 1228, they gave him a very harſh Anſwer: that till he fulfilled ſome of his former Promiſes, they ſhould not regard the preſent. This terrified him: he knew not to what Lengths the Spirit might be carried that had thus opened the Seſſion; and he diſſolved the Parliament.

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CHAP. XXI.

Troubles of Henry *with his Subjects.*

ENGLAND had Reſt from *France*, becauſe *Lewis* was engaged in the Holy War: no King more unfortunately, for he was in Perſon at the famous Battle of *Damietta*. In this Action all the Knights Templars and Knights Hoſpitallers, except three of the latter, and four of the former fell; and the King of *France* was made a Priſoner.

Europe was ſhocked at this Occurrence; and *Henry* frighted from his purpoſed Expedition thither. He contented himſelf with living at his Eaſe; and as he had no Thought but Entertainment, he tax'd the People highly to ſupport it. The *Jews* were fleec'd at Pleaſure; and the Citizens of *London*, a Body always reſpectable, and by all wiſe Kings reſpected, felt the ſame Oppreſſion. They murmured at the Impoſitions, not doubting but the whole muſt ſoon feel the ſame.

An Earl of *Leiceſter* becomes diſtinguiſhed at this Time: *Henry*, once influenced by a Man's perſonal Merit, gave him a Government in *France*. The *Gaſcons* wanted to ſhake off the *Engliſh* Yoke; and *Leiceſter* faithfully diſcharged his Truſt, by keeping it firm upon their Shoulders.

To reſent this, they ſent Complaints to *England*; to which *Leiceſter* anſwered, that his Virtue was his only Fault.

Henry, too weak for ſo much Power, liſtened to his Enemies, and brought him before him to anſwer for his Conduct. His Head was to have anſwered it, but his Courage ſaved it. The King called him Traitor, and he juſtify'd himſelf in ſuch Terms, as were too coarſe for the Royal Ear. He knew with whom he had to deal. He told the King he underſtood his Purpoſe to apprehend him; but he had thoſe who would not ſuffer it. The Firmneſs with which he ſpoke this terrify'd *Henry*, and all was ſettled amicably.

The Hiſtorian, who has *Britiſh* Blood in him, muſt bluſh to write of ſuch a King.

CHAP. XXII.

The King's Favour to Foreigners loses the Hearts of his People.

NO Examples of other King's Diſtreſſes, nor Remembrance of his own Troubles, could make *Henry* ſo much as attempt to gain the Affection of his People. He favoured Foreigners more and more: all the great Poſts were given to them; and the Barons, who ſaw themſelves thus ſlighted and oppreſs'd, determin'd on Revenge.

Every Year brought ſome new Occaſion of Supplies greater than the laſt: that of the preſent 1253, was for an Expedition to the Holy Land. They would not have granted it on any other Occaſion; but his Abſence was the great Point they wiſh'd. They knew his Falſhood and Irreſolution, and they doubted whether he really intended what he ſaid; and whether if he did, he would keep his Purpoſe.

In this Doubt they annexed hard Conditions to the Supply; but they granted it: Excommunication was the Sentence againſt all who ſhould infringe the Charters, which the King now confirm'd.

Henry join'd in this, but 'twas only for the Time: as ſoon as he had got the Money, and diſmiſs'd the Parliament, he found the Way to break all Engagements: this ſerv'd his Purpoſe for the preſent, and he contrived the Means of continuing his Oppreſſions.

In 1255 'twas needful to call the Parliament again, becauſe he wanted a Supply; but having enquired who were moſt buſy in the Conditions impoſed upon him by the laſt, he did not ſummon them.

The reſt refuſed to act: they demanded the Aſſiſtance of all who had a Right to ſit in Parliament; and the King, who wanted nothing from them but Money, and ſaw he could not get it, diſmiſs'd them, and fell upon his uſual Meaſures. He diſſolv'd the Parliament, and he demanded Money of his Subjects oppreſſively, and without the leaſt Form or Pretence of Juſtice.

The *Welch* continued Hoſtilities, inſpirited by his unſucceſsful Attempt againſt them; and he march'd thither again: after ſome little Succeſs he lay negligently, ſuppoſing them fled far off, and awed by his ſuperior Force; but they took the Opportunity to fall upon him, and cut to Pieces the greateſt Part of his Army.

Henry, by whatever ſtrange Motives he was induced to it, thought this a Time to treat *France* haughtily; beaten in his own Kingdom, and without Forces, Treaſures, or the Affection of his People: he ſent a Meſſage to *Lewis*, demanding the Reſtitution of his *Norman* Provinces. *Lewis* ſmiled and refuſed.

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CHAP. XXIII.

The Barons take Meaſures againſt the King.

WHILE *Henry* was thus ſlighted Abroad, and reduced to the moſt deſperate Condition at Home, he preſerved the ſame arrogant and ungentle Temper toward his Nobles. He ſeem'd by all his Actions to think, that none knew he was miſerable or diſtreſs'd, but himſelf.

The Barons, aſham'd as well as weary of the Oppreſſions of ſo weak and inſolent a King, talked with the People, and propoſed a better Regulation in the Government.

They did not conſult the King in this, for they knew he would promiſe and amuſe them. He in the mean time wanted Money, and apply'd for it to his Parliament; and they being thoroughly inſtructed in their Reſolutions, defer'd it, and complain'd they found him deaf to their humbler Remonſtrances: they now declared themſelves more reſolutely.

They told him, "That the State muſt be reform'd: and that if he would join in the Deſign "they ſhould be glad; if not, there were Rights "in the People, and they would aſſert them without his Concurrence."

Fear never failed to operate on *Henry the Third*: he agreed to join with them: the Parliament was adjourn'd to meet on an appointed Day at *Oxford*, and twenty-four of the chief People in the Kingdom were appointed to act as Commiſſioners in this great Undertaking. The King concurring, they gave to him the Choice of twelve of them; and the Barons named the reſt.

The Terms they propoſed were very fair and honeſt, but the King found Means to oppoſe them. The Earl of *Leiceſter* was Preſident: he knew *Henry* to the Bottom, and he declared his Danger if this were treated as other Matters had been. The Barons carry'd their Point: they drove the Foreigners out of the Kingdom, and they juſtify'd themſelves to the Pope in a very ſenſible and reſolute Addreſs.

The Commiſſioners now poſſeſſed in reality the ſovereign Power; and *Leiceſter*'s Prudence and Reſolution taught them to preſerve it. They made Peace with *France*, that nothing might interrupt their Tranſactions at Home.

Private Diſſentions broke what no foreign Power could have diſſolved, and this Union of the Barons fell to the Ground. *Leiceſter* was honour'd, but he was too great not to be envy'd: he was accuſed by *Gloceſter*; and the King took Advantage of thoſe Diviſions. He got Abſolution of the Oath by which he had confirm'd their Power, and then declared againſt all their Proceedings; and turn'd out the Officers they had appointed.

The Barons apply'd to him with Decency; they requeſted him to regard his Oath; and offer'd, if he thought any Thing in the Proviſions of *Oxford* too harſh, that they would alter it.

The Mildneſs of their Propoſal made him inſolent, and ſo ended all Hopes of an Accommodation. The Barons underſtood themſelves to be juſtify'd to all the World by the Propoſal they had made; and as it was rejected, they had Recourſe to the Authority of the Commiſſioners.

They knew the true Strength of the Kingdom, and they prepared a Fleet; the Cinque Ports, at their Repreſentation, declared againſt *Henry*; and the *Britiſh* Fleet naturally the Support of the King, was now his Terror. He ſaw the Shores guarded by Veſſels of Force; and as he had no Hope at Home, he now perceived all Reſource was cut off from Abroad.

The Kingdom was upon the Brink of a Civil War: all dreaded this; and therefore all were ready to hear Terms of Accommodation. The King offer'd to confirm the *Oxford* Proviſions, and the Barons again agreed to make what was harſh, more eaſy.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* remonſtrated againſt this; and reminded them how little Dependance could be placed upon the Word of ſuch a King. They were not deaf to this, but the publick Voice, the Fear of Civil War, and the Engagements of thoſe who eſpouſed the King's Cauſe, determin'd them: they conſented; and *Leiceſter* retired to *France*.

Time ſhew'd he was the wiſer, for the King broke the very firſt Article of the Treaty: this was to confirm again within a certain Time the Proviſions of *Oxford* thus alter'd. It was enough for him that he had made the Reconciliation, for thence he obtain'd Money. This was all he wanted, and with this Aſſiſtance he carry'd Forces to *France*.

The Barons ſaw they were deceiv'd, and they determin'd not to bear it; they look'd on *Leiceſter* as an Oracle, and they ſent a Deputation to requeſt him back. He return'd: he upbraided them gently with their Fault; and he eſpouſed their Cauſe with new Vigour.

The King ſaw what was doing in the Return of *Leiceſter*. His Intereſt in *England* was more important than all Advantages Abroad; and he return'd. The Barons made no Secret of their Deſign, they addreſs'd the King, calling upon him to keep his Promiſe; and his Refuſal heighten'd by Menaces, determin'd them to Oppoſition.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Barons Wars begin.

THE Party thus deluded and inſulted took to Arms: they publickly defy'd the King, they loaded him with every opprobrious Term his Conduct had deſerv'd; and calling Heaven and Earth to witneſs they had deſired Peace, but he refuſed it, and choſe the Earl of *Leiceſter* General.

He led them againſt the ſtrongeſt Places that declared for the King, and to the Eſtates of his foreign Favourites: they poſſeſs'd themſelves of the one, and they ſhew'd no Mercy to the other.

The King lay all this Time in the Tower, where he waited the Aſſiſtance of his Son Prince *Edward*, with a large Force. The Barons knew this, and they addreſs'd him to accommodate Matters, and ſpare his Subjects Blood: he refuſed to treat with them; on which they placed themſelves in the Way, the Prince's Force muſt come; determin'd to give him Battle.

Henry's Fears now operated in their uſual Way upon him; he conſider'd that the Defeat of this Succour muſt be his everlaſting Deſtruction, and he offer'd to treat with them.

They grew arrogant as he grew humble; and now propoſed Terms that made them Kings in his Place: what they agreed to leave him was but the Shadow of Royalty.

Henry conſented: but it was in his uſual Way, only till he had Time to break his Promiſes. His Word was often given, and often violated; and at laſt the Matter was left to the Deciſion of Arms. The Battle of *Lewes* fought in 1264, gave all to the Barons, and they prepared in earneſt to reform the Government, or rather to eſtabliſh a new one.

Officers were appointed for every County, called Conſervators of the Peoples Privileges. The King, who now was at their Mercy, could not refuſe to ſign whatſoever they deſired; and thus the Name of the royal Authority concur'd with their Projects.

The Pope diſpatch'd a Legate, but *Leiceſter* ſtop'd him by the Way: he ſent him Word in *France* that *England* was not diſpoſed to receive him.

Thus the Barons manag'd all till they fell out with one another: another *Gloceſter* roſe to oppoſe *Leiceſter*; he repreſented to the Barons that this Lord aſpired to Sovereignty, and he drew ſome off: but *Leiceſter* recover'd all.

The Year 1265 ſeems to have been the Æra of a *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons. The Prince, Heir to the Crown, was all this Time a Priſoner to the Barons: *Leiceſter*, who ſaw the Accuſation levelled at his Deſtruction, propoſed to ſet him at Liberty.

This was a Point of vaſt Importance, and a Parliament was ſummon'd to determine it; and to this Parliament were called two Knights to repreſent each County, and two Burgeſſes for every City.

'Tis not enough remarked that this was the firſt Time the Commons ſat in Parliament; but it is not leſs true. 'Tis to the Name of *Leiceſter* we owe Reverence for this Bulwark of the *Engliſh* Liberty.

Edward was deliver'd to the King a Priſoner alſo; and this Step paved the Way to his full Liberty: he eſcaped ſoon after, and he ſet up his Standard. *Edward* was lov'd as much as his Father was deſpiſed: People flock'd to him, and *Leiceſter* found himſelf too weak to face him.

The Prince purſued him as he fled; and by the Battle of *Everſham*, fought in 1265, releaſed his Father from his Fetters.

The Loſs of this Battle might have been recover'd, but there was one Attendant on it which could not: the Earl of *Leiceſter* fell in the Action: the Barons had no Head, and the Prince purſued his Succeſs againſt them. The King confiſcated their Eſtates; and he puniſh'd *London* for joining with them.

The Pope now thunder'd with his loudeſt Voice: his Legate came, and excommunicated thoſe who had refuſed to receive him. The Prince ſubdued while the King puniſh'd.

The Cinque Ports were reduced; and had the King uſed Moderation in his Succeſs, he had eſtabliſh'd himſelf happily. But thoſe whom he had reduced by Arms, he made hate him by his Severity: and he prolong'd an Oppoſition now naturally at its Period.

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CHAP. XXV.

New Diſturbances of the Barons.

THOSE who had been moſt oppreſs'd, and who ſaw fartheſt into the growing Oppreſſion, retired to a Place of Strength, the *Iſle of Ely*.

The King, terrify'd at the new Oppoſition, offer'd Terms; which they refuſed to accept. *Gloceſter*, who had join'd him only becauſe he fear'd the Earl of *Leiceſter*, ſaw all now taking as bad a Turn as ever: he demanded the Performance of the Engagements the King and Prince had enter'd into with Reſpect to himſelf; but he found them more intent on reducing their Enemies, than on being juſt to thoſe who ſerved them. He broke from them, raiſed Forces, and became another *Leiceſter*.

The King was all this Time at *Cambridge*, and *Glouceſter* took the Opportunity to make himſelf Maſter of *London*; and the Tower. He now declared his Purpoſe of redreſſing the publick Grievances, and invited all honeſt Men to join him. He expected to have ſeen the Nation riſe, but he was diſappointed: the Reſpect the Generality had for the Prince, made them keep Terms with the King; and *Gloceſter* finding this, made his Peace.

The Rebels in the *Iſle of Ely* ſubmitted ſoon after, and *Henry* owed to his Son the abſolute Reduction of his Enemies. Thus ended the Barons Wars, which had threaten'd to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom; and which the Hand alone of *Edward* brought to nothing.

The Prince, full of Glory now he had eſtabliſh'd Peace at Home, ſought to continue his Succeſſes Abroad. The Holy War afforded an everlaſting Occaſion, and as the King of *France* was going thither, *Edward* propoſed to accompany him.

All private Diſputes were laid aſide on theſe Occaſions; and *Lewis* and *Edward*, whom any one could ſee would become in a few ſucceeding Years deſperate Enemies, embark'd like Brothers in this Expedition.

Henry in the mean while enjoy'd the Peace which his Son had given him. The Kingdom continued quiet for ſome time; and as he was apprehenſive of Danger from every croſs Incident, he watch'd all narrowly.

A Diſpute between the Townſmen and the Monks of *Norwich* happen'd in 1271; in which the Townſmen prevailing, burnt the Cathedral and adjoining Monaſtery, and threaten'd all the Clergy: *Henry*, always apprehenſive, thought with ſome Ground of Reaſon, this might ſpread, and once more embroil the Nation. To nip the Evil in its Bud, he went in Perſon with a large Force to *Norwich*, where he ſaw exemplary Juſtice executed on thoſe who had been moſt culpable.

The Fatigue of his haſty March diſorder'd him: he was ill at his Arrival, worſe on his Return; and he dy'd ſoon after in *London*.

His Reign of fifty-ſix Years had been a very diſhonourable, and unhappy one for *England*.

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CHAP. XXVI.

The Succeſſion of Edward.

EDWARD was abſent when his Father dy'd, and there had been an Accident which had like to have left his Bones in the *Eaſt*. An Aſſaſſin attempted to ſtab him in his Chamber: he received the Wound in his Arm; and return'd it in the Heart of the Wretch who gave it: but the Prince's Danger was not ſmall, for the Dagger had been poiſon'd. This was not known in *England* at the Time of *Henry*'s Death.

The Abſence of the Heir gave thoſe who were of a turbulent Diſpoſition Hopes of Miſchief; but they found themſelves ill ſupported. The Body of the People adored the Prince; and the Barons, when they ſaw 'twas impoſſible to alienate their Affections, joined them. They ſwore Allegiance to him in his Abſence. He was on his Return; and at *Meſſina* heard that he was King of *England*.

Lewis had dy'd in the Eaſt, and another *Philip* now reign'd in *France*. *Edward* viſited him in his Return, did Homage to him for *Guienne*, and civilly taking Leave, arrived in *England*; and in 1274 was crown'd.

He began his Reign nobly: he enquired into all publick Grievances, and order'd their Redreſs; and remembering that *Lewellin*, a Prince in *Wales*, had favour'd the Barons who rebelled againſt his Father, he went thither determin'd to chaſtiſe him: he follow'd his Succeſſes by giving him Terms, but they were hard ones.

The five or ſix firſt Years of his Reign were to his Honour; but when he ſaw himſelf fix'd beyond ſhaking on the Throne; Avarice, the worſt Fault that can ſtain a King, diſcloſed itſelf: he oppreſſed his People; and turn'd againſt their Liberties, Laws made for their Preſervation.

Lewellin broke the Terms that had been ſign'd; and *Edward*, with a determin'd Purpoſe of Revenge, march'd againſt him. *Lewellin* ventured a Battle with unequal Force, and in the Action, in which almoſt all his Troops were cut to Pieces, fell.

The King conſider'd him as a Rebel; and to awe thoſe who had eſpouſed his Party, order'd his Head to be expoſed upon the Tower.

The Brother of *Lewellin* ſhared his Fate ſome time after. He was taken by a Party of the *Engliſh*; and try'd as a Rebel: he was ſentenced to be beheaded, and quartered: his Head was fix'd by his Brother's upon the Tower, and the Quarters of his Body ſent to diſtant Towns.

Truth obliges us to record this Tranſaction, but it ſtains the Name of *Edward*.

Wales, terrify'd with the Slaughter of her Forces, and the Death of the laſt of the Royal Line, ſubmitted; and was in 1283 annexed by *Edward* to the *Engliſh* Name, united to that Kingdom.

In 1284 *Edward* was called to *France*. He left the Earl of *Pembroke* Regent, and he treated with *Philip* concerning thoſe Provinces his Anceſtors had won from *John*, and from his Father *Henry*. *Philip* acceded to a Treaty freely; and *Edward* recover'd ſome of his Poſſeſſions, doing a very cautious Homage.

The other Affairs in which he had Concern were not ſo eaſily adjuſted, and they kept him more than three Years out of the Kingdom. He return'd in 1289, and he immediately began to conſider what was amiſs in the State.

The *Jews* were very numerous at this Time, and grew rich upon the Oppreſſions of the Neceſſitous; the People had long complain'd, but 'twas not eaſy to be redreſſed: Money had bought off the Reſentment of Miniſters, and even of Kings; but *Edward* was more reſolute to pleaſe his People. A ſolemn Act was this Year paſſed in Parliament, and they were baniſh'd the Kingdom.

In 1290 the Affairs of *Scotland* employ'd the Attention of the *Engliſh*. *Edward* agreed to marry his Son to *Margaret* of *Norway*, acknowledged Queen of *Scotland*: all thought Peace inſured, and *Scotland* united to *England* by this Propoſal; but *Margaret* dy'd before the Marriage could be accompliſh'd; this open'd the Way to the Pretenſions of *Baliol* and *Bruce*.

Scotland was threaten'd with a grievous War; and to prevent it *Edward* was made Umpire. He went thither to execute his Commiſſion; but his firſt Demand was, that his own Superiority and Dominion ſhould be recognized.

The States were ſilent; and the King addreſſed himſelf to the Competitors; firſt to *Bruce*. He demanded of him the ſame Authority; and *Bruce*, to make a Merit of Compliance, anſwer'd, "That "he acknowledged *Edward* King of *England*, Sove"reign of *Scotland*, and ſhould ſubmit to whatever "Sentence he pronounced."

This was a Maſter-ſtroke of Policy in *Edward*, he knew the firſt he aſk'd would anſwer as he deſired; and he foreſaw what happen'd, that all the reſt would follow his Example: 'twas not their Buſineſs to incenſe the Perſon from whoſe Mouth they expected Sovereignty; and who ſhould diſpute the Dominion of *England* over that Kingdom; when the Claimants agreed to acknowledge it.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Affairs of Scotland *under* Edward the Firſt.

EDWARD was thus put into Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and he very carefully eſtabliſh'd his Title at the Hearing held at *Berwick*. This memorable Tranſaction marks the Year 1290.

The firſt Determination *Edward* made was againſt *Bruce*. He had ſingled out the Claimant, whoſe Title had leaſt Juſtice, to anſwer firſt for his Sovereignty; and having thus induced the reſt to the ſame Opinion, he drop'd him: in the like manner he ſet aſide all the other Claims, except that of *Baliol*, whom he therefore named King of *Scotland*.

Baliol, who was ſenſible how much he owed to *Edward*, was ready to ſwear Fealty and Homage; but the *Scots* were diſpleaſed with all this Proceeding: they ſaw *Edward*'s Purpoſe, and his little Care to conceal it hurt his Intereſt.

He declared his abſolute Right to Sovereignty over their Kingdom in Terms that diſpleaſed them, and he treated *Baliol* with too much Arrogance. He made him renounce all Right from Promiſes made before; and he eſtabliſh'd it, that the King of *Scotland* was to appear before him at his Command.

He uſed the Power theſe Conceſſions gave him in its full Extent: he called *Baliol* to attend him at *Weſtminſter* upon any frivolous Complaint of a private Perſon; and he found he was a Slave under the Name of a King. Nothing is ſo difficult as the knowing where to ſtop in ſucceſsful Fortune.

Edward made the King of *Scotland* appear at the Bar, and anſwer as a private Perſon: and he who conſented to do it becauſe he could not then ſupport a due Reſiſtance, determin'd to free himſelf and his Kingdom from this Tyranny.

France fell at this Time on the Provinces belonging to the *Engliſh*, and *Baliol* join'd them againſt *Edward*. *Philip* procured him from the Pope a Diſpenſation for his Oath; and he at once ſhook off Dependance and Friendſhip with the *Engliſh* Tyrant.

Edward had Policy: he now called in *Bruce*, and ſupported what he had declared an illegal Pretence to the Crown: he march'd to *Berwick*, which he took, and thence to *Dunbar*, which he meant to beſiege.

Baliol's Fury did not give him Time, he march'd an Army againſt him. The Action that follow'd was very bloody, the *Scots* loſt twenty thouſand Men; and *Edward* being perfect Maſter of the Field, follow'd his Succeſſes with ſuch Spirit, that *Baliol* reſign'd to him his Kingdom.

Edward, now doubly Lord of *Scotland*, called an Aſſembly of the States at *Berwick*, in 1296, where they ſwore Fealty to him. One Man alone refuſed it, he was a *Douglaſs*; and he declared that he would never ſwear Allegiance to a Sovereign who had no Title to the Crown, but the Event of one Engagement. He dy'd in Priſon.

Edward removed the Regalia from *Scotland*; and among other Things, the famous Stone on which they inſcribed the Inauguration of their Kings: this had been look'd on as a Palladium; and the Removal of it wounded the *Scots* more than the loſing the Crown and Scepter.

Edward, when he had thus ſubjected *Scotland*, turn'd his Mind ſolely to the Affairs of *France*. *Philip* had acted fraudulently, and he began his Reſentment by a formal Retraction of the Homage he had done for his Provinces in that Kingdom.

He laid the Plan of a ſucceſsful Expedition; but his Barons whom he had treated too roughly, would not concur with them. The Allies he had engaged, when they ſaw his Subjects diſpute Obedience, fell off; and *Philip*, who had prepared a Force to reſiſt the whole of this collected Power, now found his Way eaſy to many Conqueſts.

Mean time the *Scots* were far from Quietneſs. A Body of them baniſh'd in 1297, becauſe they would not ſwear Fealty, return'd in a few Months in Arms: they placed at their Head a Man whoſe Courage and Abilities alone recommended him; *Wallace*, and they were join'd by many of the braveſt People of the Kingdom; to whom he promiſed that he would reſtore their Liberty, or die attempting it.

Edward had thin'd his Garriſons in *Scotland* to furniſh himſelf for his *French* Wars; and *Wallace*, who had good Intelligence, fell upon the weakeſt firſt; and afterwards upon the ſtronger. He was ſevere when he was reſiſted; and he thus ſtruck Terror into all whom he aſſaulted. In a few Months he drove the *Engliſh* out of *Scotland*: and was, by the unanimous Conſent of the People, declared Regent of the Kingdom.

Of all the Conqueſts of the *Engliſh*, *Berwick* alone now remain'd to them; and this only till the Battle of *Stirling*.

Edward heard with Aſtoniſhment and Confuſion the Succeſſes of the *Scots*; and he determin'd to return to *England*: he made the Pope Umpire of his and *Philip*'s Diſputes: and as ſoon as he return'd, putting himſelf at the Head of a large Force, he march'd for *Scotland*; and met the Enemy near *Falkirk*.

Both Parties were deſperate, and both Armies numerous: *Wallace*, as well as *Edward*, knew the Fate of *Scotland* depended on the Action; and it was diſputed long and hardily. The *Scots* loſt thirty thouſand Men, and were obliged to leave *Edward* Maſter of the Field.

He follow'd his Victory with Attacks upon all the Places of Strength taken from the *Engliſh* in his Abſence; he quickly made himſelf Maſter of them all; and then return'd to *England*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Scots *riſe againſt the* Engliſh.

IT is eaſier to beat than to ſubdue a brave People: the *Scots* had never been able to reſiſt the *Engliſh* Force; but they were never conquer'd in their Hearts; every Man was a *Douglaſs* there.

The King of *England*, when he thought he had ſettled all in Quietneſs, was miſtaken: *Wallace* had yet a Force; and he behaved with Honour.

Having upbraided the Nobility with reducing a private Man to undertake the publick Cauſe properly their Concern, he gave up the Regency: *Comyn* was appointed in his Place; and purſuing the ſame Steps, he the next Year 1298 raiſed all *Scotland* againſt the *Engliſh*. They were driven once again out of the Kingdom, and Preparation was made to prevent *Edward* from ſubduing over again the new reſcued Country.

They were not ſucceſsful in this Undertaking, for he return'd with a Force they were not able to reſiſt, and was victorious as in the other Actions. The *Scots*, who ſaw it was in vain to oppoſe him longer, ſubmitted: they deſired Terms, however hard, and requeſted that their King might be reſtored to them.

Edward's Harſhneſs now loſt all Hearts: he anſwer'd as a Conqueror; and he refuſed them every Thing. In this Diſtreſs the *Scots* apply'd to *Rome*; they offer'd the Pope the Sovereignty, and he accepted it; and in the Language of the Church, order'd *Edward* to withdraw his Forces and his Claim.

Edward was only exaſperated at this Demand; and the *Scots* finding their preſent Scheme ineffectual, had Recourſe to another: they apply'd to *France*, and engag'd *Philip* to requeſt for them at preſent a Truce. *Philip* comply'd, and as Matters then ſtood, *Edward*, tho' unwillingly, found himſelf under a Neceſſity of complying.

Thus *Scotland* obtain'd a temporary Reſt by the Mediation of a foreign Power, and this Tranſaction cloſed the Thirteenth Century.

THE NAVAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK XIV.

Containing the Tranſactions of the fourteenth Century.

CHAP. I.

The Affairs of France *and* Scotland *in the Beginning of this Century.*

THE firſt Year of the fourteenth Century, gave to the Heir of *Britain* the Title of *Prince of Wales*; and to this was added, Earl of *Cheſter*. *Edward* confer'd it on his Son, born in that Country; and the *Welch* underſtood it as a Mark of the Royal Favour.

The Truce with *Scotland* ſtopping all farther Purſuit of *Edward*'s Purpoſe there, he return'd to *England*, and he had Leiſure to examine the Pope's Claim. 'Twas *Boniface the Eighth* who made it, and 'twas in his uſual Stile, arrogant to the utmoſt.

Edward called a Parliament at *Lincoln*, and on the twelfth of *February* 1301, return'd an Anſwer ſign'd by all the Barons of the Realm, enough to humble him.

The Time of the Truce being expired, he return'd to *Scotland*, determin'd to purſue his Purpoſe; but *France* again interpoſed in favour of the People, and got the Truce prolong'd.

When it was near expired again, *Segrave* was ſent over with a large Force, and with Inſtructions to act vigorouſly. He open'd the Campaign late in the Year, but not ſucceſsfully.

The Victories gain'd by *Edward* made the *Engliſh* think any Force of theirs would beat the *Scots*, but they now found their Error. *Segrave* had a large Army, but he divided it into three Parties, and over-run the Country in a great Extent.

Comyn and *Frazer* ſaw the Advantage this Diſpoſition gave them, and they reſolved to improve it. They animated their Men: ſhew'd them 'twas but a third Part of the Enemy they had to fight, and led them againſt *Segrave*.

The Careleſsneſs of that Commander was unpardonable: the three Diviſions were not very remote, but they were ſo unconnected, that he was oblig'd to ſtand the Attack alone: he was beaten with great Slaughter, and afterwards the two other Parties. This was in the Compaſs of one Day; a very glorious one for *Scotland*.

Edward, ſtung with his ill Succeſs, himſelf march'd for *Scotland* with a much larger Army than he had ever taken thither; but here *France* again ſtep'd in.

A Truce between *Philip* and *Edward* was eſtabliſh'd till the Middle of the ſucceeding Summer; and the *French* King made it an Article, that *Scotland* ſhould have its Share in the Terms.

Edward march'd back without approaching the *Scottiſh* Territories; but he bore very ill the Diſappointment, and reſolv'd to make ſuch Terms with that Kingdom, that it ſhould not be in the Power of *Philip* to interfere again.

The Pope who had been choſen Umpire between *France* and *England*, had now ſo long delay'd his Sentence, that they agreed without him.

In 1303 a Peace was ſettled upon firm Treaty; and *Edward* having no Obſtacle to his Deſigns, made his fourth Expedition into *Scotland*. The Force he carry'd thither was too great to be reſiſted, and he over-ran the whole Country. *Wallace* was at the Head of the beſt Army the *Scots* could raiſe; and though it was not enough to oppoſe the *Engliſh*, it ſerv'd to harraſs them.

Edward, who ſaw this General could always retire to inacceſſible Places; and always was ready to take Advantages, found *Scotland* could not be ſubdued while he held out. Force had been ineffectual; and he try'd againſt him Treachery. Sir *John Monteith*, a Name devoted to everlaſting Infamy, betray'd him into the Hands of the *Engliſh*; and *Edward*, by an Act that ſtains his Character, try'd him by *Engliſh* Judges as a Rebel: he was executed in the Manner of Traitors, without the leaſt Remiſſion of the Sentence.

Edward's Succeſs in *Scotland* made him arrogant at Home: he affected an arbitrary Manner very unpleaſing to the Spirit of the *Engliſh*; and to ſhew them that it muſt be comply'd with univerſally, he order'd the Prince of *Wales*, for ſome ſlight Offences, to Priſon.

His Severity loſt many Hearts; and he found he had deceived himſelf in thinking *Scotland* perfectly ſubdued.

Comyn and *Bruce* took Meaſures to free their Country; and the latter, after he had puniſh'd the Treachery of his Aſſociate, who endeavour'd to betray him and his Country, with Death; was crown'd King of *Scotland*. This happen'd in the Year 1306.

CHAP. II.

The Death of Edward.

THE King was extreamly troubled to learn theſe Proceedings: he had thought *Scotland* was ſubdued, but he found the Minds of the People unconquer'd.

He ſent a large Force thither in haſte, and he follow'd in Perſon. His Troops conquer'd, for *Bruce* was not able to ſtand before them; and the King came to puniſh. This he did with the moſt implacable Severity; and by that falſe Policy he alienated the Hearts he wiſh'd to ſubdue. He might have won them perhaps by Clemency; but he knew not the Character and Diſpoſition of the People: for they were always, as they continue now, ſenſible of Benefits with the higheſt Gratitude, but unconquerable by Severity.

Edward reſolved to break their Spirit, but the Palm of Virtue grew beneath his Oppreſſion.

Bruce, tho' beaten, was at large, and he ſtirred up the People to free themſelves or die.

They join'd him with the ſame Reſolution, and they fought the Forces left under the Earl of *Pembroke*, in the dead of Winter. They were ſucceſsful, and their Numbers doubled on the Incident: they purſued their Victory, and retook ſeveral Places of Strength.

Bruce knew as well how to uſe as to obtain an Advantage; ſuch as he could ſecure againſt the *Engliſh*, he very carefully ſtrengthen'd; and thoſe he could not, he level'd, that they might not be uſed againſt him.

Edward, whoſe Fury and Reſentment had increaſed at every Inſtance of the *Scottiſh* Courage, now determin'd to ravage and deſtroy the Kingdom: he perſuaded himſelf that as he always had, he always ſhould beat the *Scots* in the Field; and he reſolved to extirpate the very Name and Being of the People.

But there is one above who determines the Fate of Kingdoms. What would have been the Succeſs of *Edward* in this bloody Purpoſe, or what its Conſequences, cannot be known: he dy'd upon the March; leaving to his Son his Commands to proſecute this cruel Scheme.

CHAP. III.

The Succeſſion of Edward the Second.

THE Prince of *Wales*, called from the Place of his Birth, *Edward* of *Carnarvon*, aſcended the *Britiſh* Throne in 1307, at three and twenty. His perſonal Courage promiſed great Things; and the Eyes of all *Europe* were upon him.

His firſt Act blaſted all this Expectation. *Gaveſton*, a Perſon diſtinguiſh'd by a fair Face and a bad Heart, had been baniſh'd in the late Reign, and the Prince had bound himſelf by Oath to his Father not to recall him.

The People ſaw this violated even before the Funeral Solemnities were paid to the late King. *Gaveſton* was ſent for to Court; and before he could arrive, Penſions, Poſts and Honours were accumulated upon him; and a very worthy Prelate who had been inſtrumental in his Baniſhment, was, for no other Fault impriſon'd.

Edward had been contracted in his Father's Life to *Iſabella* of *France*, and he now went to *Bologne* to receive her; confirming his Subjects in their bad Opinion of him, by leaving for Regent in his Abſence this *Gaveſton*.

He had made this ill Beginning of his Reign before his Coronation; and the Barons ſeeing what they had to expect, combined to oppoſe the Celebration of that Ceremony, till the young King heard Reaſon.

His Youth was ill adapted to bear Inſults; but he was here forced to ſubmit: he ſaw the Party was too powerful for Oppoſition, and he made Conceſſions: he acknowledged his Youth and Inexperience had carry'd him too far in ſome Things; and promiſed to call a Parliament immediately, and to grant all reaſonable Requeſts.

Upon this Promiſe they conſented to his Coronation; and he ſoon ſhew'd them how little Weight was to be laid upon it. The great Object of their Complaint was his Favour to *Gaveſton*, now Earl of *Cornwall*; but inſtead of removing him, he accumulated more and more Favours on him: he had the Diſpoſal of the Kingdom, and of the King; for every Word of his, and every Look were *Gaveſton's*.

This Favourite knew the People hated him; and by a fooliſh Pride he defy'd, inſtead of uſing any Means to pacify them.

Every one expected the King would purſue his Father's Plan, and perfect the Reduction of *Scotland*; but this was not *Gaveſton's* Purpoſe: therefore it was not the King's.

The Barons railed at all *Gaveſton's* Meaſures, but the King was always ready to anſwer, that 'twas not his Miniſter, but himſelf, who had done what they diſapproved.

This was his Practice for ſome Time; but he found he had to deal with thoſe whom other Meaſures muſt be uſed to pacify. They met in Parties, and they declared their Purpoſe was to reform the State; that the King was guided by ill Councils, and that the Nation was endanger'd by it.

In 1303 the Parliament met, and they demanded of the King the Baniſhment of *Gaveſton*. This was deliver'd in ſuch Terms that he was ſtartled: he would have juſtify'd him; but he found them deſperate, and he was reduc'd to promiſe that it ſhould be done. The Time drew near, and nothing appeared like the Performance; for *Gaveſton* was in full Favour. The Lords petition'd; they reminded the King of his Promiſe; and he found an odd Way to keep it: the Place of Exile was *Ireland*, and the Favourite was ſent Governor.

This would have ſatisfied the Barons: but even this was but an Exile of a few Days. He was recall'd; and he eclipſed all the Nobles in the Splendor of his Appearance, and in the Number of his Attendants; or, as they might be call'd, his Guards.

It was the Folly of this vain Man to brave and inſult the Barons. He was allowed to have Wit, and they were the everlaſting Subjects of his Raillery: they could not, nor did they bear this. In 1311 he was again baniſh'd: but in 1312 he was recall'd again.

The Queen now joined the univerſal Complaint; and wrote in theſe memorable Terms to her Father: that *The King's Affection for* Gaveſton *alienated his Love from her, and made him a Stranger to her Bed*. This is an Age when ſuch Words need no Comment.

The Barons, who found no Redreſs from their Remonſtrances, took Arms: the King retired to *Scarborough*, and with him *Gaveſton*; thence he went into *Warwickſhire*, leaving the Favourite in *Scarborough* Caſtle, who after a few Days Siege ſurrender'd upon Terms. One was, his being brought before the King; and the Earl of *Pembroke* undertook to take him to his Preſence: but the Earl of *Warwick*, knowing that if he ſaw the King he would eſcape their Vengeance, carried him off by Force in the Night, and after a ſhort Trial ordered him to Execution.

This was a very unjuſtifiable Proceeding, but the Neceſſity of the Time compell'd it.

The King built a Monaſtery to pray for his Soul: and the Lords afterwards found, that a King who choſe a Favourite, might always find one.

CHAP. IV.

The Conduct of Edward's *Queen*.

THE Remainder of this Reign, tho' of many Years Continuance, affords ſcarce any Incident worthy the Pen of Hiſtory.

Diſputes with the Barons, whom he appeaſed by Promiſes, the Breach of which raiſed them up in Arms again; and Deſigns againſt *Scotland*, very furious in the Purpoſe, but weakly executed, are the only publick Acts.

In his private Affairs no King was ever more miſerable: while the *Scots* were beating his Troops with terrible Slaughter in 1314, the Son of a Tanner of *Exeter* aſſumed his Name and Title.

People had ſaid, a Man of ſo mean Principles could not be born to Kingdoms; and this enterprizing Ideot, taking Advantage of the common Sentiment, declared that he was *Edward*, and that this Perſon had been changed for him while he was at Nurſe. The Story was too romantick to gain Credit; and all the Effect it took was, bringing the Wretch to the Gallows.

In 1314, the *Scots* had beat the *Engliſh* Forces, and in 1318, having been all that Time ſtrengthening themſelves, they fell upon *England*. *Edward* was no more ſucceſsful, when he acted on the defenſive, than on the offenſive Part: he ſent his beſt Officers to oppoſe them, but in vain; they ravaged the Northern Counties; and filled with Pride in theſe Succeſſes, attempted *Ireland*, but unſucceſsfully.

The Pope came in upon the Part of *Edward*, and hoped to ſtop the Progreſs of the *Scots* by an Excommunication, but they ſlighted it; and *Edward* was compelled to purchaſe on hard Terms a two Years Truce.

This gave him ſome Reſpite; but inſtead of uſing it for ſtrengthening his Navy, or raiſing Forces, he fell into his old Courſe. *Spencer*, a handſome Youth, ſupplied the Place of *Gaveſton*; and on him, and on his Father, were ſhower'd all the Stores of royal Bounty.

The Barons ſaw the old Times reviving, and they revived their antient Meaſures. They remonſtrated to the King in vain, and they had then Recourſe to Arms. The *Spencers* were baniſhed, when the King was reduced to Diſtreſs; and recalled, as *Gaveſton* had always been, as ſoon as his Affairs grew better: thus were the old Times revived.

The Queen, who had remonſtrated often, and found it fruitleſs, gave up the King's Affection for loſt; and took a Gallant as her Revenge and Comfort

fort. This was *Mortimer*; a Name famous in the Srory of theſe Times. He joined the Barons againſt the King; and had they been ſucceſsful, had made Terms for the Queen; ſhe in Return changed his Sentence, when taken, from Death to Impriſonment.

The ſlight Succeſs *Edward* had obtained againſt the Barons, raiſed his light Mind to an Imagination that he was a Hero and a Conqueror.

He fitted out ſome Ships in 1323, and with a Land Force at the ſame Time, fell on *Scotland*: *Robert* was too good a Soldier, and the *Scots* too brave a People for his attacking, they drove him out of *Scotland*, followed him into *England*, and ravaged wherever they came.

Robert now could make Terms; and to ſpare his People, and eſtabliſh the Government of his Kingdom, he made a Truce of thirteen Years with *Edward*.

The King of *England* now ſaw himſelf at Peace, and as he thought in Security; and he conſulted nothing but his Pleaſures. The young *Spencer* had all the Favours he could beſtow on him; and the old one governed. There was but one Point which they could not carry, this was the Death of *Mortimer*; they hated him; and they fear'd him: they had him Priſoner, and charged with capital Crimes, but they could not deſtroy him: twice they got him ſentenced to Death; but both Times the Queen obtained his Pardon.

The King had no Love or Reſpect for her, but he fear'd her incenſing *France* againſt him; and he ſaw no Meaſures could be kept if *Mortimer* were hurt: however, both the Queen and himſelf, fearing theſe powerful Favourites, agreed he ſhould get out of the King's Hands. He was favoured with the Means of an Eſcape to *France*, and the Queen promiſed to follow him. With what Confuſion does one look back upon the Condition of the *Britiſh* Throne at this diſhonourable Period.

France in 1324 fell on the *Engliſh* Provinces; and the Pope, *Edward*'s great Patron, interfer'd, but vainly; 'twas hinted, that if *Edward* would ſend his Queen thither, ſomething might be expected. He could well ſpare her, for the young *Spencer* was really Queen of *England*: ſhe went, and *Mortimer* met her: ſhe applied to her Brother the King of *France*, and *Edward* was amuſed with Treaties, and very advantageous Terms ſhe had obtained for him, but in Reality ſhe acted in Concert againſt him.

Guienne was the Province in Diſpute; and by her Mediation ſhe obtained it to be eſtabliſhed, not upon the King, but upon his eldeſt Son *Edward*, this ſeem'd the ſame; but the Queen ſaw deeper. The young *Edward* came to *Paris*, did Homage, and received the Inveſtiture, but *Agenois* was retained to *France*: of this *Edward* complained; and his Queen promiſed to ſee it remedied.

This gave her an Occaſion of ſtaying, which was all ſhe wanted. She called to her all the *Engliſh* Exiles, and all who hated the King and the *Spencers*: ſecret Cabals were every Day repeated, and *Mortimer*, whom every one knew to be her Lover, was her chief Miniſter.

The King was informed at once of the Abuſe of his Bed, and of the palpable Deſigns againſt him; but he was too weak to perceive the worſt, and too irreſolute to arm againſt it.

The Queen delayed her Coming to *England*; but ſhe made a Party here, and the Year 1328 gave her all the Advanrage ſhe could wiſh in a Declaration of War againſt *France*.

This the King was in no Condition to maintain; but while it made his Subjects deſpiſe him, it gave the King of *France* all Pretence to eſpouſe his Siſter's Cauſe.

CHAP. V.

The End of Edward *the Second's Reign.*

IN 1326, whilſt *Edward* was talking of a War with *France*, his Barons were concerting one at home: his Orders were the moſt he diſpatched, but they levied Troops. The Queen kept Intelligence with them; and when ſhe came, they joined her.

This Stroke ruined *Edward*. The Queen in her own Name, and the Prince her Son's, publiſhed a Manifeſto, with their Reaſons of taking Arms, declaring that by the ill Conduct of the King, and the Wickedneſs of his Miniſters, the *Spencers*, the Nation was in Danger of Deſtruction.

All acknowledged this Truth, all deſpiſed the King, and all hated the *Spencers*. *Edward* was deſerted at once, and the Body of the People flocked to the Queen's Banners.

An Hour ſaw him a King and a Fugitive: he perceiv'd all was loſt, and he had no Thought but of Flight. *Ireland* was the intended Place of Refuge, but the Winds threw him on the Coaſt of *Wales*: there he was wrecked.

Briſtol held out againſt tbe Queen; and the Biſhop of *Exeter* was in a Manner the only Prelate who eſpouſed the King's Intereſt. *Spencer* the Elder defended *Briſtol*; and when it was taken, he was without Trial hang'd in his Armour. The Biſhop was beheaded: and by theſe Marks of the purpoſed Severity againſt all thoſe who ſhould not own the Queen's Cauſe; every one who did not wiſh well to it was frighted from Oppoſition.

The Abſence of the King favoured their Purpoſes; the Prince was choſen Regent. The King, taken in *Wales*, was ſent to *London*, and there depoſed by Parliament. The Charge againſt him was, that he had not governed according to the Laws; that he had been guided by bad Miniſters, and had rejected the Advice of his faithful Subjects.

This was found ſufficient to depoſe him. He was declared unfit to govern; and at the Age of forty-three, after a Reign of nineteen Years, he reſigned to his Son the Crown of *Britain*.

CHAP. VI.

The Succeſſion of Edward *the Third.*

THE King had no ſooner reſigned the Crown, than he was ſent to Priſon, where he was ſhortly after inhumanly murthered.

Edward the Third aſcended in 1327 the *Engliſh* Throne; and being not quite fifteen, he was obliged to ſubmit to the Form of Regents for the Kingdom, and Governors for himſelf. The Queen his Mother was the principal in all Things; and always at her Ear was *Mortimer*. He was the Favourite, and *England* ſaw in him another *Gaveſton* or *Spencer*.

The young King began glorioſly: but *Mortimer* ſully'd his firſt Undertaking with ill Succeſs. The *Scots* took Occaſion of the wretched State of the *Engliſh* Affairs to break the Truce; and the King led a great Force againſt them. He would have beat them probably had he fought, but *Mortimer* prevented it, by giving them Intelligence of his Strength and Intentions.

The Conſequence of this was a Peace in 1328, not very honourable to *England*. *Edward* gave back all that the firſt of his Name had taken in *Scotland*, and quitted his Claim for ever to the Kingdom. *Mortimer* was at the Bottom of this moſt unworthy Prooceding: the *Engliſh* murmured, but the King refuſed to hear them. The Party of the Queen prevailed, and *Mortimer*, who deſerved Puniſhment, found Rewards and Honours. He was in full Parliament created Earl of *March*, and 'twas declared to be for his late Services.

Thus far the King, or if the Reader pleaſe the Queen, might have carried it, could ſhe have ſtopt there; but a ſucceſsful Woman never had Moderation: ſhe grew inſolent to the Barons, and ſtirring up the King againſt the Earl of *Lancaſter*: he on his Part ſeeing his Ruin determined, took Arms, called many about him, and publiſhed a Maniſeſto, declaring the Grievances of the Nation were the Cauſe. Theſe Grievances were all laid to the Charge of the Queen and *Mortimer*: and this Miniſter of hers grew every Day more odious.

The People tired with Civil Wars were ſlow to aſſiſt the Barons, and the Preparation ended in a Pardon to thoſe who had made it.

In 1329 a new Peace was made with *France*; and ſcarce was it ſign'd, when the King, *Charles the Fair*, died without Male Iſſue.

He left a Queen pregnant; and the Regency, during that Period, was to be diſputed. The King of *England*, as Nephew to *Charles*, claim'd it; but this alarm'd all *France*: againſt him *Philip*, Son of *Charles de Valois*, demanded it; he was indeed no nearer than Couſin German to the late King, but 'twas on the Male Side. He urged the Salick Law againſt *Edward*, and declared that by it Females and their Deſcendants were debar'd the Crown, and conſequently the Regency could not belong to them. Here ſprung the Quarrel, that coſt in ſucceeding Years ſo many thouſand Lives. The Peers of *France* determined it, in this Point, againſt *Edward*; and *Philip* was declared Regent till the Queen's Delivery.

The Eyes of *Europe* were on this Tranſaction, and all waited the Delivery of the Queen. She was brought to bed of a Daughter, and *Edward* upon this declared himſelf Heir to the Crown of *France*.

He conſtrued the Salique Law as extending only to the Females, the *French* extended it to them and their Deſcendants; and on this turned the whole Queſtion. *Edward* was evidently neareſt in Succeſſion by the Female, his Mother being the King's Siſter, but the Peers of *France*, on this Occaſion, confirmed their former Judgment. They ſaid, the Law excluded Females and their Deſcendants, and they placed the Crown on *Philip*.

Edward ſent Embaſſadors to claim the Crown, but they were not allowed a Hearing: and he was not in a Condition then to follow his Demand with an Army. *Philip* demanded Homage of him for *Guienne*, which after much Diſpute he was obliged to ſubmit to, proteſting ſecretly againſt it.

The Year 1330 was marked with the Fall of *Mortimer*. The Queen had the Power all this Time, and whatever ſhe had was alſo her Lover's; he outſhone not only all Subjects, but the King. *Edward* was tired of the Dependance on them; and his People at the ſame Time: they told him he was of an Age to ſhake off theſe Chains; told him the Queen was then with Child by *Mortimer*. The Diſhonour of his Family conſpired with his Reſentment againſt *Mortimer*; and ſeeing the People all of his own Mind, he ſeized him, committed him to the Tower, and calling a new Parliament took the Government into his own Hands; and by his firſt Act of Royalty confined the Queen to her Houſe, and reduced her Dower to Moderation. *Mortimer* was hanged, and the People rejoiced as at a publick Victory.

Edward had his Remembrance full of the Treachery by which *Mortimer* prevented his fighting the *Scots*, and now he determined to reduce that Kingdom. The Peace was an Obſtacle, but he found Means to evade it; and he ſo well plan'd his whole Deſign that it ſuceeeded.

There was at this Time living *Edward Baliol*, the Son of that *John Baliol* whom the firſt *Edward* had ſet upon the Throne of *Scotland*. The King made him his Inſtrument: he ſupported him in doing what himſelf could not for the Faith of Treaties openly undertake; and he did this ſo effectually, that *David* then King of *Scotland* was reduced to fly to *France*; and by this raſh Step he gave up all to the Enemy.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

An Engagement between the English *and* Scots *Fleets.*

THE principal of the *Scottiſh* Nobility ſaw by whom *Baliol* was ſupported, and what would be the Event of his Succeſſes; and they undertook as a laſt Stroke to ſave their Kingdom, to make a Deſcent on the *Engliſh* Provinces. To do this by Land was impoſſible, for *Baliol* was between them and the Borders; and many of the leſs conſiderate of the Nobility had been led by his Succeſſes to join him. 'Twas therefore reſolved to make the Attempt from Sea.

For this Purpoſe all the Veſſels of whatever Make or Size, that were in Condition to bear the Sea, were fitted out with Haſte, and they were filled with the beſt Soldiers of the Nation.

They had Direction to make the firſt *Engliſh* Land; and to commit all Kinds of Outrage: the Purpoſe was by this to cauſe the King of *England* to draw back his Forces lent to *Baliol*, whom when thus deſerted, they knew they could conquer. On this depended the Fate of their Kingdom; and they acted with a Spirit becoming Men who ſaw it, and who reverenced their Country.

Edward had Intelligence of their Naval Preparation, for *Baliol* ſaw the Purpoſe of it; and he kept him in Spirit by promiſing not to withdraw any of his Force, but fight this Naval Armament on the Sea.

In this, as in all the preceding Occurrences, he kept himſelf unſeen in the Part he took. He had a large and powerful Navy; and he gave Commiſſion to private Perſons, whom he could truſt, to take Command of a good Part of it as if their own.

News reach'd *Scotland* juſt as their Fleet was putting to Sea, that the Gentlemen of *England* were fitting out a very conſiderable Naval Armament. This they underſtood; and they increaſed the Number of their Men, and appointed Officers of experienced Courage.

The *Engliſh* were upon the Seas when they ſet ſail: they met them; and each Party knowing the Importance of the Stake for which they fought, diſputed it with Reſolution.

'Twas at Day-break, in the Beginning of *September*, that they came in Sight of one another, and between ſeven and eight began the Fight: Ship engag'd Ship, and every Commander ſeem'd to think himſelf commiſſion'd to determine the Fate of the Action.

The Fight continued the whole Day, though the *Engliſh* were from the Beginning every where ſucceſsful. The *Scots* ſeem'd animated by Deſpair as much as they by Victory. One by one their Ships were taken; and drag'd behind the *Engliſh*; but tho' they made ſo many Captures, they had few Priſoners: for ſcarce a *Scot* ſubmitted. They not only fought againſt any Odds of Number; but when boarded and over-power'd, refuſed to accept Mercy.

The *Engliſh* were aſtoniſh'd and terrify'd at their Bravery; and though they obtain'd a compleat Victory, they were ſo ſtruck with the undaunted and unconquerable Spirit of the Enemy, that it was long before they could perſuade themſelves they were victorious.

The few Veſſels of the *Scots* that were un-taken at Night, ſteer'd away before the Day-break. They had ſeen their Countrymen laviſh their Blood without any Advantage gain'd to the Cauſe, and they had the Prudence to go back.

The Account theſe brought of the Action at Sea utterly diſpirited the Royal Party. 'Twas the laſt Hope, and it had failed. There remain'd nothing but Submiſſion; and *Baliol* was on the 27th of *September* 1331, crown'd at *Scone*.

Edward had taken Care to make firm Conditions with him. The firſt Act of his Sovereignty was doing Homage to *England*; and this was in ſuch Terms, that the *Scots* ſaw they were again conquer'd by the *Engliſh*.

CHAP. VIII.

Edward *proſecutes his Deſigns on* France.

SCOTLAND being thus again ſubdued to the *Engliſh*; *Edward*, who foreſaw the Oppoſition that would be made to *Baliol*, tho' crown'd, ſent thither a conſiderable Force.

He now took off the Maſk; and declaring that the *Scots* had broke the Peace, purſued all the Meaſures of an intended perfect Conqueror. *Baliol* gave up one by one, the principal Places of Strength, to the *Engliſh*: this was his Compact with *Edward*; and he ſaw him too powerful to think of breaking Treaties.

The *Scots* ſaw this with Indignation; and riſing againſt him, drove him out of the Kingdom. *Edward*, who had now made all the Uſe of him he wanted, was not ſorry. He march'd with a large Force, and in four ſucceſſive Expeditions ſubdued them, ſo that moſt of the chief Perſons ſubmitted. The reſt were in 1334 ſo far diſpers'd, that *Edward* return'd in Triumph, leaving the Earl of *Athol* Governor.

The *Scots* enrag'd to ſee one of their own Country in the Service of their Conqueror, fell upon his Force, beat the *Engliſh*, and left him dead upon the Field.

Edward the next Year march'd a vaſt Force thither: he reveng'd the Death of *Athol*, and the Inſult on his Arms by mercileſs Devaſtations, and then return'd; leaving *Baliol*, whom he had recalled, with a ſufficient Force for his Defence, and entruſted fully.

Scotland was but a ſmall Object of the Ambition of our third *Edward*, his Right to *France* filled all his Breaſt: he had now made himſelf conſiderable by theſe ſucceſsful Expeditions; and being rich and powerful, Maſter of a vaſt Fleet, and at the Head of a numerous and victorious Army, he engaged in his Alliance all the foreign Powers he could induce to own his Cauſe, and prepared for aſſerting and maintaining his Right there.

In 1337 *Edward* was at the Head of the largeſt and beſt Army till that Time ſeen in *Britain*. To gain the Opinion of the World he wrote to the Pope; and *Philip* urged the Salique Law againſt his Claim.

Edward, who had taken this popular Step, did not intend to wait *Rome*'s Determination; much leſs to ſubject his Claim to it. He demanded by the Duke of *Brabant*, the Crown of *France*; and appointing him Lieutenant General for the whole Kingdom, commanded the *French*, under the Title of his Subjects, to pay him all Obedience.

In the mean time came Legates into *England*; *Benedict the Twelfth* ſaw the Proſpect of Blood and Miſery that threaten'd *Europe* from this Quarrel. His Legates urg'd the trying gentle Terms; and *Edward* anſwer'd, "That tho' he ſaw they were no "Friends to him, he would accept their Media-"tion, if Terms were offer'd by them ſuited to his "Rights."

He amuſed them in all this, and made a Merit of a ſhort Truce: three Months was its Extent, and he pretended 'twas in favour to the Voice of *Rome*, but 'twas only while he compleated his Preparations by Sea and Land; confirm'd every Thing with his Allies, and prepared for Action.

Thus paſſed the Year 1337, and in this Year threat'ning ſo much Blood, appear'd a Comet. It is the firſt of whoſe Courſe we have any tolerable Account; People thought it an immediate Sign from Heaven.

CHAP. IX.

Edward *enters into the* French *Territories.*

IN the Beginning of the Year 1338 *Edward* embark'd his Forces. The Navy of *England* was Commandreſs of the Seas; and there was no Thought of Oppoſition there. *Philip* prepared to meet him, as one whoſe Crown depended on the Action; and *Edward* advanced with all the Eagerneſs of a young ambitious Prince, who ſaw that glittering Object before him. Each ſeem'd deſirous to reſt the Deciſion of the Cauſe upon a ſingle Battle.

Philip ſent to *Edward* by a Herald, deſiring they might fix upon ſome Plain fit for the Conteſt, and advance to it with equal Freedom. *Edward* accepted the Terms; and left to *Philip* the naming what Place he choſe: but he declined it.

Aſtrological Predictions were given out as the Cauſe; but he who knows the human Heart, will not ſeek to the Stars for what he may find there.

The Summer paſs'd without an Action: but not without the Efforts of *French* Policy. The *Flemings* were in the Intereſts of *England*; but their Prieſts, bought by the Gold of *Philip*, preach'd to them the Wickedneſs of taking Arms againſt their ſupream Lord.

To this it was reply'd, "That *Edward* was King "of *France*, though not eſtabliſh'd on the Throne, "and *Philip* an Uſurper." This turn'd the Scale, and the *Flemings* were as hearty as before their Scruple.

It was on this Occaſion *Edward* publickly added to his Titles, *King of France*; he quarter'd at the ſame Time the *French* Arms with his own, and took the famous Motto, *Dieu & mon Droit*, God and my Right; declaring the ſacred Nature of his Title.

The Pope deſired him to quit this Term; but he ſmiled at the Requeſt, he called *Philip*, Earl of *Valois*, and no more; and aſham'd of the little that had been done in the preceding Campaign, he determin'd that of 1340 ſhould open greatly.

He returned to *England* to aſſiſt at more Preparations: he called a Parliament, obtained Supplies; and ſelecting from all the Veſſels in his Ports two hundred and ſixty the largeſt and the beſt, he equip'd them much more compleatly than *Europe* had hitherto ſeen any Fleet ſet out: and he prepared more Force in the ſame Manner.

CHAP. X.

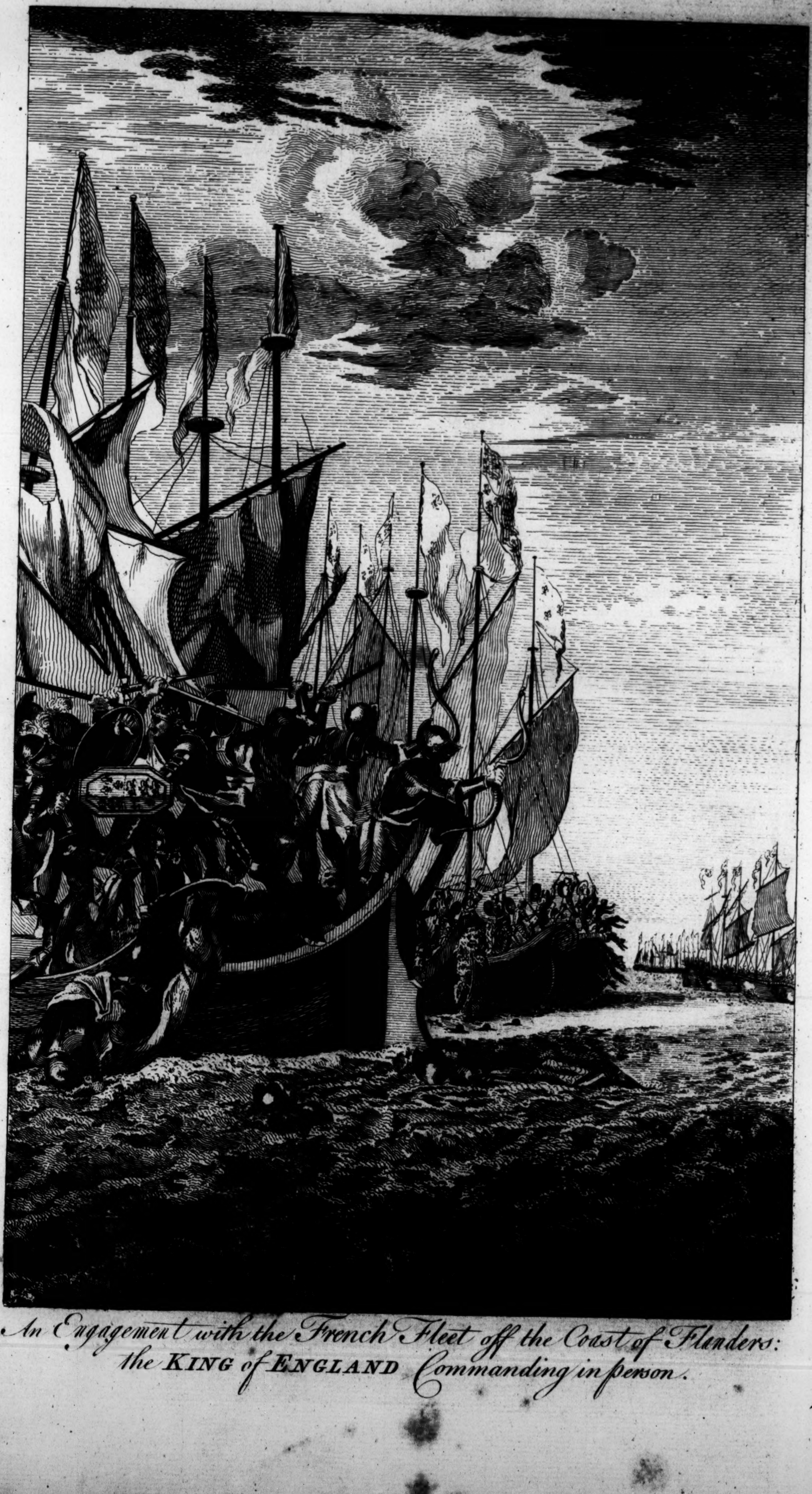
The Engagement of the English *and* French *Fleets.*

THE *French* had ſeen their Error in not providing to oppoſe *Edward* in his firſt Expedition on the Seas: they now determin'd to recover the Miſtake, and make that the firſt Scene of the next Year's Diſpute.

Every Veſſel fit for Service was taken up; and all were hired that could be obtain'd from other Powers. The Ports of *France* were in the Spring of 1340, as full of Buſtle as the *Engliſh*. The ſame Fear that had influenced *Philip* to retire when he had propoſed to decide the Controverſy by a Battle, now urg'd him to take this other Chance; and from that Time to the preſent, nay, not at the preſent, are the *French* ſo earneſt to make themſelves able to diſpute with us upon the Sea.

'Twas near *Midſummer* when the *French* Fleet was ready: they braved the Seas before the *Engliſh*, and in a very conſiderably ſuperior Number. We now deſcend to make nice Calculations, whether the Fleets of *France* we ſhould engage, are not ſome little Strength above us.

In this Year 1340, a King of *England* put himſelf



An Engagement with the French Fleet off the Coast of Flanders:
the **KING** *of* **ENGLAND** *Commanding in person.*

ſelf a-board a Fleet, and fought the *French*, ſuperior by all the Odds that lie in four hundred Sail againſt two hundred and ſixty.

Edward heard where they cruiſed; and haſtening out to Sea, gave Orders to make up to them. The *Engliſh* Force came up with them near the Coaſt of *Flanders*; and the King commanding the Ship in which himſelf was to lead the reſt, animated his People by his Words and his Example, and they fell on with an irreſiſtible Fury.

This was the firſt Naval Engagement in which a King of *England* commanded in Perſon; and it was in all Reſpects the moſt conſiderable that had been fought to that Time.

'Twas at ſeven in the Morning the King's Ship bore down upon the ſtouteſt of the Enemy. He had given but ſhort Inſtructions, they were only, *Do as I do*. The Moment he came in reach he grappled, and threw himſelf aboard the Enemy's Veſſel. Every one follow'd; and there was no reſiſting the Fury of the Crew fighting under the Eye, and in the Defence of their King.

Every Ship obey'd the Inſtructions; a Coward on the Seas was a Monſter at that Time, not known: Ship grappled Ship, and 'twas a Fight as if on Land.

Many of the *Engliſh* Veſſels were engag'd on each Side by one of their Enemies, from their ſuperior Number; but in that caſe each half of the Crew fought as the whole, till ſome victorious Ship took off one of the Combatants. From the Beginning of the Engagement till ſeven in the Evening, every Ship, except thoſe taken, kept its Place without ſtiring.

The King aſtoniſh'd every one, not only by his Valour, but his good Conduct and wiſe Orders. He kept to no ſingle Ship, but expos'd himſelf every where.

The *French* fought with an uncommon Courage; often the *Engliſh* Veſſels were preſs'd hard; but wherever was Danger there appear'd *Edward*, and his Example led the Way to Victory. The Soldiers reverenced him as a God.

The *French*, after a twelve Hours Struggle, gave up all: what could get looſe, fled; and from the other Veſſels, the Soldiers and the Mariners leap'd into the Sea, leſs terrible than the Swords of the *Engliſh*.

The Victory was compleat to the *Engliſh*, though it coſt them dear: of the four hundred Ships of *France* but thirty eſcap'd; and thoſe the Night alone preſerv'd, the reſt were ſunk or taken: twenty-four Thouſand of the *French* fell in this deſperate Encounter.

Edward's Force was thin'd by the Loſs he had ſuſtain'd, but there was no more Diſpute: he landed thoſe who ſurvived, and he was join'd by his Troops left there the preceding Year, a vaſt and a well regulated Army, well officer'd, and worthy to diſpute for *Britain* the Crown of her ambitious Neighbour.

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CHAP. XI.

The Siege of Tournay *by* Edward *the Third.*

THE Troops of *Edward* were no leſs than an hundred and fifty Thouſand; and his firſt Operation was the Siege of *Tournay*. This memorable Tranſaction diſtinguiſhes the Campaign of 1340.

If *Edward* had his Allies, *Philip* did not want his, nor was he without a Force as worthy to defend, as the *Engliſh* to attack his Kingdom. He marched with near two hundred Thouſand Men to raiſe the Siege of this Place; and he had with him the Kings of *Navarre* and of *Bohemia*, and all the Nobles of his Kingdom.

Edward ſaw him advance, and prepared to receive him; but *Philip*, though ſuperior in Number, was as backward now as in the preceding Year. After many Days obſerving his Motions, *Edward* ſeeing he had no Deſign but to harraſs him in the Siege, diſpatched a Herald with his perſonal Challenge to him to decide in ſingle Combat with him the Fate of *France* under the Walls of *Tournay*. If he declined that, the Herald had a ſecond Offer, which was to chuſe an hundred from each Army, and leave the Cauſe to their Deciſion.

Philip declined both.

The Town held out becauſe ſo well ſupported; and the Siege toward Autumn was raiſ'd, not by Force, but upon Treaty.

The Mother-in-Law of *Edward*, *Joanna* of *Naples*, came from her Retirement to offer Terms between the two Kings: ſhe obtain'd from *Edward* a Truce till the Midſummer following; and the Pope joining afterwards his Intereſt, prolong'd it to two Years.

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CHAP. XII.

The Conſequences of the Truce with France.

IT was a vaſt Power *Edward* had led to *France*, and great Things were expected from it; but the little that had been done diſcouraged all Aſſiſtance. There appear'd no Proſpect of his ſucceeding in a Claim to the Crown of *France*; who in two Years had beſieged but one Town, and raiſed that with a Truce.

The Emperor and the Duke of *Brabant* fell off; and the Grant by which he had been conſtituted Vicar of the Empire, was recalled. *Edward* return'd to *England*; and while all but himſelf deſpair'd of any Good from his Pretenſions, he kept up the Hope, and with it a ſteady Reſolution.

France had by private Treaty won over many who ſhould have ſtrengthen'd the Cauſe of *Edward*; and her Influence now reach'd to *Rome*. The Pope interfer'd in *Philip*'s Intereſt, and laid *Flanders* under an Interdict.

Bretagne was the Spot on which *Edward* now fix'd to ſignalize himſelf: he had given the Command of his Forces there to *William de Bohun*, Earl of *Northampton*, but they were not enough to do any Thing great. In 1342 he embark'd with a large Reinforcement; and arriving, laid Siege to four Towns at once.

Philip had the ſame Reaſon to fear the *Engliſh*, being Maſters of *Bretagne*, that they had to deſire it. He knew the enterprizing Spirit of *Edward*, and he trembled at the Event of the preſent Operations.

He raiſed fifty thouſand Men, and gave them to the Command of the Duke of *Normandy* his Son, who was expeditious in his Marches, and reſolute in his Purpoſe. They reach'd *Bretagne* before any of the four Towns was taken; and the natural Conſequences was the raiſing all the Sieges. 'Twas neceſſary for *Edward* to have his Army together to oppoſe ſuch a Force; and when together, it was ſcarce ſufficient.

While the two Armies watch'd the Motions of each other, and neither cared to riſk a Battle, Legates came in from *Clement* the Sixth, newly made Pope. Theſe interceded on both Sides; and they procured a Truce for three Years, and a Promiſe to treat of a ſettled Peace within that Time.

Thus *Edward* was again diſappointed in his Expectations; but he ſtill preſerved his Purpoſe unaltered. The Crown of *France* was too glorious an Object to quit for any Obſtacle; and he reſolv'd to take his farther Meaſures for attempting it more ſtrongly.

CHAP. XIII.

Edward *prepares to proſecute his Deſigns on* France.

THE King return'd to *England*, and uſed every Method to promote his future Deſigns on *France*; but for ſome time the *Scots* gave him Trouble. He raiſed an Army, and he fitted out a Fleet for reducing them; but Storms ſcatter'd his Navy, and with his Land Force he could but bring them to hard Terms by Treaty.

Philip ſupported *David* againſt him, and in 1343 he return'd with ſome Force; and his Friends there joining him, he made Inroads into *England*. He took *Durham*, and to ſtrike a Terror into others, he put the Inhabitants to the Sword.

Edward march'd againſt him, and he retired. 'Twas not the King's Purpoſe to waſte his Time and Treaſures upon *Scotland*, which he deſtined againſt *France*, and he contented himſelf to make with *David* a two Year's Truce.

The Affairs of *Scotland* being thus ſettled for ſome time, he return'd, called a Parliament, took every Method to make his People happy in the Government and Laws; and on every Occaſion reminded them of the certain Right they had through him to the Crown of *France*, and of the Glory it would be to aſſert and vindicate the Title.

The eldeſt Son of *Edward*, named after him, was now thirteen Years old; 'twas he whom our Annals diſtinguiſh by the Name of the *Black Prince*, a Hero equal to any that *Greece* or *Rome* have celebrated. He was in this Parliament created Prince of *Wales*, and his Father took every Occaſion to raiſe in his young Mind the Thoughts of Glory.

He determin'd to renew the War with *France* ſo ſoon as the Truce expired; and ſeeing the Occaſions of his former Miſcarriages, he took Meaſures to avoid them.

He found how little Dependance was to be placed on Allies; he therefore in their Place took *German* and other Troops as Mercenaries into his Pay; and to draw about him thoſe who had Spirit for great Enterprizes, he order'd Tournaments at *Windſor*; to which he invited all Perſons of Rank and Courage, whom he treated with the higheſt Reſpect, Magnificence, and Liberality.

Thoſe who came were entertain'd with the utmoſt Elegance and Splendor; and to avoid the little Punctilio's of Rank and Precedence, a round Table was ſet in a Building of the ſame Form, erected for that Purpoſe. While he entertain'd the moſt gallant Perſons of all Countries in this ſplendid Manner, he treated with them concerning the Aids they ſhould be able and inclined to give him in his Purpoſe of aſſerting his Title to *France*.

Philip had Intelligence of the ſecret Meaning of theſe Tournaments, and he acted like a *Frenchman* on the Occaſion. He publiſh'd Invitations of the ſame Kind; and when he had his Company together, he, without any Form of Juſtice, ſtruck off the Heads of twelve of the principal Nobles of *Bretagne* Friends to *Edward*.

There are Hiſtorians who attempt to palliate the Circumſtances, but the Fact is certain, and this broke the Truce: *Edward* ſent *Philip* Notice of it, and told him he muſt prepare for War.

In 1344 the Earl of *Darby* began Hoſtilities in *Guienne*, and *Edward* himſelf was early in 1345 in *Flanders*. He ſent Reinforcements to that General, and made the beſt Diſpoſitions the Nature of his Affairs permitted; and return'd after three Weeks to *England*.

Darby made good Uſe of his added Strength, taking *Bergerac* by Storm, and every Way making a great Progreſs: but the *Flemings* deceived *Edward*, and the *French* march'd ſeventy thouſand Men to *Guienne*.

Thus ended for the preſent Expedition the Hopes of *Edward*, and the Succeſſes of the Earl of *Darby*. He could not face the vaſt Army ſent into the Province; and his Retreat gave up to the Enemy all he had won.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Edward *carries his Army into* France.

SO many Diſappointments would have diſcourag'd moſt Men from the Attempt upon the Crown of *France*, but they ſerved only to raiſe the Spirit of *Edward*; he ſaw their Cauſes, and he ſaw how they might be obviated.

The Loſs of all that had been won in *Guienne* afflicted him greatly; and he received Intelligence that the Duke of *Normandy* with this vaſt Army, which ſome raiſe to near a hundred Thouſand, and which the loweſt ſtate at ſixty Thouſand, was before *Aguillon*.

Edward, who ſaw all at Stake if this important Place was loſt, embark'd with a great Force for *France*. He ſent the Beſieged a Promiſe, that he would fight the Duke of *Normandy* before their Walls; and by his Spirit he gave them double Courage.

Their Defence is one of the greateſt that ennobles Hiſtory. Twenty-one Times in the Space of a Week was *Aiguillon* ſtorm'd with the vaſt Force of the Duke of *Normandy*, and every Time unſucceſsfully, and at a vaſt Loſs. As no Force could ſubdue, no Threats terrify'd theſe gallant People.

Edward in the mean Time was haſting to their Relief: he led his Force to *Southampton*, and with him went the Prince of *Wales*, to make his firſt Campaign before they embark'd.

Edward prepared them for the Expedition by this ſhort Speech, "My Lords and Gentlemen, we go "to conquer, or to die. He who diſlikes the Con"ditions ſhall have Leave to return; and he muſt "now do it, for I ſhall ſend back my Ships as "ſoon as we are landed: to thoſe who go and "act as become *Britons*, upon a King's Word, "I promiſe ample Rewards and Honours." Not one drew back: an univerſal Shout led to the Ships.

The Wind not favouring his firſt Deſtination, he landed in *Normandy*. As ſoon as they were on Shore, he called the Nobles round him; "This, "ſaid he, is the Right of *England*, but we fight for "all: we will commemorate our ſetting Foot on "*French* Ground."

He knighted on the Shore many of the young Nobility; and among them the Prince of *Wales*: then dividing his Force, which amounted to thirty Thouſand Foot, and between two and three Thouſand Horſe, into three Bodies; giving Orders to ſpread over the Country by Day, and join at Evening. They were commiſſion'd to plunder; and they reveng'd the Death of the Lords beheaded at *Paris* dreadfully.

The Conſtable of *France*, *Ralph* Earl of *Eu*, was then in *Normandy*. He did his Duty, and he became a Priſoner to the *Engliſh*: he oppoſed them with the beſt Force that could be raiſed for the Occaſion; but his Party was totally overthrown, and himſelf taken.

Edward purſued his March, plundering wherever he came till he arrived at *Poiſſy*. *Philip* was near with a large Force; and the King of *England* ſent a Herald to offer Battle, but he declined this; and increaſing his Troops, ſent a Body of twelve Thouſand under *Goudemar De Foy*, to oppoſe the Paſſage of the Ford of *Blanchetague*, neceſſary to be paſſed by the *Engliſh*.

He follow'd with an Army of near a hundred Thouſand: and *Edward*, who ſaw he muſt fight him at a great Diſadvantage, or ford the River, gave his Orders, and led the Way in the Face of the *French* Oppoſition.

He led, and his Soldiers follow'd with ſuch Intrepidity, that the *French* were diſhearten'd before they engag'd; and quickly beaten. *Edward* carry'd his victorious Forces through the Ford, and that Night reach'd the ſince famous Fields of *Creſſy*.

CHAP. XV.

The Battle of Creſſy.

'TWAS on the twenty-fifth of *Auguſt* 1347, *Edward* of *England* pitch'd his Tents upon this Ground, immortalized by the ſucceeding Action.

Philip, with all *France*, follow'd at his Heels; and paſſed the *Soame* at *Abbeville*, but three Leagues off.

Edward had all he wanted, fair Room for an Engagement: he choſe the beſt Piece of Ground, and he ſent *Philip* Word again he waited him at *Creſſy*.

The Spirit of the *Engliſh*, not a third of the *French* in Number, and offering to fight them on their own Ground; aſtoniſh'd the Leaders, and intimidated the common Men.

Philip had follow'd too faſt to ſtop when he was called on. He harangued his Soldiers the next Morning; and decamping from *Abbeville*, march'd ſtrait againſt the *Engliſh*.

The Prince of *Wales* now firſt entering upon the Stage of Glory, threw himſelf at his Father's Feet, and requeſted to command the firſt of the three Bodies, into which the whole Force was divided. He told the King, "That tho' a Boy, he had a "Man's Heart, and an *Engliſhman*'s."

The People ſhouted, and the King granted his Requeſt, joining with him ſome experienced Officers. *Northampton*, *Arundel* and *Roſs* commanded the ſecond Body; and *Edward* himſelf the third, who ſtood to give Aſſiſtance where moſt wanted.

At Three in the Afternoon, *Philip*, with his vaſt Army, came in Sight. He divided his hundred Thouſand alſo into three Bodies, and at Four the Battle began.

Edward gave Orders that the *Engliſh* ſhould let the *French* attack; and having choſe his Ground and Diſpoſition, the Sun was in the Faces of the Enemy; at that Seaſon, and that Time of the Day a vaſt Diſadvantage.

Doria and *Grimaldi* led the firſt Body, principally conſiſting of *Genoeſe*, whoſe Arms were Croſs Bows. On theſe *Philip* more depended than on all the reſt of his Force; and to begin ſucceſsfully, he ſent them to make the firſt Attack.

Heaven favour'd the *Engliſh*; for a Shower fell as they advanced, which wetting the Strings of their Croſs Bows, render'd thoſe Weapons uſeleſs.

The *Engliſh* Archers, to whoſe Bows the Rain was no Diſadvantage, ſuffer'd them to come in Reach, and then let fly a Volley of Arrows, ſcarce one of which miſs'd Execution.

They ſtood as they were order'd; but they ſaw the *Genoeſe* give Ground: they ſhouted, and diſcharged a ſecond Volly: the whole Army now repeated the Huzza; the moſt terrible in thoſe Times of all Sounds to *French* Ears.

Every Thing conſpired to favour the *Engliſh* Arms: the *French* began to butcher one another. The Earl of *Alencon*, who ſaw the *Genoeſe* give Ground, and not uſe their Arms, ſuppoſed they had betray'd his Brother; and commanded his Horſe, placed to ſupport them, to fall upon them as their worſt Enemies.

He led them immediately after againſt the Body commanded by the Prince of *Wales*. That valiant Youth proud to ſee the Force of the Enemy bent againſt him, and the Fate of the Day left in a manner to his Arm, behaved with an aſtoniſhing Steadineſs as well as Courage. *Alencon* fell in the Attack, and his Party were beaten.

Philip, aſtoniſh'd and confounded to ſee the beſt Part of his Army loſt, enquir'd who commanded that Body of the Enemy; and he was anſwer'd, 'twas the Prince, a Boy. He ſent a great Reinforcement in the Place of *Alencon*'s Party, and they fell in Numbers before the victorious *Engliſh*: here lay the Streſs of the Battle.

Northampton and *Arundel* join'd the Prince, who fought, determin'd upon Death or Victory. *Philip* ſent more Supply where the Enemy became more numerous, and all the Fight glow'd in this Quarter.

Edward look'd on with Tears of Joy and Wonder: of every one that came he aſk'd only, *Is the Prince alive?* all anſwer'd, Yes, and victorious; to which the King conſtantly reply'd, God be praiſed! the Glory of the Day under his great Protection is my Son's.

The Prince, after an obſtinate Oppoſition, broke this Party: 'twas Evening, and *Philip* had yet one Body who had not engag'd; the Prince of *Wales* who had hitherto ſtood the Attack of the Enemy, led his victorious Soldiers againſt theſe.

Philip was there in Perſon; he was deſperate to ſee a Boy carry the Glory of this vaſt Action, and he fought bravely and hardily. The King of *Bohemia*, his Ally, fell in this Attack; and the Prince who won his Standard, bore the Feathers in his Coronet in Remembrance, with his Motto, "So old is the *ich Dien*."

All this Time the Prince was Conqueror: the King looked on from a riſing Ground, ready to pour in upon Occaſion with his Aſſiſtance; and this Reſerve ſtruck the *French* with Terror.

At Sun-ſet *Philip* made his laſt Effort: he called together his principal Officers, repreſented to them the Infamy of being beaten by a Youth, with a fourth Part of their Force: he led them to the laſt Charge; and behaved himſelf moſt gallantly. He fought where the Danger was greateſt; and was twice diſmounted, and wounded in two Places, when he at length ſubmitted to be led out of the Field.

All now fled, and the *Engliſh* had only to purſue; they did ſo, till late in the Night; and they took many Priſoners after the vaſt Slaughter.

The Victory was compleat; and its Conſequences very great.

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CHAP. XVI.

The Siege of Calais.

EDWARD who had as much Humanity as Valour, ſtaid on the Field ſome Days to take Care of the Wounded, and to bury the Dead; and in this Time his Parties had great Succeſs, not only againſt the ſcatter'd flying Enemy, but againſt Bodies marching to their Aſſiſtance.

When the Wounded of the Enemy, as well as of his own Part, for he took equal Care of each, were recover'd or loſt, he march'd through the *Bolognois* to *Calais*: he lay before it in a Blockade by Land, and he order'd a Fleet of ſeven Hundred Sail to ſurround it by Sea.

Theſe were Times in which the Value of a Navy was enough known to *England* to keep it always fit for Service.

Calais was a Place of vaſt Importance; and *Philip* was invited by the King of *England* to relieve it. Nothing could be brought into the Town; and the Beſieged wrote in their Diſtreſs to their King. The Letter fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*; and *Edward* ſent it to him, telling him he had no Time to loſe if he deſign'd to ſuccour them.

Philip was at this Time raiſing new Forces, and he came down upon the *Engliſh* with an Army of a Hundred and fifty Thouſand. He challenged the King to lead out his Force, and meet him; but *Edward* anſwer'd, as he acted, wiſely, "Glory e-"nough, he ſaid, he had reap'd at *Creſſy*; here "'twas his Purpoſe to take *Calais*, which he would "do, and make his vaſt Force witneſs."

He kept his Word, the Lines were impregnable, and he puſh'd the Siege with all Vigilance. *Philip* ſaw he had an Enemy to deal with whom he could not overcome, and he attempted by Negotiation what he could not effect by Arms.

He commiſſion'd two Cardinals with his Purpoſes; and he offer'd *Edward*, *Guienne*, and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, and a Marriage between their Children.

dren. *Edward*, who ſaw the Advantages as well as *Philip*, rejected the Terms.

Then it was propoſed by *Philip*, that it ſhould be divided by a Combat of ſix Perſons on each Side: the King of *France* to name the Time and Place; to this *Edward* anſwer'd, "Then I am to appoint "them, for there is no other King of *France*, ſo "tell *Philip* of *Valois*, my Couſin."

Seventeen Thouſand *Engliſh* a few Days after reinforced *Edward*'s Army; and upon this *Philip* with his Hundred and fifty Thouſand retired. *Calais* ſurrender'd, and the Campaign ended perfectly to the Glory of the *Engliſh*.

This was that famous Siege of *Calais*, in which ſix Burghers were deſtin'd a Sacrifice for the reſt, as a Revenge for the unreaſonable Reſiſtance of the Town. This, or the putting all to the Sword, were the ſole Terms allow'd by *Edward*.

Euſtace de St. Pierre offer'd firſt voluntarily to be one; after this five more devoted themſelves in the ſame manner to ſave the reſt; and they march'd out naked to the Shirt, barefooted, with Halters round their Necks; and deliver'd him the Keys.

Edward, who meant nothing by this but to intimidate, ſeem'd reſolute to execute them. The Prince of *Wales* ſpoke for them, and was refuſed; after this the Queen fell on her Knees to him, and their Lives were granted to her Interceſſion. She cloathed them, gave them an Entertainment, and each a Preſent in Money, and ſent them back in Peace.

Edward, who knew the Importance of *Calais*, took the true Method of preſerving it: He order'd all the *French* Inhabitants to quit the Place, and peopled it entirely with *Engliſh*: to this it was owing that his Conqueſt remain'd with his Country two Hundred Years.

Philip made Interceſſion for a Truce, and he obtain'd it: the King thought he had acquir'd enough of Glory for the preſent Enterprize; and that he owed his Soldiers Reſt. He ſign'd a Truce for one Year, and return'd to *England* amidſt the Acclamations of the People.

CHAP. XVII.

The French *attempt to recover* Calais.

'TWAS late in the Year 1347, that *Calais* fell into the Hands of *Edward*. The *French* could not endure to think upon the Loſs, nor had they Courage to attempt the re-taking it by Arms.

Philip knew the Power of Gold; as it ſhould ſeem the *French* do ſtill: he corrupted the Governor, and bought his Promiſe to yield up the Place to him at the Price of twenty Thouſand Crowns.

The very Method of betraying the Town was agreed upon; but *Edward* had Intelligence. He ſent for the Governor, told him he knew his Villainy, but promiſed him Pardon if he would confeſs the whole Plot; and join with him in revenging it: the Governor conſented.

Before the appointed Time of giving up the Town, *Edward* went thither with the Prince of *Wales*, a Number of his Officers, and about eight Thouſand Men.

The Gates were to be open'd the next Day to the *French* Commanders, *Charmy* and *Ribaumont*, who lay ready with a ſufficient Force; but in the Morning the King ſallying out at one of thoſe Gates, and the Prince of *Wales* at another; each with a Party about equal to thoſe of the *French*, fell upon them.

Ribaumont engag'd the King in Perſon, and twice ſtruck him down upon his Knees; but in the End he was made his Priſoner. *Charmy* was alſo, after a hard Struggle, taken by the Prince of *Wales*, and the Party that attended theſe Commanders were all killed or made Priſoners.

The King, after he had repreſented to *Ribaumont* the diſhonourable Nature of this Enterprize, praiſed his Valour, gave him his Liberty without Ranſom, and made him many Preſents.

The Buſineſs on which he went thus happily finiſh'd, *Edward* return'd to *England*, and in the Beginning of the next Year 1349, inſtituted the Order of the Garter.

Much Pains have been taken to find a more glorious Origin for this Honour than the dropping a Garter in a Dance; but Truth will get the better of the moſt learned Commentators: the Motto ſhews the Occaſion; and the Place in which it is worn teſtifies to all Poſterity, that the Counteſs of *Saliſbury* garter'd below Knee.

This Year is alſo ſignaliz'd by an Exploit of the *Britiſh* Navy, not an Engagement with the Fleet of a neighbouring Power, but the Deſtruction of a Race of Pirates, more terrible to Commerce than the moſt powerful Enemy.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Deſtruction of the Spaniſh *Pirates.*

THE publick Affairs had taken up *Edward*'s Attention now ſome Years ſo cloſely, that there were private Diſtreſſes grown to demand his Notice.

The *Spaniards* at this Time envy'd the Wealth of *England*; and they ſent Pirate Veſſels hither, to take up the ſtraggling Ships of Commerce. The Succeſs of the firſt Year's Expedition brought twice the Number in the ſecond, and from the ſame Cauſe they every Year increas'd till the Merchants now ſaw the very Being of Commerce in Danger.

They apply'd to the Throne; they came before the King with a dutiful but ſpirited Addreſs; and they received ſuch an Anſwer as ſo conſiderable a Body always will receive, when knowing their own Importance, they knew how to aſk.

Edward did not content himſelf to reply in general Terms, that he was ſorry, and he would take Care; he enter'd on the two Points in their Addreſs; the Senſe of their Danger, and the Need of Redreſs. To the firſt he anſwer'd, that he knew the very Being of the Kingdom depended on its Commerce; and to the latter, that he would command a Fleet himſelf to clear the Seas.

Edward kept his Word. Orders were inſtantly diſpatch'd to the Ports; a large Fleet was in a few Weeks got ready, and the King embark'd on board, his own High Admiral.

So juſt was *Edward*'s Senſe of the Importance of his Kingdom's Commerce, that he did not diſdain himſelf to vindicate it tho' againſt Pirates.

The *Spaniards* were not leſs than fifty Ships, all full of Men, and all thoſe of deſperate Fortunes. They heard of the Fleet fitted out againſt them; and they found it was of leſs Force than themſelves, if collected together; therefore they gather'd all their Power, and ſtood out to meet it.

The royal Fleet approach'd, and for the foremoſt Veſſel the King himſelf ſtood eminent upon the Deck, arm'd with his Cutlaſs; and pointed to the beſt Ship of the *Spaniards*.

What he began all follow'd. 'Twas a great Thing to fight in the Preſence of their King, and in Sight of their Countrymen who crowded the Shores. The *Spaniards* did not give up the Conteſt eaſily; much Blood was ſpilt on both Sides, but the Victory was the King's. He took twenty of their Veſſels, and ſunk as many more. The Remainder got back to the Ports of *Spain*; and never more infeſted the *Engliſh* Seas.

Edward return'd victorious, he receiv'd the Congratulations of the Merchants, more glorious than the oaken Wreath or mural Crown of antient Heroes; and ſtruck a Medal to commemorate the Action.

CHAP. XIX.

The Battle of Poictiers.

THE next Year 1350, dy'd *Philip de Valois*, King of *France*, againſt the Claim of *Edward*; and he was ſucceeded by *John*, his Son; whom the *French* Peers placed, as they had done his Father, on the Throne.

A Sovereign crown'd, tho' in Oppoſition to the King of *England*'s Claim, yet, as it proved afterwards, for the Glory of this Country. 'Twas he who in 1356 fought the Black Prince at *Poictiers*.

The intermediate Time was filled with fooliſh Attempts to compromiſe the Diſpute between the two Kings; and with ſome troubleſome Quarrel, with the *Scots*.

The Prince of *Wales*, *Edward*, diſtinguiſh'd by the Title of the Black Prince, was 1356 in *Languedoc*, and over-run the Country. *John* follow'd with an Army of four Times his Force; and the Prince ſaw his Danger.

No Action recorded in Hiſtory ſtamps a more perfect Character of Heroiſm on him who atchieved it.

He choſe a Place of Strength, and encamp'd his Force compactly, defended by Plantations, and thick Hedges; and ſo diſpos'd, that they could act every where. Thus poſted, he ſent Meſſengers to *John*, telling him he ſaw the Advantage of his Numbers; and of his own Situation; that if Ambition muſt decide the Point, 'twould be a bloody Day; but that he wiſh'd to avoid it. He offer'd very advantageous Terms; which *John* refuſ'd with Contempt.

The Meſſengers return'd, and the Prince harangu'd his Army: he ſhew'd them the Advantage of their Situation, and encourag'd them to keep their Ground; no more, he told them, was requir'd to conquer.

The *French* Officers who had ſeen what a few *Engliſh* could do in the Field of *Creſſy*, adviſ'd the ſtarving this little Army into Terms; but *John* remember'd *Creſſy* to another Purpoſe: full of the Thought of conquering the Hero, who had been immortaliz'd by that Day, he order'd the Attack.

The Cavalry were diſmounted, and they were the beſt Troops. The King hoping to ſtrike the Blow at once, led them firſt to the Aſſault. They had Hedges to break through; and the *Engliſh* were well intrench'd behind them. They attack'd with Fury, but without Succeſs, the *Engliſh* kept their Ground; and with very little Loſs routed, and drove them back.

The Infantry were now brought up; and they had the ſame Fortune. The Ways were ſtrew'd with Carcaſſes; and the ſurviving fled.

John rally'd the beſt of his Troops, and led them up himſelf: he fought boldly; nay, deſperately; but unſucceſsfully. His four Sons were in principal Command, and three of them fled early with their Parties. This diſpirited the reſt: the Prince fought wherever there was moſt Danger, and his Example animated the meaneſt of his Soldiers. Toward Evening *John* fell Priſoner into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and this Event compleated the Victory.

France was never humbled more than by this Blow.

The Pope uſed his Intereſt to obtain a Truce, which *Edward* granted for two Years; but no Terms propos'd could reach the Ranſom of *John*. The King of *France* was brought Priſoner to *England*.

CHAP. XX.

The Death of John *of* France.

THE Truce was a Period of Reſt to *England*, and of Glory; but to *France* it was a Time of Deſpair. Great Troubles roſe in their King's Abſence. *John* ſaw the Diſadvantages of it; and he at length offer'd ſuch Terms to *Edward*, that they were worth his Ranſom. Theſe ſatisfy'd the King of *England*; but they were judg'd too hard by the States of *France*; ſo he remain'd a Priſoner.

In the mean time the Truce expired; and *Edward*, too ſucceſsful to be indolent, ravag'd *France* unto the Gates of *Paris*.

In 1360 the Dauphin ſeeing all in Danger, offer'd Terms; but theſe, though larger than *Edward* had before conſented to accept for the King's Ranſom, were now refus'd. *Edward* propos'd his own; and tho' they were ſtill harder, they were accepted, and theſe were the Subſtance of the Treaty of *Bretigny*.

It appear'd by the Terms, that *Edward* trod upon the Neck of conquer'd *France*; and *England* then demanded HOSTAGES for the Performance of the Articles.

John was conducted by our Fleet to *Calais*; and when he had ſworn to keep the Treaty faithfully, *England* gave him his Liberty.

The Year 1361 was a Jubilee to *England*. The King having attain'd his fiftieth Year, order'd publick Solemnization of it: he return'd Thanks to God for his Succeſſes; and he like a Deity on Earth, crown'd it with Bleſſings. He confirm'd the *Magna Charta* to his People, and he proclaim'd a general Pardon; all Crimes were forgiven, Treaſon not excepted.

In 1363 the King of *France*, ſo long a Priſoner in *England*, came over on a Viſit of Friendſhip to *Edward*: he was receiv'd with Honour, and he the next Year dy'd in *London*.

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CHAP. XXI.

The Battle of Nejara.

THE Year 1364 open'd a new Commotion in *England*, but *Edward* had the Spirit to ſuppreſs it in the Bud. *John*, when King, had engag'd for *England* to pay a yearly Tribute to the holy See: *Urban* the Sixth was Pope, and he took this Time to demand it. Thirty Years Arrears were called for; and that in the haughty Tone of Church Adminiſtration.

The King, by an excellent Stroke of Policy, laid the Demand before his Parliament: this took the Burthen from his own Shoulders, and had the Appearance of a Compliment to them.

They knew his Mind, and they return'd a ſhort Anſwer, "That the Demand was illegal: that the "King could not engage the Nation without the "Conſent of Parliament; that he had broke his "Coronation Oath in doing what he did; and that "no *John* was now upon the Throne: that they "would pay no Tribute; and that if the Pope a-"gain demanded it, the Nation ſhould every Way "oppoſe him."

Urban the Sixth was as cowardly as inſolent: no more was heard of the Demand.

The peaceful State of *England* gave our renowned Prince an Opportunity to uſe his Valour elſewhere. *Peter*, ſirnamed the cruel, King of *Caſtile*, was expelled his Dominions in 1366; and he addreſs'd himſelf to the Prince of *Wales*, then in *Guienne*: his Brother had uſurp'd his Kingdom; and his Crimes had made his Subjects deſert him.

The Prince of *Wales* wiſh'd he had found a better Cauſe; but he made to himſelf the beſt of this: he conſider'd it as the common Intereſt of Kings, and he rais'd an Army of thirty Thouſand Men, and march'd them toward his Dominions.

The Prince bought his Way through the Kingdom of *Navarre*; and in 1367, appear'd with his Force upon the Frontiers of *Caſtile*; and on the third of *April* fought the Uſurper at *Nejara*.

He was victorious: he drove *Henry*, who had been crown'd during the Abſence of *Peter*, out of his Kingdom, and placed him again upon his Throne.

There was not a Vice in human Nature which this King did not poſſeſs in its full Degree: he had been driven out by his Subjects for his Cruelty and Oppreſſion, and he now ſhew'd he could equal both by his Ingratitude.

He was repaid as he deſerv'd: the Prince deſerted him; his Brother gather'd new Strength, fought him again, beat him in the Field; and afterwards ſtab'd him. His Death was lamented by none; and it placed *Henry*, who had the People's Hearts, and who deſerv'd them, upon the Throne in Safety.

CHAP. XXII.

The Treaty of Bretigny *is broken.*

THE Year 1368, may be conſider'd as the Period of *Edward*'s Glory. *John* acted in all Things with Sincerity, but 'twas not ſo with others. The *French* ſaw Province after Province reſign'd to *England* with Regret; and *Charles* the Fifth, who had made the Treaty of *Bretigny*, now reſolv'd to break it.

In 1369 he ſpread Reports much to the Diſadvantage of the *Engliſh*; and the *French* who had ſubmitted with Reluctance, ſought Occaſions of revolting.

In *Guienne* they accuſed the King of Breach of Obligation, and of Impoſitions. The Nobles declared the firſt in conſequence of the King's revoking ſome Grants; and the common People the other, on account of a Chimney Tax, or Hearth Money, levy'd by Order of the Prince.

Charles the Fifth took a bold Cauſe, he ſummon'd the Prince of *Wales* before a Court of Peers to anſwer the Complaints of Oppreſſion made againſt him by the People of his Provinces.

The Prince ſent anſwer, "That he would appear; "and that he would bring with him ſixty Thouſand "Men." *Charles* expected this. He was in a Condition to diſpute the great Point again with *England*; and when Kings have a mind to quarrel, he muſt be a poor Miniſter on either Side who cannot find a Cauſe.

It was made clear to *Charles* by ſome of his People, that the Treaty of *Bretigny* was violated; and he confiſcated by Edict all the Lands held by the *Engliſh* in *France*, and again annex'd them to the Crown.

This was enough to wake the Lion *Edward*, but he was no longer in that full Strength and Vigour which had carry'd him up to the Gates of *Paris*.

The Hoſtages whom he treated with Honour abuſed his Indulgence, and meanly eſcap'd. The Earldom of *Ponthieu* was ſeized ſoon after; and *Guienne* was, in its beſt Cities, in Arms againſt him.

He called a Parliament; laid before them the Perfidy and Inſolence of *France*, and ſollicited a Supply to carry the War into their Country. This was readily granted, but *Edward*'s uſual Succeſs did not attend him.

The Prince of *Wales* was at this Time in *Guienne*, but neither did his Fortune favour him as before. His Health was impair'd, and his Temper alter'd by that, and by his Loſſes.

Limoges declared againſt him, and put themſelves under the *French* Government. He beſieged the Town, took it, and put the People to the Sword.

This was unworthy of his former Character, for he had been renown'd as much for Mercy as for Valour.

His Diſtemper increas'd, and he return'd to *England*.

In 1372 the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who had marry'd one of the Daughters of *Peter* the Cruel, aſſerted his Title by that Means to the Kingdom of *Caſtile*.

In the mean time all went ill with the *Engliſh* in *France*. The Prince of *Wales* had been the ſole Support of their Cauſe, and when he retired they loſt all Spirit.

The *Flemings* who had been for many Years very uncertain Friends, now declared themſelves Enemies: they quitted the *Engliſh* Cauſe, and the Pretenſions of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, join'd *Henry* of *Caſtile* againſt the *Engliſh*. Thus were they terrify'd with new Enemies, and deſerted by ſome of their more powerful Friends; and thus threat'ning look'd the Affairs of our Country in the Year 1371.

CHAP. XXIII.

Two Engagements of the Engliſh *and* French *Fleets.*

THIS Year ſtands diſtinguiſh'd by two Naval Engagements; both well fought by the *Engliſh*, but with various Succeſs.

In the Beginning of the Year, the *Flemings*, who had revolted to the *French*, put out a conſiderable Naval Force to act in the Intereſts of that Crown againſt *England*.

Edward fitted out a Fleet of equal Force: he gave the Command to the Earl of *Hereford*, and he commiſſion'd him to ſeek and fight them without Delay.

Hereford was as bold as honeſt, he led the *Engliſh* to the Scene of Action; and after a Fight, which laſted with great Fury on both Sides eight Hours, he gain'd a compleat Victory. About twenty of the *Flemiſh* Veſſels were deſtroy'd in the Action, and near thirty were brought into the *Engliſh* Ports.

De Guiſcelin who had ſerv'd, tho' unſucceſsfully againſt the Prince of *Wales*, under *Henry* of *Caſtile*, was at this Time in the Service of the *French*: *Charles*, who knew his Abilities, gave him the Dignity of Conſtable, and he was commiſſion'd to act againſt the *Engliſh*. He did ſo; and he was ſucceſsful: no Prince of *Wales* now animated the Troops by his Valour: *Guiſcelin* drove them out of the *Limoſin*, *Perigerd*, and *Rovergne*; and 1371, this memorable Year, march'd into *Saintonge*, and laid Siege to *Rochelle*.

This was a Stroke of great Importance to *England*.

While *Guiſcelin* lay before the Town by Land, *Henry* of *Caſtile* ſent a ſtout Fleet to block it up by Sea.

Edward fitted out forty Ships; he gave them to the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and filled them with Supplies for the Town.

Pembroke ſailed ſucceſsfully, and was preparing to enter the Port when the *Spaniſh* Fleet made up to him. 'Twas commanded by *Baccanegra*, a *Genoeſe* of Spirit; and he ſhew'd it in this Action; for he beat the *Engliſh*.

This was not ſo eaſily done as Conqueſts had been gain'd on the other Part; Night had hitherto put a Period to the Actions; and the weaker had taken that favourable Opportunity to run away; but it was not ſo now.

The *Engliſh*, tho' ſhatter'd extreamly in the firſt Day's Action, lay in their Place, and began the next Morning's Attack. *Baccanegra* was as reſolute, and he was more powerful.

The ſecond Day's Slaughter on the Part of the *Engliſh* was greater than the firſt; and Victory declared for the *Caſtilians*. *Pembroke* fell into their Hands, and was ſent Priſoner to *Spain*; and *Rochelle* ſubmitted in conſequence of this Action.

Treachery in the Mayor haſten'd its falling into the Hands of the *French*; but had he been honeſt, it muſt have ſoon after yielded, being thus cut off from all Supply.

CHAP. XXIV.

A Truce between England *and* France.

ALL had for ſome time now gone ill for *England*; but there was a Chance of better Fortune. While *Guiſcelin* was putting *Poictou* into the Hands of *France*, and Winds detain'd the Fleets with which *Edward* would have aſſiſted his Subjects in thoſe Provinces; the Duke of *Lancaſter*, with a large Force, march'd from *Calais* unoppos'd to *Bourdeaux*; and thence throwing himſelf into *Upper Guienne*, he offer'd Battle to the Duke of *Anjou*, who had taken ſeveral Towns.

A Truce between the two Crowns prevented this Action, which would have been a very bloody, as well as an important one. The Pope's Intereſt procured this Ceſſation; which was prolong'd to the Month of *April* 1377; and *Lancaſter* finding no Uſe for his Arms, return'd.

England enjoy'd a Repoſe from this Truce not very advantageous for *Edward*: he who had been ſo glorious in his younger Years, now doated; Love of a Lady, formerly of the Bed Chamber to Queen *Philippa*, drew him into ſome Scandal with the People; and his laviſh Expence, waſting the publick Money on Trifles, rais'd for the moſt important Purpoſes, loſt him their Affection.

His Enemies were ſo great, that they demanded a Supply: this the Parliament were to grant, but they had their Demand to make firſt: they deſired he would diſcard his Miniſters, and his Miſtreſs; and the *Solomon*, led in his Dotage from all honourable Purpoſes, was reduced to conſent. He gave the People more than they had deſir'd; he added to the Diſgrace of his Favourites, a general Pardon; an of Popularity. Wiſe Kings have very well underſtood, and very ſucceſsfully us'd.

This was in 1376, a Year mark'd unhappily with the Death of the great Prince of *Wales*.

CHAP. XXV.

The Death of Edward *the Third.*

EDWARD had reign'd to Dotage: his Government once ſo honourable to the Kingdom, had now no Mark of Wiſdom, or of Spirit. He recalled his Miſtreſs, and his Favourites the Year after their Diſgrace; and by weak Oſtentation, and purpos'd Oppreſſion, loſt the Hearts of his People. They were dead who had ſeen the glorious Part of his Reign; and thoſe who heard the Relation ſcarce believ'd it.

The Death of the Prince of *Wales*, raiſed *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwall*, Grandſon of the King, to that Dignity; and the Succeſſion was firmly and prudently eſtabliſh'd in his Favour.

The Year 1377, gave Birth to the Doctrines of *Wickliff*. The Pope declared againſt him; but he was only ſilenced for the preſent. The King fell ſick in *June*; and 'twas ſeen he could not recover: his Dotage prefer'd to the Services of his more faithful Subjects, the Preſence and Offices of his Miſtreſs *Alice*; and ſhe, acting as ſuch Women have always done, ſtrip'd him in his laſt Moments of every Thing, even of the Rings upon his Fingers; and fled.

Edward the Third dy'd on the twenty-ſecond of *June* 1377, having reign'd ſomewhat more than fifty Years.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Succeſſion of Richard *the Second.*

EDWARD, who finiſh'd his long Reign in 1377, left beſide this Grandſon *Richard*, three Brothers. Theſe Uncles might have laid Claim to the Crown, and entailed much Blood upon the Nation; but partly the natural Right of *Richard*, partly the timely Care of *Edward*, in having that Right recogniz'd; and more than all, the Reverence of the People for his Father, the celebrated Prince of *Wales*, placed the Crown upon his Head.

His Champion, Sir *John Dimmock*, threw down the Gauntlet, and none diſputed his Title, he began his Reign as he ended it, amiſs: while he ſhould have thought of War, he was conferring Titles and Honours.

The Truce with *France* expired, and *Charles* took Advantage of the *Engliſh* Indolence. He took the Field with a large Army; and commiſſion'd others to act in the remoter Provinces.

All that *England* held in *France* was thus aſſaulted at once. The Arms that march'd againſt it ſupported by a powerful King; and nothing done in *England* for its Defence.

Charles, happy to ſee the *Engliſh* remain at Home, determin'd to keep them there: he equip'd the beſt Fleet he could put to Sea, and gave Commiſſion to the Commanders to harraſs the Coaſts of *England*.

All went amiſs: more Pains were never taken to place a Sovereign on the Throne of *England*; and no Reign ever began ſo unſucceſsfully. The Attention that ſhould have been employ'd on raiſing Armies, and equipping Fleets, was laviſh'd on idle Ceremonies; and *England*, whoſe Arms once, and that ſo lately, had ſpread themſelves over *France*, ſaw *Portſmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Haſtings*, *Dartmouth*, and many other of the Sea Coaſt Towns, plunder'd and deſtroy'd by the Enemy.

Richard was too young to take the Government into his own Hands: his Uncles, *Lancaſter* and *Cambridge*, took the Adminiſtration in his Name till the Aſſembly of the Parliament in *October*.

That Power conſtituted the three Uncles of the King Regents of the Kingdom, and granted a Supply; but they lodg'd in careful Hands, and deſtin'd it to nothing but the real Service.

The Baniſhment of the late King's favourite Miſtreſs, who had now ventured to return; and the ſigning and confirming the *Magna Charta*, finiſh'd the Proceedings of the Parliament. The King and the Regents in 1377, ſettled the Government.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* had kept an even Hand till he was confirm'd by Parliament in his great Office; but he was no ſooner eſtabliſh'd one of the Regents, than he began to conſider himſelf as ſolely in that Poſt; and to commit great Outrages.

He ſaw himſelf, however, kept out of Dominion, by being kept out of the Management of the publick Money; for every Stateſman has found from Regent *Lancaſter*, to the meaneſt Chancellor of an Exchequer, that with the Money goes the Power.

The *French* inſulted the Coaſts; and the *Spaniards* join'd them. The People were inſulted; their Commerce dying; and nothing done to redreſs the Grievance.

Addreſs upon Addreſs was preſented to *Lancaſter*; and he anſwer'd, That when the Nation truſted him he would do his Duty: he got the Money out of the Hands of the Bankers; and he began to employ ſome Part of it to the juſt Purpoſe.

Calais was yet in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and that open'd their Way into *Picardy*; and *Lancaſter* got into their Hands *Cherburg*, which open'd the Paſſage in the ſame Manner into *Normandy*.

The Earls of *Arundel* and *Saliſbury* were commiſſion'd to carry a Garriſon thither, and to place them in the Town, which the King of *Navarre* promiſed to yield to them.

The *Spaniſh* Veſſels which had committed ſo many Ravages upon the *Engliſh* Shores, attack'd the Squadron that carry'd over theſe Troops, and their Commanders; the Action was upon the Coaſt of *England*, and happen'd in the Autumn of 1378.

Sir *Philip* and Sir *Peter Courtney*, Brothers, commanded the *Engliſh* Squadron; and theſe behaved ſo well, and the Earls of *Saliſbury* and *Arundel* animated the People ſo ſucceſsfully, that tho' the *Spaniards* were more powerful in the Number, and the Bigneſs of their Ships, the *Engliſh* carry'd their Point. They loſt ſome Ships, and one of their Admirals, but they threw in their Garriſon into the Town of *Cherbourg*.

CHAP. XXVII.

Inſults of the Scots *upon the* Engliſh *Coaſts.*

ONE Enemy who has been ſucceſsful at Sea againſt the *Engliſh*, has never failed to bring upon them another: we have ſeen in the earlieſt Hiſtory of our Country, that when the *Danes* and *Saxons* ravaged the Coaſts, the *Scots* took Advantage, and follow'd their Practices. 'Twas ſo now: the *Spaniards* and the *French* had taught theſe People the Benefit of *Engliſh* Plunder, and they had arm'd to rob.

One *Mercer* undertook the Command of theſe Veſſels of Plunder; and after many ſlight Succeſſes, enter'd the Port of *Scarborough*, and carry'd off with him at once the whole Number of the Merchant Ships.

Remonſtrances were ſent to the Duke of *Lancaſter*; and he promiſed Redreſs: but while the People had only Words from him, this *Scot* took every Day their Veſſels.

One of the two Bankers to whom the publick Money had been committed, and from whom it was taken to put into the Hands of *Lancaſter*, was named *Philpot*, a Man of Spirit and Intrepidity. He fitted out ſome Veſſels at his own Expence; took with him a Thouſand brave Fellows, and went after the Pirate. He fought him, beat him, retook his Prizes, and brought him in Chains to *London*.

The Reward of *Philpot* was a Trial; but he was acquitted with Honour.

The *Scots* were not only Enemies at Sea, they ravaged the Borders: in the Autumn of this Year they took *Berwick*: and the Earl of *Northumberland* diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by retaking it, and driving back *Douglaſs*, who was coming too late to its Relief: theſe are Names the Writers of our Tragedies have familiarized to the *Engliſh* Ear: and to that Catalogue we are to add *Piercy*, the Son to this Earl of *Northumberland*; and named from his fiery and expeditious Spirit, *Hotſpur*, who this Year firſt diſtinguiſh'd himſelf; and on this Occaſion.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The War between the English *and* French *continue.*

THE Church had her Diſputes in 1378, but the Duke of *Lancaſter* left the two Popes, *Urban* and *Clement*, to thunder againſt one another. He form'd Deſigns of great Importance: he engag'd to reſtore to his Dominions the Duke of *Bretagne*, diſpoſſeſſed by the King of *France*. He failed for *Bretagne* with a large Fleet, and laid Siege to Saint *Malo*, but *De Gueſcelin* was ſucceſsful againſt him.

The Duke of *Bretagne*, to keep up the Spirit of the *Engliſh* in his Cauſe, gave them *Breſt*. This put it in our Power to invade *France* from four Quarters at once; and in conſequence, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, with the Conſent of the Parliament, determin'd to continue to eſpouſe the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Intereſts.

Indeed the *Engliſh* had now Advantages for aſſerting their Rights in *France*, which it does little Honour to the Time to have neglected.

Three Years the War continued with but little Advantages on either Side: great Preparations that did nothing to anſwer their Expence, join'd to weary both Kingdoms.

In 1380 the Duke of *Buckingham* was ſerviceable to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and this Year dy'd *Charles* the Fifth. *Charles* the Sixth ſucceeded him; at that Time an Infant. This might have been a Point of Importance both to the Cauſe of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and of *England*; but that Duke made a Treaty with *France* privately, and the *Engliſh* return'd.

Domeſtick Quarrels now employ'd the Attention of our People: the King was ill adviſ'd: he taxed his Subjects high; and he permitted the Collectors of his Revenues to be inſolent. This is a common Folly; but it had now like to have entailed on *England* dreadful Conſequences.

The Tax was upon all Perſons over a certain Age; and the Collectors generally made themſelves the Judges. There were in theſe Times no Regiſters; nor if there had would they have ſtaid to conſult them.

The Inſurrection of *Wat Tyler* was on this Occaſion: Money was demanded of him for his Daughter: he anſwer'd, "She was under the limited "Age," and the Collector would have uſed indecent Liberties to aſcertain his Right. When Remonſtrances failed, the Father vindicated the Honour of his Child, and ſtruck the Collector dead at her Feet.

All applauded; and Multitudes join'd him: this Incident raiſed a hundred Thouſand Rebels. At the Head of the Force was placed *Wat Tyler*; and nothing was heard but Revenge: not only the Tax, and the Inſolence of the Collectors of it now filled their Mouths; the Oppreſſions of the Regents, the Inſolence of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, were added to the Account, and the Rabble were determin'd to reform the Government.

There were Occaſions of Complaint, but the rudeſt Times never ſaw ſuch Reformers of an Adminiſtration. Their Number was their Protection: they ſet out with opening the Doors of Priſons; and ſetting all at Liberty that were confined: and having then aſſembled to debate what was beſt to be done, it was reſolved to march directly for *London*.

They entered the City, and they murder'd without Mercy all the principal People: it was Crime enough to be eminent. They beheaded Nobles, Judges, and Biſhops without Proceſs, and without Mercy.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* took Refuge in the Tower; and with him the Lord High Treaſurer and others: the Mob got Poſſeſſion, and they fell Sacrifices.

After this Exploit the Army divided, *Wat Tyler* kept thirty Thouſand with him, and held Poſſeſſion of the Tower. Sixty Thouſand under *Jack Straw*, a Name of equal Dignity in Hiſtory, ſpread themſelves over the City; and the Remainder under a Leader, whoſe Name our Annals have loſt, went off to *Mile End Green*.

They were no ſooner divided than the Way was open to conquer them. The King, who had found the whole Body untractable, brought over *Jack Straw*'s Party. He condeſcended very far to do it; but the Neceſſity of the Time compelled him. He offer'd a Charter to confirm the People in their Rights: he promiſed Redreſs of all Grievances; and he added a general Pardon.

One third of this Rout was thus diſperſed; but the arch Hero *Tyler* was obſtinate. The King offer'd him a Conference, and came to *Smithfield* to meet him, attended by the famous Lord Mayor of *London*, *Wallworth*, and with a proper Force; *Tyler* alſo came at the Head of his Party. Their Conference was on Horſeback, and *Tyler* was in his haughty Carriage, more a King than *Richard*.

The King had come prepared to give them any reaſonable Terms, but this Rebel had laid in his own weak Brain the Plan of a new Form of Government: the Conference ended ſtrangely. *Tyler* was inſolent, and the Lord Mayor killed him upon the Spot.

The Party were upon the Inſtant about to revenge the Death of their Leader; but the King turn'd the Torrent in his Favour. He affected to applaud them, put himſelf at their Head, and perſuaded them he would take their Part againſt the State. He led them to St. *George*'s Fields, where a lucky Incident ended the whole Matter. A thouſand arm'd Citizens marching out for the Defence of the King, the Party thought the whole City was riſen againſt them: they had no Leader; and they knew not what to undertake: ſo they threw down their Arms, and ſubmitted to the King's Mercy.

Thus was this dangerous Rebellion quell'd, and very happily for the Government; for had the Party held together but a little longer, no Force could have conquer'd them. Their Inſurrection had animated the People in other Parts of the Kingdom, and two Prieſts in *Suffolk*, and an Alehouſekeeper in *Norfolk*, were ſeverally at the Head of prodigious Parties, following the Steps of *Tyler*, and cutting the Throats of all Perſons of Rank and Eminence.

Such was the miſerable Condition of *England* in 1381; ſo dangerous are popular Oppreſſions. The King, the Nobility and Clergy were all to have been deſtroy'd. *Wat Tyler* was to have been made King of *Kent*, and *England* was to have been divided into Principalities for the other Chiefs.

The firſt Step toward Succeſs on the King's Part made the Way eaſy to all. Many of the Parties of the Rebels fought the Forces ſent againſt them, but they were too rude and undiſciplin'd to have any Proſpect of Succeſs; and they were every where beaten: their Leaders were executed.

Treſilian, a Judge diſtinguiſh'd by his Cruelty, was commiſſion'd to go into the rebellious Counties, after the Succeſs of the Government Forces; and having nothing to do but puniſh, he ſet an Example which *Jeffries*, under *James* the Second, did but faintly copy.

CHAP. XXIX.

Richard's *Behaviour during the Beginning of his Reign.*

THE King was very young, but he had given an Inſtance of good Senſe and Courage in his Conduct in the Affair of *Tyler*, that would have done Honour to a riper Age.

The World thence expected great Things from him; and in 1382 he took the Reins of Government into his own Hands. Thoſe who had warmeſt Hopes now ſaw themſelves diſappointed: he grew capricious, raſh and inſolent: a few Favourites engroſſed all his Attention; and to thoſe he gave Grants upon Grants ſo faſt, and ſo imprudently, that his Chancellor *Scroop* refuſed to ſet the Seal to them.

The King took it from him; and was his own Lord Keeper for ſome Time: after which he deliver'd it to the Biſhop of *London*.

In 1383 the Quarrel of the Popes engroſſed the Attention of the Kings in *Europe*. *Urban* publiſh'd a Cruſade againſt *Clement*; and while the King of *England* idly engaged his Forces in this Service, the Kings of *France* and *Scotland* employed theirs in harraſſing his Kingdom:

Richard ſaw his Error: a Parliament granted him the needful Supplies, and after ordering Preparations againſt *France*, a conſiderable Force was raiſed againſt *Scotland*; and the Command was given to *Lancaſter*.

The *Scots* offer'd Peace, when they found they could no longer plunder with Impunity; but the Duke of *Lancaſter* refuſed to hear of Terms: he told them he was coming, not to contend, but puniſh.

France was as ſoon terrify'd: ſhe offer'd Terms, and the firſt Conſequence of the Preparation was a ten Months Truce. With much Difficulty *Scotland* was included in this Truce, which was afterwards prolonged farther.

In the mean Time there were Diſquietudes at Home. The Duke of *Lancaſter*, whom all hated or envy'd, was accuſed of a Conſpiracy againſt the King: he cleared himſelf for the preſent; but more Suſpicions grew up afterwards.

The Favourites of the King, beſide their Envy and their Hatred, feared him. They prevailed with his eaſy Temper to have Leave to accuſe his Uncle of Treaſon, and Judge *Treſilian* was to manage the Evidence.

Lancaſter ſaw what he had to expect; and as only Force could protect him, he declared his Innocence, incenſed the People againſt his Accuſers, and retireing to *Pomfret Caſtle* raiſed Troops.

England was upon the Brink of a Civil War, but the Mother of the King prevented it. She undertook to reconcile the King and his Uncle, and ſhe ſucceeded.

CHAP. XXX.

Preparations of France *againſt* England.

THE Year 1385, threaten'd *England* heavily. *France* made Preparations to invade the Kingdom, and ſent Succours to the *Scots* that they might employ a Part of the *Engliſh* Arms. The King and the People ſaw this Danger together. Such Supplies were granted, and ſo good Uſe made of them, that

France fear'd to attempt what ſhe had purpoſed: *Scotland* would eaſily have been ſubdued by a Force equal to both Occaſions, but that the young King loſt the Advantage.

He contented himſelf with ravaging about *Edinburgh*, and when he withdrew his Forces, the *Scots* repay'd his Devaſtations ten-fold in *Cumberland*, and the adjacent Provinces. Thus ended an Expedition which might have tended greatly to the Glory, and the ſucceeding Happineſs of the Nation.

England had ſeen ſo much Blood ſpilt in diſputed Titles to the Crown; and ſaw ſo much Fear of it now if the King ſhould die without Children, that the firſt Care of the ſucceeding Parliament was to fix the Succeſſion: it was in this Caſe eſtabliſh'd on the Earl of *Marche*, Son of *Philippa*, Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward* the Third.

This Point eſtabliſh'd, they were more at Eaſe to look into the other Concerns of the Kingdom. *France* ſo long kept in Terror of the *Engliſh* Arms, had now taken up the oppoſite Courſe, and continually threaten'd this Kingdom.

In 1386, that People meditated nothing leſs than the Conqueſt of *England*; and they for that Purpoſe raiſed Armies; and equip'd a vaſt Fleet. This could be no Secret: but now the old Diſputes revived. All deſired to ſee a Force eſtabliſh'd equal to the Danger; but the King had his Favourites. Theſe gave Offence to the People; and when he demanded Money of the Parliament, they anſwer'd by Requeſts, that he would diſmiſs thoſe evil Councellors.

We have ſeen that Raſhneſs was a great Part of *Richard*'s Character; and it never diſcloſed itſelf more, or more diſadvantageouſly than now. He told his Parliament, "That he would teach them "the Reſpect due to Kings; and that he would "not for their Remonſtrances turn off a Page."

They had Spirit as well as he; for who ſhall ſuppoſe the Courage of *England* at any Time center'd in its King. He demanded the Supply in a more haughty Manner by his Chancellor: and withdrawing to *Eltham*, abandon'd his Parliament. They anſwer'd with Reſpect, but Reſolution: they declared their Senſe of their Duty to the King, but they concluded with more Spirit than he had done; that they would grant no Subſidies till he return'd to them; and till his Miniſters were puniſh'd.

This threaten'd hard: the King's Reſentment grew by Oppoſition: he order'd forty of their Members to attend him; which they refuſed: and at length there went on their Part the Earl of *Glocester*, one of his Uncles, and the Biſhop of *Ely*.

The King found they were reſolute, and he ſaw *France* powerful; he felt his Crown totter, or he thought ſo; and he heard Reaſon: he return'd to the Parliament; he diſmiſs'd his Favourites, and left them to their Mercy; and in the ſame good Temper he conſented to whatever they propoſed: they were wiſe, and took no weak Advantages of his Compliance.

His Chancellor was impeach'd; ſome of the others were puniſh'd, and Peace was reſtored to the Kingdom. Better Counſellors, to the Number of fourteen, were appointed; and they were choſen with the King's Conſent and Approbation, from among the principal of the Nobility and Clergy.

Providence interfer'd this Year, as often it has done for *England*'s Preſervation. The Diſputes of the King and Parliament, had prevented a timely Preparation to oppoſe the *French*. They embark'd late in the Seaſon; and brought every Material on board for making a Deſcent, and fortifying themſelves on Shore.

A Tempeſt ſcatter'd their Fleet. Many of the Veſſels were ſunk, and thoſe laden with the Materials for building their firſt Fortreſs upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt, were thrown ſo many Wrecks upon its Shores.

Fear had made *Richard* complying. He no ſooner ſaw his Enemies ſcatter'd, than he recalled his Favourites; and repeated every weak, every unjuſt, and every oppreſſive Meaſure that had before incenſed his Subjects. Weak Man! not to perceive that his Danger was greater from the juſt Reſentment of his People; than from the Power of *France*.

Theſe Favourites no ſooner came again into Power, but they thought of their Revenge; the Earl of *Gloceſter* was to be taken off by Poiſon, which he eſcaped on Notice; and this incenſing others, all grew uneaſy.

The Time needed the Service of the beſt and ableſt Stateſmen, but all fear'd or diſdain'd to give it under ſuch Circumſtances.

CHAP. XXXI.

A Fleet is prepared and does great Service.

THE Deſtruction of the *French* Fleet by Storm in the latter End of the Year 1386, gave Hopes to thoſe who wiſh'd well to their Country, that the Veſſels fitted out in the Ports of *England*, to act defenſively againſt that Force, might now act on the offenſive, and humble the Nation which aſpired to the Conqueſt of the Iſland.

The King heard the Voice of his People on this Occaſion, and he declared for Vengeance. The Fleet was brought out of the Ports early in 1387, and the Command given to two Admirals of Truſt and Experience, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*: they prefer'd to the Command in their ſeveral Ships thoſe who had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves before by their Courage and Integrity; and with a very noble Fleet thus officer'd, and full of Men, they ſet ſail in the End of *March*.

As there was no Naval Force for them to attack, they determin'd to diſtreſs the Commerce of *France* and her Allies; and by the ſame Means to indemnify their Country in the Expence of their Preparation.

They did not ſkulk about in Hopes of picking up a ſingle Ship here and there; but having good

Intelligence, and making honeſt Uſe of it, they fell in with a Fleet of *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Flemiſh* Merchant Veſſels, richly laden for their ſeveral Ports, and brought them all into thoſe of *England*.

Breſt was at this Time beſieged by the Duke of *Bretagne*. The Relief of this important Place was their ſecond Expedition, and they performed it ſucceſsfully.

This done, the Sea having no farther Service, and the Expence of ſuch a Fleet being very great, the Admirals return'd. The People received them with Acclamations; but the King's Favourites who now manag'd every Thing, told him they were too popular.

Theſe were indeed Times in which nothing was more dangerous than to do the Publick Service. The King, from whom they expected a better Reception, upbraided them with their very Services. As to *Breſt*, he ſaid, there was no Hope of keeping it; and theſe Captures he was afraid would draw the ſeveral Powers upon him.

The Admirals expreſſed their Contempt of ſuch a King by their Silence; and their Reſentment at his Ingratitude, by laying down their Commiſſion.

The Earl of *Northumberland* was appointed in their Place; one whom the Favourites aſſured the King would obey Orders.

Of the diſcontented Party were all the beſt and braveſt of the Nobility. *Glouceſter* join'd the Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*; and thoſe of *Warwick* and *Darby* added their Intereſt.

Richard ſaw a Faction forming that would be dangerous, and he follow'd their Advice who would have him oppoſe it by aſſuming an arbitrary Power. His Judges declared the King to be above the Laws: and theſe and other worthy Nobles were mark'd for Deſtruction.

The People joined their Cauſe, and after ſome fruitleſs Attempts toward an Accommodation, the Nobles march'd an Army of forty Thouſand Men for *London*.

Richard amuſed them with fair Promiſes, but he in the mean time ſent for the Duke of *Ireland* to his Relief, and ſold to *France* privately *Calais* and *Cherburgh*.

The Duke was beaten, and the ſecret Practices of the King were diſcover'd: he trembled at the Conſequences, and he took Refuge in the Tower.

The Lords demanded a Conference; and to all their Upbraidings he only anſwer'd with Tears. They attributed his Miſconduct to his Youth, and to his bad Adviſers; he promiſed to baniſh his Favourites for ever, and the Year 1388 ſeem'd to terminate all theſe Difficulties, and Diſtreſſes, by a mutual Agreement of every Thing that was proper to be done, and a general Pardon.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Duke of Norfolk *is accuſed of Treaſon.*

THIS Year 1388, *Richard* diſcarding with his Favourites, his fourteen Councellors, the Shadow of which Commiſſion had all this Time remain'd, took the Adminiſtration ſolely into his own Hands, under a Promiſe to his People of every Way conſulting their Intereſt, and the Nation's Glory.

The *Scots* had been ſucceſsful againſt the *Engliſh* during theſe Diſputes; and *France* had made Preparations; but the firſt Act of Power under this new Regulation was, the ſigning a three Years Truce with both.

Thus at Peace from his Enemies, he had his Eye upon his People: he chang'd his Miniſtry; but it was for the worſe; and in the three or four ſucceeding Years, tho' engaged in Tranſactions that might have redounded to his Honour, he did little worth Notice; and nothing well. He was expenſive, and conſequently poor: his Demands upon the People were unreaſonable; and they were ill received, but his Reſentment terrify'd many into Compliance.

The City of *London* were not of that Number. He ſent to borrow a ſmall Sum of them, which they refuſed; and when a private Perſon offer'd to advance the Money on his own Account, the Mob tore him to Pieces.

London felt ſoon after the Weight of the Royal Diſpleaſure: under Pretence of a Tumult, the King took away the Charter of the City.

In the Year 1393, a Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*; which *Richard* went in Perſon to ſuppreſs: he had made ſome Progreſs, when a Church Diſpute brought him back. The *Lollards*, who exclaimed againſt the Licentiouſneſs of Churchmen, were accuſed of a Deſign to ſubvert Religion, and conſequently Government.

The King having uſed his Power in favour of the Church on this Occaſion, in the Year 1396, married a Daughter of *France*, and ſign'd a Truce of twenty-eight Years with that Kingdom.

This gave Diſcontent to the People, and the ſucceeding Tranſactions more. *Calais* and *Cherburgh* were given up to *France*; and the King who was expenſive beyond all former Sovereigns, was more arbitrary than all others in his Meaſures for Supplies.

The People inſpired their Diſcontent into the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*: their free Remonſtrances drew them into Suſpicion with the King; and their Reſentment carry'd them from Court.

The principal of the Nobility who favour'd their Party, were apprehended in the moſt diſingenuous Manner, principally by the King's own Contrivance, and while they were in Conference with him.

The People who ſaw the only Friends to their Rights and Liberties ſeiz'd, thought themſelves devoted to the next Deſtruction. They murmured, and the King was terrify'd with the Proſpect of a Rebellion. He alledged Crimes againſt the impriſon'd Lords; and he declared they ſhould have a fair and open Trial.

Richard knew what he meant by ſuch a Promiſe, for he knew he could influence their Judges: in the mean time he ſummon'd a Parliament at *Nottingham*, where the Biſhop of *Exeter* harangu'd upon the natural unlimited Power of the King.

All honeſt Men hated him for it, but this was a Parliament at the King's Devotion. The Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel* were condemn'd to die. *Warwick*'s Sentence was chang'd to Baniſhment; *Arundel* ſuffered publickly; and the Duke of *Glouceſter* kidnap'd by the King's Appointment, and forced on board a Veſſel, was ſtrangled.

Succeeding Parliaments conſpir'd with this in extending the Prerogative, and the Severity of the King frighted many from oppoſing it. But he deceived himſelf when he imagin'd they ſubmitted, whom Fear of a tyrannick Power kept for a Time in Quiet.

In 1398 the Duke of *Hereford*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Lancaſter*; a Youth of Ambition, but Prudence with it, lived upon good Terms with the King. His Uncle *Glouceſter*'s Murder was before his Eyes; and kept him civil till good Time ſhould offer. The Duke of *Norfolk* gueſs'd that *Hereford*'s Friendſhip was but external, and he tamper'd with him concerning the King.

Hereford, cautious of giving Suſpicion, ſuppoſed this a Plot to enſnare him; and while the Parliament was ſitting, declared the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Treaſon. This is an Incident pregnant with ſo great Conſequences, that it demands regard in every Article. The Duke of *Norfolk* deny'd the Accuſation; and there remain'd no Deciſion but by Duel.

Coventry was appointed as the Place, the Liſts were prepared, and the Combatants ready; when the King, not knowing which was really his Enemy, ſtop'd the Deciſion of Arms, and baniſh'd both: the Nature of the Cauſe required ſome Difference in their Sentence, and *Norfolk*'s Exile was for Life, the other only for ten Years. Even this was remitted farther before he embark'd: four Years were taken off from it; and he had a Right of Inheritance given him of what ſhould devolve in his Abſence.

More devolved than the King thought of when he gave this Grant; for the Duke of *Lancaſter* dy'd poſſeſs'd of immenſe Treaſures.

Richard was poor, and he was expenſive: he regarded no Tie when Intereſt prompted to the breaking of it; and on this Occaſion he exceeded all he had done in private Acts of Injuſtice: he confiſcated the Effects of the Duke of *Lancaſter*; and to prevent the Claim of his Son, declared his Baniſhment perpetual.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Proceedings of the Duke of Lancaſter.

THE Eyes of all were on this Tranſaction. The Duke of *Hereford* was loved, and pity'd: no Crime had ſentenced him to Baniſhment, but his Virtue; and this Act of Oppreſſion turn'd all Hearts againſt the King. The People hated *Richard* for many Reaſons, tho' they fear'd him; and they were ready to take any plauſible Opportunity of ſhewing it.

In *Ireland* more and more Troubles appear'd. The Earl of *March*, preſumptive Heir to the Crown of *England*, commanded there, and fell this Year in Battle. His Sons dy'd like himſelf childleſs; but he had alſo a Daughter *Ann*, who marry'd a Son of the Duke of *York*, and unhappily for *England* had Iſſue; for their Right entailed upon the Kingdom Civil Wars; and delug'd it with Blood.

In 1399 *Richard* embark'd for *Ireland*; the Succeſſes he met with there before, promiſed his haſty Temper certain Glory; and he entertain'd no Suſpicion of Danger the mean time at Home, or from the baniſh'd, and the injured *Hereford*.

Richard was no ſooner out of the Kingdom, than all whom Fear had kept ſilent exclaimed againſt him. The Duke of *York*, his Uncle, left Regent in his Abſence, ſaw what was coming on; and ſaw there was no oppoſing it.

The injured Duke of *Hereford* was invited over to do himſelf and the other wrong'd Nobility Juſtice. He gladly received the Invitation, purpoſing greater Things than they imagin'd. He embark'd, and brought with him many baniſh'd Lords. He landed at *Ravenſpur* with this little but honourable Company; and with a few Attendants.

The Earl of *Northumberland* raſhly pronounced a Traitor juſt before, took this Occaſion of Revenge. He join'd the Duke of *Hereford*; with him came *Piercy* the famous *Hotſpur*, and the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*; and many more.

The People crowded to him; and he who ſet his Foot naked upon the Shores of *England*, ſaw himſelf in a few Days at the Head of ſixty Thouſand Men, ſupported by the beſt People of the Land, and all demanding Vengeance againſt a Tyrant.

The Regent ſaw now more plainly, that the King's Cauſe was deſperate. He removed with the Council to St. *Albans*. *London* on this declared for the Duke of *Hereford*; and the King's Friends ſaw all was loſt.

The Duke of *Lancaſter*, for ſo we are now to call the Duke of *Hereford*, won the People by pretending to nothing more than Juſtice to himſelf. His Oppreſſions were evident, and this ſingle Principle made it impoſſible for the Regent to raiſe a Force to oppoſe him. Who would take Arms againſt a Man whoſe Cauſe every Heart own'd.

The Miniſtry, terrify'd at the Proſpect, deſerted the Regent, and retired to *Briſtol*; and he unable alone to do any Thing, went to his Houſe at *York*.

Thus was the Kingdom open to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, for there was none to eſpouſe the King's Part, or to act for him.

Lancaſter came ſtrait to *London*, where he was received with every Mark of Honour. All exclaimed againſt the Miniſters, Favourites of the King who had now ſtrengthen'd themſelves in *Briſtol Caſtle*; and the Duke of *Lancaſter*, little weighing the Appearances of Things, march'd thither, took the Caſtle by Aſſault, and ſacrificed the Favourites to the Peoples Fury.

The Winds all this Time kept *Richard* in Ignorance of what paſſed here. Three Weeks they kept all Intelligence from *Ireland*; and they ſome time longer delay'd him in the Ports, eager as he was to return.

In this Time all the Kingdom join'd the Duke of *Lancaſter*: the Regent *York*, his Uncle, came to him; and the few Forces levy'd on the King's Part by the Earl of *Saliſbury*, refuſed to act, and of their own Choice ſeparated.

Richard at length landed at *Milford Haven*: he ſoon found his Condition, and he retired to *Conway Caſtle*.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* came on; and on his Deſire to propoſe an Accommodation, ſent to him the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, whom his Oppreſſions had made his bitter Enemies.

Their Deportment ſhew'd him his Fate. He offer'd to reſign his Crown to his Couſin the Duke of *Lancaſter*: the Duke met him: and they came to *London* together. Where *Lancaſter* was received with Acclamations, and *Richard* loaded with the Peoples Curſes.

He was confined in the Tower; where he ſoon after reſigned his Crown. The Parliament depoſed him in the ſame Form they had uſed in the Caſe of *Edward* the Second, and the Throne of *England* was vacant.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Acceſſion of Henry *the Fourth.*

THE Duke of *Lancaſter* now claimed the Crown as his Right, by Deſcent; and declared himſelf determin'd to reform all Abuſes in the Government.

There was an Earl of *March* now living, the Son of him whom the King had named preſumptive Heir to the Crown; but none eſpouſed his Intereſts. The Torrent was for *Lancaſter*, and in 1399 on the thirteenth of *October*, he was crown'd HENRY THE FOURTH.

Henry was thirty-three when he began his Reign. He owed much to the Services of thoſe who had join'd him at *Ravenſpur*, and he repaid them nobly. He publiſh'd a Proclamation, declaring himſelf next Male Heir to the depoſed King; and the ſucceeding Parliament confirm'd what he had ſaid, by ſettling the Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Lancaſter*.

The Kingdom's Peace being thus eſtabliſh'd, *Richard*'s Condition came next before the Parliament; and it was at the King's Requeſt debated what it was proper ſhould be done with him.

A Churchman, the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, ventured too far in his Cauſe, and was impriſon'd for his Speech. The Determination with reſpect of *Richard* was, that he ſhould be a Priſoner for Life; and that if any attempted to reſcue him, HE ſhould ſuffer Death.

This ſeems to have been a prepared Thing for his Deſtruction; but he fell without that Pretence. A depoſed King was too dangerous for *Henry* to bear in Peace. He was ſent to *Pontefract Caſtle*, and there ſoon after murther'd.

The Beginning of the new Reign was diſtinguiſhed by an Act of Lenity; this was a general Pardon. Only the Murtherers of the Duke of *Glouceſter* were excepted, and for this there was enough Reaſon: one of them was afterwards diſcovered and executed.

Henry the Fourth now ſettled on the Throne, promiſed his Subjects in general their juſt Liberties, and aſſured the Clergy of his Protection: he ſent Embaſſadors to all the foreign Courts with which *England* had Intereſt, or Connection: to *France* in particular he ſent two very honourable Perſons; and he propoſed to exchange the Truce to a laſting League of Friendſhip; and to ſeal it by a double Marriage.

The Governments leſs intereſted received the Embaſſadors as uſual, but *France* coldly.

Henry, who knew his Purpoſe, purſued it wiſely: he ſhew'd no Reſentment; but order'd them to wait a more favourable Opportunity.

The *Scots* who always took Advantages of the Troubles of *England*, this Year made Inroads, and committed great Devaſtations. *Robert*, King of *Scotland*, ſuppoſed *France* would as uſual ſupport him; but when he found thoſe Friends cool, and *Henry* offer'd him a Negotiation, he accepted it.

Thus prudently did *Henry* begin his Reign: he took the beſt Methods of making all quiet abroad; and there was nothing he omitted to gain, and to ſecure the Affections of his People. The fourteenth Century cloſed upon the Year of his Coronation; and he had reaſon to believe he had in all Things ſucceeded.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

THE
NAVAL HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.

BOOK XV.

Containing the Tranſactions of the fifteenth Century.

CHAP. I.

A Conſpiracy againſt Henry.

THE fifteenth Century open'd with a Deſign that threaten'd the Deſtruction of the King, and very dreadful Days for *England*.

Henry's Behaviour had been ſuch hitherto, that as he had not deſerved to have one Enemy, ſo there was no Cauſe to think he had one. The People reverenced him, the Government was well eſtabliſhed; and there appeared every Proſpect of Peace.

The Revolution in the Government could not be made without the Oppreſſion of ſome; and they, though they had fared better than they deſerved or had expected, had no Regard to the Mercy ſhewn them.

The Favourites of the late King, the Dukes of *Albemarle*, *Exeter* and *Surry*, the Earls of *Glouceſter* and *Saliſbury*, the Biſhop of *Carliſle* and Sir *Thomas Blount*, had all found more Kindneſs from the King than from the Parliament: but they conſpired his Deſtruction.

It happened that there was a Prieſt, a Chaplain of the depoſed King, ſo like him in Perſon, that in his Habit he would not eaſily be diſtinguiſhed by any from him. This Man they determined to pretend was *Richard* at Liberty: and they reſolved to aſſaſſinate the King, and reſtore their former Maſter. 'Twas probably to this Attempt that *Richard* ow'd his Death, which, as we have obſerved, happened ſoon after.

They ſet up the Prieſt, whoſe Name was *Maudlin*, to repreſent the King, who they ſaid had juſt eſcaped from Priſon, and requeſted the Aſſiſtance of his Subjects to ſet him again upon the Throne. The Purpoſe of Aſſaſſination failing, they took this open Method.

Many join'd them from mere Fickleneſs of Diſpoſition; and their Intereſt procured more; they ſaw themſelves ſoon at the Head of a formidable Army, and they marched towards *London*.

The King though ill ſupported, for his Force was not nearly equal to theirs, met them on the Road. His Courage inſpired others: his Numbers encreaſed every Step he marched; and the Conſpirators, ſeeing he had Spirit to diſpute the Field, avoided an Engagement: they retired, and were ſoon after taken and executed.

Henry thought himſelf more eſtabliſhed on the Throne by the Murther of *Richard*, which happened, perhaps without his abſolute Orders, ſoon after; than by any former Tranſaction. He made a Truce with *France*; and after going into *Scotland*, where many Skirmiſhes were fought with various Succeſs, he agreed alſo to a Truce with them.

This Year alſo gave Birth to the Enterprizes of *Glendower* in *Wales*: the Earl of *March*, who entertained now no Thoughts of the Crown, was in the Neighbourhood of theſe Excurſions made by this People; and hoping to recommend himſelf to the King by a ſignal Piece of Service, he raiſed a Force and fought them.

Glendower was the ſtronger; he beat the Earl of *March*'s Forces, and he took him Priſoner,

Henry was full as well pleaſed with this Event, as if the *Welch* had been beaten: he feared the Earl of *March*'s Title more than their Arms; and he left him Priſoner, though bound in Honour to have ranſomed him at any Price, The next Year *Glendower* purſued his Succeſſes: he made farther Inroads, and he plunder'd every where. People were aſtoniſh'd at *Henry*'s Indolence, but they miſtook their King; his Character was of another Kind; and what they now attributed to Sloth, was the Effect of Prudence: all his Attention was on a greater Object.

He was negotiating with *France*: he knew that no other Kingdom could ſupport the *Welch*; and he knew that when he had cut off that Reſource, he could repeat againſt them the Succeſſes of an *Edward*.

France was ſlow, and People's Clamours armed the King againſt the *Welch* before this Point was ſettled. His Approach drove *Glendower* to the Mountains; and after ravaging his Country, he return'd to *London*.

CHAP. II.

A Deſign upon the King's Life.

HENRY found all his Attention to the Intereſts of the Kingdom, and all his Favour to Individuals, could not gain him that Affection of his Subjects he ſo ardently deſired; and by all his Conduct ſo well deſerv'd.

On his Return, a Scheme was laid to deſtroy him without any Hand appearing to have done it: he juſt diſcover'd it in Time to ſave himſelf.

It happen'd that upon the Night of his firſt lying in *London*, the Lights were placed in an unuſual Part of his Bed Chamber, and ſhone into the Bed. Had not Chance directed it thus, or ſhall we not ſay Providence, he had not liv'd an Hour. As he turned down the Cloaths naked, and ſtepping into the Bed, Steel glitter'd in his Eyes.

He ſtep'd back, ſnatch'd his Sword, and then advanced to ſee what ſhould be the Occaſion. Three Points of Swords roſe upright in the Bed: they were fix'd there, and intended to have pierced his Body as he lay down.

Henry removed them; and calling in his People, aſk'd them by what Act he had deſerved Death. They all declared their Innocence of the Fact, nor could any Methods ever diſcover who was guilty.

This Year dy'd the Duke of *York*, Uncle to the King, and Father to that Earl of *Cambridge* whoſe Marriage with a Siſter of the Earl of *March*, was the Source of ſo much Blood to *England*.

Henry, who found it impoſſible to be belov'd by his People, gave up the Thought, and determined that he would be fear'd.

In 1402, by his ſole Authority, he taxed the Kingdom for the Marriage of his Daughter.

Parliaments had uſed to be conſulted on theſe Occaſions; but he declared his Royal Pleaſure ſufficient. The People could not bear it, they wrote Satires and Invectives, and the King puniſhed the Authors with *Death*; they were conſidered as Traitors.

This Year he carried his Arms into *Wales*: and the *Scots* brought theirs into *England*, he ſuffer'd more Damage than he did; till himſelf drawing his Force from the Weſt, marched for the North, and fought them. He was ſucceſsful: their General fell in the Action; and the Plunder came into his Hands again.

CHAP. III.

The French *burn* Plymouth.

DUring theſe little Broils at home, *France* was growing troubleſome. There were Squabbles about Trifles, that ſhewed a Diſpoſition to quarrel: and while the King was revelling, as if no Danger threaten'd, the Earl of *St. Pol* made a Deſcent upon the Iſle of *Wight*, and carried Fire and Sword thro' ſome Villages. He pretended 'twas his own Cauſe: married to a half Siſter of *Richard*, he ſaid he came to revenge his Murther. But *France* lent him Troops, and *France* had the Mortification to ſee a few of them return, with little Credit to the Expedition.

While *Henry* diſregarded theſe Attacks, the People vindicated themſelves: they beat the *French* Force, drove the Earl to his Ships, and ſigh'd that no *Britiſh* Fleet appeared to intercept their Return.

Henry was not ſilent in Complaint, though he had been unactive in Defence of the Place. His Embaſſadors were loud, but they received ſlight Anſwers; *France* ſaw him a Tyrant, and his Subjects not inclined to bear it: ſhe waited to ſee him dethroned; and *Northumberland* the next Year heartily attempted it. Multitudes joined him, for Multitudes were offended.

Henry found how dangerous it was for a King to loſe the Affections of his People. They publiſhed a Manifeſto, and he a Proclamation.

He was ſupported by a large Army; but he dreaded the Event of a Battle: he came up with them at *Shrewſbury*; but he offered Terms, and very advantageous ones, to the Rebels.

Worceſter, a Name condemned for it to everlaſting Infamy, miſrepreſented the King's Propoſals; and the Armies join'd. Succeſs firſt promiſed the Rebels, but in the End it was the King's. The Battle was fought on the 22d of *July*, and *Percy* fell in it. The Earl of *Worceſter* was made Priſoner; he was executed, and his Head fixed on the City Gate.

Northumberland eſcaped, and with ſo conſiderable a Body, that it was ſeen this Action was not deciſive. The King would have purſued him, but *France* found him Employment.

A Deſcent on *England* was in Agitation there; and *Henry*, who was as good a Stateſman as a Soldier, pardoned *Northumberland*, and ſettled Peace at home.

The *French* did not then content themſelves with threaten'd Invaſions: tho' a great deal of the Spirit and Hope of Succeſs was loſt on the Extinction of the *Engliſh* Troubles; they yet in earneſt executed a Part at leaſt of their Deſign: they had thought to attempt the Conqueſt of the Kingdom, but they now gave that up: they however burnt *Plymouth*, plundered many of the neighbouring Towns, and retired.

CHAP. IV.

The English *revenge the Inſult.*

ALL this Time a Truce ſubſiſted between *France* and *England*; and tho' continual Complaints were made on both Sides of its Violation, both pretended to vindicate themſelves againſt the Charge. The Offence at *Plymouth* was laid upon the *Bretons*, and the Government of that Province, called it the Act of private Perſons, and diſclaim'd it.

Henry took the right Method of Revenge; he directed the People, who had ſuffered at *Plymouth* and elſewhere, to fit out a Number of private Ships of War: and he joined with theſe a good Fleet, gave them an Admiral, *Wilford*, and bade them go alſo as private Perſons.

They ſet ſail with all Expedition, and very well ſatisfied their Intereſt and their Revenge. They took their Courſe to the Coaſts of *Bretagne*, and being too ſtrong for any Reſiſtance in the Power of the People there, took all the Merchant Veſſels: they fill'd forty of theſe with the Treaſures and Stores of the whole, and burnt the reſt: they then made their Deſcent, and waſted the Country for twenty Miles round. Complaints were made, but *Henry* ſmiled, and anſwered, it was the Act of private Perſons.

France was ſtill buſy here. Reports were ſpread that *Richard* was alive; and when theſe had raiſed Diſturbances, and kept the King employed in *London*, the *Bretons* landed at *Portland*, burnt ſome Towns, and after ſecuring the Plunder, marched up into the Country.

Theſe were not a Band of Ruffians, they were a regular though a ſmall Force, and they were under the Conduct of ſome Perſons of Diſtinction.

This was their Deſtruction. The Youth and Spirit of their Leaders carried them up far into the Country; the Militia were called together, for theſe were Times when *England* had a uſeful Militia, and they fought the *Bretons*, they kill'd many, drove back the reſt, and took moſt of their Leaders Priſoners.

Here let the Reader ſee the Uſe and the Neceſſity of a Militia.

However unlike *Britain* was in ſome Things at that Period from the preſent, there were others in which it enough reſembled it.

This was the Year of the illiterate Parliament. All were up in Arms againſt the Clergy: the King was petition'd to ſeize the Church Lands: the Commons, Aſſerters of the Rights of Government, propos'd and preſs'd this earneſtly: but the Archbiſhops Weight with the King overthrew it.

The *Welch Glendower* now grew troubleſome; and the King commiſſioned *Henry* his eldeſt Son, famous for his youthful Revels, and for his Courage at Maturity, againſt him; he won two Battles the ſucceeding Year 1405, in the laſt of which the Son of *Glendower* was made Priſoner.

The *French* this Year created new Diſturbances, and form'd new Deſigns: they ſtir'd up Diſcontent among the People; and, at their Inſtigation, the Archbiſhop of *York*, and many of the principal Nobility, joined in a Plot, and ſupported it by Arms. Their Purpoſe was to dethrone the King; and they publiſhed a Manifeſto, laying before the World his ſlender Pretences to the Crown, and his ill Uſe of regal Power.

Fraud was oppoſed againſt this Conſpiracy, which was too ſtrong to be oppoſed by Force; the Earl of *Weſtmoreland* deluded ſome of the principal Perſons into his Power, who were beheaded; and the reſt retired where they could be ſafeſt, and fartheſt from the King's Force.

CHAP. V.

The French *land in* Wales.

THE Year 1405 is diſtinguiſhed by a freſh and very bold Attempt of *France*. The Marſhal *Montmorency* brought twelve thouſand Men to *Wales*. An hundred and forty *French* Ships braved the Weſtern Coaſts: the King was alarmed in the higheſt Degree; and calling together the beſt Force he could, he marched againſt them.

Theſe foreign Enemies would eaſily have been conquer'd, had there been Peace at home; but Diſputes with the People characteriſed all this Part of *Henry*'s Reign. Money was requiſite, and the Parliament refuſed to grant it: the King kept them ſitting till the Month of *Auguſt*, and they then, wearied out with the long, and as it threaten'd endleſs Attendance, granted the Supply and got to their Homes.

Glendower was all this while unconquer'd; for *France* ſupported him. Money was granted the King ſo ſparingly, and wanted for ſo many different Occaſions, that the great Affair the Navy lay neglected.

In 1406, thirty-eight *French* Veſſels braved the Coaſts of *England*. They hovered about ſome Days; their Deſtination was to land a Force in Favour of *Glendower*: but while they were meditating ſome Blow before that, a Storm ſcattered them, and moſt were loſt.

Whether or not we are to blame *Henry* for this Neglect of the *Britiſh* Navy, the Conſequences had like to have been very fatal to him the next Year, for himſelf was on the Point of being made a Priſoner. He was going from *Eſſex* to the North by Sea, with a few Veſſels; and he was attacked in Sight of Land by a Number of *French* Pirates; the King eſcaped, but moſt of the Veſſels periſhed.

In 1407 new Oppreſſions created new Diſturbances; and the next Year *Northumberland* appeared again in Arms. The King trembled when he heard *Glendower* was about to join him, and ſaw how much Time would be loſt before in his Condition he could get ready a Force to oppoſe them.

Here once again the Crown of *England* was ſecured upon its Sovereign's Head by a Militia. The Sheriff of *York* raiſed the beſt Force he could, and fought and beat *Northumberland*; who fell in the Action.

CHAP. VI.

A Fleet ſent out againſt the French *Pirates.*

THE King who felt the Danger and Indignity of what had happened to him from the Pirates, order'd ſuch a naval Force as could be got ready to put to Sea. In 1408 they were got out, and the Command was given to the Earl of *Kent*, whoſe Orders were to revenge.

He was a bold and faithful Servant of the Crown: he drove them from our Seas; and at length from their Ships. They took Shelter in the Town of *Brebac*, in the Iſland of that Name upon the Coaſt of *Bretagne*, thither he followed them; and diſembarking his People, beſieg'd the Town.

This was one of thoſe Commanders who know nothing of Danger where they ſee their Duty. He led his Men to the firſt Attack, and he received a mortal Wound.

He languiſhed four Days, and then died. He animated his People during this Time, telling them his Condition was not to be pitied, but envied; every Man muſt die, and nothing was ſo noble as to fall in the Service of his Country.

They left him weeping; but they were cruel Tears to the Enemy: Grief and Revenge filled their Hearts; they ſtorm'd the Town, and put all to the Sword.

In 1410 *France* was involved in Civil Broils; the Houſes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, the *York* and *Lancaſter* of that Kingdom, engaged their ſeveral Parties. This might have been advantageous to *England*, but we were not without ours alſo. The King intrench'd upon the Liberties of the Parliament; they in Return refuſed his Demands of Supplies: he teaz'd them into Compliance; and *France* ſeeing theſe Broils were eaſy.

The Truce was prolong'd, and the *Engliſh* Arms were turn'd on *Scotland*.

The next Year 1411, a favourable Opportunity offer'd to gain Ground in *France*; the *Orleans* Party ſend to *Henry* for Aſſiſtance. Thus *England* had been conquer'd in earlier Times; and thus *France* now offered her Neck to the *Engliſh* Yoke.

Henry ſaw the Advantage: he enter'd into Treaty with the Party; and for the firſt Article they agreed to give him up no leſs than fifteen hundred Towns and Bailiwicks in *Guienne* and *Poictou*. He ſent them Succours, his Son, the Duke of *Clarence* commanded them, and himſelf prepared to follow, to aſſiſt and to take Poſſeſſion.

The *French* ſaw this, and their Eyes were open'd to their own Danger; both Parties agreed, during the Tediouſneſs of this Preparation; and the Duke of *Clarence* found a Peace concluded.

This Year 1412 is diſtinguiſhed by the King's Sickneſs, and by the wild Exploits of his Heir, the famous Prince of *Wales*, who was afterwards *Henry* the Fifth.

On the twentieth of *March* 1413, *Henry* the Fourth died.

CHAP. VII.

The Succeſſion of Henry *the Fifth.*

THE King's Death was ſo long expected, that no body was ſurprized at it; and all Meaſures having been properly taken, no Confuſion happened on it. The Prince of *Wales* was immediately proclaimed; and the Favourers of the Houſe of *York*, inſtead of creating Diſturbances, were the firſt to pay their Duty to him.

He was crowned ſoon after with due Solemnity; and gave every Proof of a Spirit becoming his Dignity.

He diſmiſſed his Companions honourably; and he ſhew'd himſelf wiſe and virtuous: he in every thing conſpir'd with the Parliament in publick Meaſures, and they favour'd him as fully.

France ſaw this with Grief: they had inteſtine Jars, and it was ill for them *England* ſhould be at Peace.

In 1414 *Henry* called a Parliament; he laid before them his Thoughts on the Right of *England* to the *French* Crown, and the favourable Opportunity now to proſecute it. They underſtood it as well, and they granted a vaſt Subſidy.

Henry in 1414 claimed the Crown of *France*, and prepared to ſupport his Demand with Spirit.

He fitted out every Ship that could be got ready for Service in his own Ports, and hired many more from the neighbouring Counties, and by the End of *July* 1414 he was ready to embark.

The *French* ſaw but one Way to ſtop a Blow that threaten'd their whole Kingdom: they bribed at a vaſt Price ſome of the Nobles moſt in the King's Confidence and Favour, privately to murther him. This was diſcover'd, the Traitors were try'd, found guilty, and executed; and *Henry* ſet-ſail againſt all Oppoſition.

He landed at *Havre de Grace*; and as his firſt Exploit, took *Harfleur*; which, imitating the wiſe Conduct of the third *Edward* at *Calais*, he peopled with *Engliſh*.

Thus happily began the firſt Campaign of *Henry* the Fifth in *France*: but Sickneſs in his Army prevented any farther Deſigns of his that Year. A Bloody-flux carry'd off Numbers of his beſt Soldiers, and many of the chief Commanders; and he determin'd to return to *England*.

France ſaw his Succeſſes with Terror, but now he was weaken'd ſhe grew bold; an Army was rais'd; and they determin'd to take the Advantage of the Opportunity to attack the *Engliſh*.

Henry ſaw the ill Condition of his Force, and he reſolv'd to retire to *Calais*.

The *French* harraſs'd his March; and ſtaked the *Soame* where he thought to have forded it. He went higher, but every Bridge was broke down in his Way; and whenever he came to a Ford, the Enemy were entrench'd on the other Side.

His Army all the while grew thin by Sickneſs; and the *French* increas'd every Day by their Reinforcements. The Campaign begun ſo ſucceſsfully, threatened to end miſerably.

CHAP. VIII.

The Battle of Agincourt.

THE *French* Nobles crowded the Ranks, and after ſome Deliberation, it was reſolved to give the *Engliſh* Battle. They knew the Rout of *Henry*, and they choſe the moſt advantageous Ground on the Road.

The *Soame* was now left unguarded; and the King of *England* with his ſmall Army, paſs'd it unreſiſted at the next Ford, and purſued his March toward *Calais*.

He came where the *French* Force lay, and he ſaw them an unfatigued Army ſix Times equal to his own in Number. He halted, and he ſent to offer Terms. He weigh'd the Diſadvantages on either Side; and he prefer'd the giving up of *Harfleur*, and his other Advantages, to ſo deſperate an Action.

The *French*, ſuppoſing themſelves ſecure of Victory, rejected his Propoſal with Contempt: they expected him on his Rout; and gave him Notice by a Herald, that three Days after they would fight him.

Henry encouraged his Men, and reminded them of *Creſſy* and of *Poictiers*.

On the 25th of *October* 1415, the two Armies were drawn up as ſoon as Day-light appear'd; and the King who had ſtudy'd War as others do the Sciences, took every Precaution for his Advantage. Himſelf wearing a Crown by way of Creſt upon his Helmet, took his Place at the Head of the beſt Force, and by him was planted the *Engliſh* Standard.

Thus ſtood he waiting the Attack: but he waited for it in vain: the *French* were frighted at the Name of *Engliſhmen*. Among the other Precautions, the King had cauſed the front Line of his Army to be defended by Stakes, againſt the Cavalry of *France*; but ſeeing they would not come on, he turn'd to his Officers, and order'd the Attack.

The Soldiers tore up the Stakes planted for their Defence with Fury; and with an univerſal Shout, moved forward with them in their Hands. The Enemy ſtood ſtill; and when the *Engliſh* were advanced within Bow-ſhot, the King order'd the Stakes to be planted again.

The *French* all this Time remain'd crowded and motionleſs; and *Henry* gave the Signal for the Attack.

The *Engliſh* Archers advanced a few Paces forward, and diſcharg'd their Arrows, not one of which could miſs of Execution: this done, they retired within the Stakes.

The *French* Cavalry came on; and at a Signal, ſome Archers placed ſeparate in a Meadow came up, and diſcharged their Flight of Death upon them.

The Stakes kept them off, and they ſtood expoſed to the *Engliſh* Archers. They were thrown into Confuſion: the King ſeeing it, put himſelf at the Head of his beſt Troops, and led them Sword in Hand upon the Enemy.

The *French* Cavalry were the beſt Troops in the Army, and they ſtood their Ground: the King drew off his Men to breathe, and made the Signal for ſome Horſe he had placed in Ambuſh: theſe fell upon them in Flank, and himſelf at that Inſtant charging again at the Head of his full Force, the *French* were broke and routed.

The *Engliſh* gain'd new Spirit by their Confuſion, they killed and took Priſoners moſt of the Officers, and utterly routed the firſt Line of the Enemy.

The ſecond ſtood their Ground; and againſt theſe *Henry* led up his ſecond Line. He fought with a Courage equal to that of the greateſt Heroes on Record; and his Troops animated by his Example, made one great Attack, which the *French* could not ſtand: they were broke, and they had never Opportunity to rally. The Duke of *Alençon* fell by the King's perſonal Valour, and this Incident gave the Victory compleat to the *Engliſh*.

There was a third Line of the *French* who had not yet engag'd; but Terror conquer'd them: they ran away at firſt to a Diſtance; and afterwards on

Henry's threatening to give no Quarter unleſs they left the Field, entirely.

The *Engliſh* had taken Priſoners no leſs than fourteen Thouſand, a Number equal to their whole Force, and an Accident gave theſe to Slaughter. Some Ruffian Soldiers of the *French* plunder'd the *Engliſh* Baggage, left all this Time unguarded; and *Henry* hearing the whole Force was rallied to diſpute the Day again, was oblig'd to put his Priſoners to the Sword.

He march'd after this to *Calais*, and thence arrived in *England*, amidſt a thouſand Acclamations.

CHAP. IX.

The Death of Henry *the Fifth.*

FRANCE was all this Time torn by inteſtine Quarrels; and *Henry*, who had Claim in his own Right, was choſen in 1416 Umpire of their Differences. The Duke of *Burgundy*, and his Succeſſor, ſeverally enter'd at this Time into Articles with *Henry*, which ſhew'd they choſe to ſee him rather than their Enemies at Home, Lord of *France*.

That Kingdom was this Year reduced to the moſt deſperate Perplexities. *Henry* granted a ſhort Truce, upon his Agreement with the Duke of *Burgundy*; but he prepared to proſecute the War with Vigour.

In 1477, he embark'd with a large Army: he landed at *Tonque* in *Normandy*, and there purſued his Conqueſts. The *French* propoſed a Conference, to which he conſented; but as he ſuſpected they meant nothing but to amuſe him, and gain Time, he put no ſtop to his Arms till they met; and he then declared at once his Pretenſions, and told them he would hear no other Terms.

He offer'd to marry the Princeſs *Catharine*; and to leave the Crown to *Charles* during his Life; but to have the Succeſſion of *France* eſtabliſh'd firmly after his Death, on himſelf or his Succeſſor.

The *French* Embaſſadors declared they were not impower'd to treat ſo abſolutely; and *Henry* broke up the Conference. All *France* now knew the Demand of the King of *England*.

In 1418 *Paris* was a Scene of Blood ſpilt by the Hands of her own People. The Dauphin and the Duke of *Burgundy* were irreconcileable: their mutual Hatred delug'd their Country with Blood; and employ'd to ſo ill Purpoſe, thoſe Arms which might have oppoſed the *Engliſh*.

Henry in the mean time took many Places of Strength.

Conferences were from time to time propoſed, to which the King of *England* always conſented; and there ſeem'd to be ſome Expectation from that of *Meulant* in 1419; but while it was negotiating, the Dauphin and the Duke of *Burgundy* came to ſome Terms together, and *Henry* ſaw he was deceiv'd.

He order'd *Pontoiſe* to be attack'd, and it was taken. This open'd him a Paſſage to the Gates of *Paris*; but there was no longer that unoppoſed Plan for him to execute.

The Arms that had been turn'd upon one another, now were united againſt him: *France* grew unanimous, and knew no Enemy but the King of *England*.

Henry ſat there with a great Force; and they did not yet oppoſe him. His Parties plunder'd to the very Walls of *Paris*, and the *French* Court was obliged to remove. The Duke of *Burgundy* ſo lately reconciled in Appearance to the Dauphin, was now at his Inſtigation aſſaſſinated; and this threw all into freſh Trouble.

The People of *Paris* apply'd to *Henry*, begging a Truce; which he granted: and ſoon after the Preliminaries of a Peace with *France* were agreed on upon the Terms firſt propoſed by *Henry*.

In the Autumn of 1419, the Articles were ſign'd at *Troyes*, and *Henry* and *Catharine* were betrothed. The States of *France* confirm'd the Treaty, and in *June* 1420, the royal Couple were marry'd.

In the ſucceeding Year 1421, *Henry* return'd to *England* more glorious than from the Battle of *Agincourt*; having ſettled his Affairs ſo much to his own Honour, and to the Advantage of the Kingdom.

All this Time *France* was not at Peace within herſelf: The Dauphin proteſted againſt the Peace at *Troyes*; and his Party encreaſed. He took ſome Towns, but the Appearance of the *Engliſh* King, who return'd the next Year, ſtop'd his Progreſs. In 1422 *Henry* the Fifth dy'd in *France*.

CHAP. X.

The Succeſſion of Henry *the Sixth.*

THE Death of *Henry* the Fifth left the Throne of *Britain* to his Son, an Infant, in his firſt Year: but the States of the Kingdom, ſenſible of the great Advantages of the late King's Conduct, purſued the ſame Steps carefully.

They determin'd to ſupport the Right of the King of *England* to the Throne of *France*, and they proclaim'd the young *Henry* Heir to that Crown. A Parliament was immediately called; and during this Time the King of *France* dy'd.

The Duke of *Bedford*, Brother to the late King of *England*, order'd *Henry* to be proclaim'd King of *France*, and took upon himſelf the Title of Regent. This was fulfilling the late King's Deſire; and it was an Act of equal Spirit and Diſcretion.

All the Nobles of *France* who favour'd the *Engliſh* Cauſe, took the Oath to *Henry* in the Perſon of the

Regent; and there was ſome Proſpect of Affairs going well.

The Dauphin on the other hand claim'd to himſelf the Throne of *France*, and was crown'd at *Poictiers* by the Name of *Charles* the Seventh.

Mean time in *England* all went peaceably. The Privy Council was ſettled, a Parliament called, and the Duke of *Bedford* declared Protector of the Realm; the Duke of *Glouceſter* being appointed to act in his Abſence.

The Duke of *Bedford* continued in *France*, and acted with great Spirit. The Dauphin beſieg'd ſome *Engliſh* Towns remote from the Place where he was; and inſtead of harraſſing his Troops with long, and perhaps uſeleſs Marches, he fell upon thoſe near *Paris*. He knew the firſt Stroke was all, and he treated thoſe as Traitors, who oppoſed him.

Orſay was beſieg'd by the *Engliſh*, and the Garriſon held out to the utmoſt. The Duke of *Bedford* ſaw every Thing at Stake, and he took up a pretended Severity. He made himſelf Maſter of the Place, and ſent the Garriſon to *Paris*, to be publickly executed as Rebels: but he had contrived his Dutcheſs ſhould meet them on the Way, and ſhe obtained their Pardon.

While the Duke of *Bedford* was before *Orſay*, the *French* beſieg'd *Crevant*. The *Engliſh* march'd to its Relief; and as they approach'd, the *French* rais'd the Siege, and waited for them on an advantageous Ground. The Earl of *Saliſbury* commanded here, and he fought and beat them.

The Regent in the mean Time laid Siege to ſeveral Towns in *Picardy*, and was ſucceſsful; but from this Time Matters went worſe with the reſt of the *Engliſh*, a Party with *De la Pole* were beat by the *French* at *Gravelle*; and the Earl of *Richemont* deſerted the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and drew over the Duke of *Bretagne* to the *French*.

All this Time *England* enjoy'd a profound Repoſe. The King was yet an Infant, but his Government was honeſt. Reinforcements were ſent to the Troops in *France*, the Seat of War; and tho' the Dauphin was ſucceſsful, *Bedford* and *Saliſbury* kept the Field againſt him.

In 1424 the *French* ſurpriz'd *Ivry*, and the Regent beſieg'd and took it. *Saliſbury* and his Force was now united, and they advanced to give the *French* Battle.

On the 16th of *Auguſt* the Armies join'd, and the famous Battle of *Vernueil* was fought, in which the *Engliſh* were victorious. Another Duke of *Alencon* was made Priſoner, and in conſequence of this Action *Vernueil* yielded to the *Engliſh*.

This Succeſs gave new Hope and new Spirit to *Engliſh*. The People of *Paris* had begun to mutiny, and the Regent *Bedford* went thither: he puniſh'd the Leaders of the Tumult with Death, as Traitors, and by this Spirit awed the reſt.

Saliſbury being left in Command of the Army, in the mean Time enter'd *Maine* ſucceſsfully.

One reads with Aſtoniſhment the Succeſs of a few *Engliſh* in the Heart of *France*; but it could continue no longer than while there was this profound Peace at Home.

In 1425 a Diſpute between the Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* called *Bedford* Home; and he left the Earl of *Warwick* in Command.

He was received as Protector here, and he manag'd as wiſely at Home as he had done Abroad; reconciling the contending Parties, and reſtoring Peace.

The *Engliſh* found more had been owing to his Head than all their Hands in *France*; *Warwick* was beat next Year at *Montagris*.

Bedford ſoon after return'd, and Succeſs return'd with him; two Years he kept the Field in the Name of his King, as Sovereign of *France*.

The Siege of *Orleans* dignifies the Year 1428. Four Months it had laſted, when a very deſperate Engagement happen'd between large Bodies of the *French* and *Engliſh*, diſtinguiſhed from an Accident by the Name of the Battle of the Herrings.

A Convoy was ſent from *Paris*, conſiſting of five hundred Carriages. There were Ammunition and Proviſion, and among the reſt Herrings, from whence that Action has been idly named. One of the braveſt and moſt experienced Officers in the *Engliſh* Service was ſelected to command, his Name Sir *John Falſtaff*, a Name our *Shakeſpear* is unpardonable for having ſcandalized by an infamous Character.

The *French* ſent a great Detachment to attack this Convoy. *Falſtaff* entrenched himſelf on their Approach, and received them with great Spirit; when he ſaw they were diſordered, he ſallied upon them, and he obtained a compleat Victory. A hundred and twenty of the *French* Nobility were left upon the Field.

CHAP. XI.

The Story of the Maid of Orleans.

DUring the Siege of *Orleans* appeared that ſtrange Enthuſiaſt *Joan* of *Arc*, called from the ſtrange Conſequences of her Actions the Maid of *Orleans*. The *French* relate Miracles of her, but we are to read Enthuſiaſts with Caution.

She was a Country Girl, who pretended to have received Orders from Heaven.

In 1429, the Siege ſtill continuing, this Woman was, in Man's Habit, in a Party ſent with a Convoy to be thrown into the Place.

The *French* had been hitherto dejected and unfortunate; but their Affairs now took a better Turn; and this, with their Opinion of the Enthuſiaſt, raiſed their Spirits. The Beſieged made a vigorous Sally to favour the Convoy's getting in, and they ſucceeded. The Merit of the Action lay with them, but the Woman had the Praiſe.

She was ſuppoſed commiſſion'd by Heaven to deliver them, and they fought after this on every Occaſion as Men ſecure of Victory.

The *Engliſh* had built Forts againſt the Town; and this Succeſs encouraged the Beſieged to attempt to force them; they began with the ſtrongeſt, and took it Sword in Hand. *Joan* of *Arc* was alſo of this Party; and the Succeſs, as uſual, was attributed to her.

From this Fort they marched to attack the next, and ſo on, till in one Day they took them all; and the *Engliſh* were in conſequence obliged to raiſe the Siege.

Every thing now went againſt our People. The Duke of *Bedford* ſuppoſed the Woman had the Arts of Magick; and none thought of reſiſting her. The Earl of *Suffolk* was ſoon after taken Priſoner, and the Regent *Bedford* reduced to ſhut himſelf up in *Paris*.

Mean Time the whole Voice of the People was for *Charles*; and Towns ſurrender'd every where to him.

The Regent, however, ſtill kept up his Spirit, he obtain'd Supplies from *England*. He commanded in *Paris*, and the adjacent Country; and in this Year 1429, it was reſolved our *Henry*, than eight Years old, ſhould be crowned in *Paris*.

The Dauphin, or, if we chuſe to call him ſo, *Charles* the Seventh, continued elſewhere ſucceſsful; and the Duke of *Bedford*, who found ſomething muſt be done, or all given up, marched out againſt him: they came in Sight; but Prudence preventing the Duke, and Fear the Dauphin, from engaging, they parted without an Action.

This gave ſome Spirit to the *Engliſh*; and *Henry* the next Year going over was crown'd in *Paris*.

All this Time the Maid of *Orleans* was in every Action in Man's Habit, and behaved with real Courage. She was preſent in an Attack made by the *French* unſucceſsfully on *Paris*, and was left there among the Dead, but afterwards recovered of her Wounds. In 1430 ſhe came a Priſoner to the Duke of *Bedford*.

'Twas at the Siege of *Compeigne* ſhe fell into the Hands of the Beſiegers in a Sally; and the Duke ſent her into *Normandy* to be tried for a Witch.

Thus periſh'd the famous *Joan* of *Arc*. Her firſt Sentence was to be impriſoned for Life; but upon a Pretence of ſome freſh Intercourſe with the Devil, ſhe was tried again, and condemned to be burnt alive. The Sentence was executed on the thirtieth of *May* 1431, in the Market Place at *Roan*.

CHAP. XII.

The Engliſh *Affairs go ill in* France.

THE Death of *Joan* of *Arc* did not prevent the *French*, now grown very powerful, from purſuing their Succeſſes; and the Duke of *Bedford* was in a dangerous Situation. The Pope interfer'd, and attempted to procure a Peace, and the Duke of *Orleans* offer'd Terms; but the *Engliſh* only found themſelves deluded, by thoſe who meant nothing but to gain Advantage by Delay.

In 1435 the Duke of *Bedford* died; and *England* loſt all Hope. *Paris* was taken that Year by the Dauphin; and had he took the Advantage of the Time, all had gone for him immediately; but *Charles* was no Soldier: he was indolent, and devoted to his Pleaſures; and he ſaw in 1437 the Duke of *York* arrive, and the Affairs of the *Engliſh* threaten him again with Succeſs.

Talbot was now bold and vigilant: he took ſome Towns, and he ſo recover'd the *Engliſh* Cauſe, that *Charles* liſten'd to thoſe who propoſed a Conference; but the Propoſals of the two Parties differ'd ſo widely, that they broke up doing nothing.

After various Succeſſes of little Importance on the two Sides, another Conference was held in 1444, which produced a Truce till 1446.

After this it was continued for two Years more; and the Duke of *York*, whoſe Title to the Crown of *England* began to be talk'd of, was recall'd; and the Duke of *Somerſet* made Regent in his Stead.

The Truce was again prolong'd to 1449, and at the End of that Time *Charles* appear'd in Earneſt to drive the *Engliſh* out of *France*: four Armies acted under his Command at once, and all of them conſiderable.

He was ſucceſsful there while *England* was involved in Difficulties. *Ireland* firſt grew troubleſome, but the Duke of *York* quieted that Tumult. The Duke of *Suffolk* was accuſed of many Crimes, and Parties grew high.

Normandy was loſt in 1480; and every Body accuſed not the Forces left in *France*, but the Adminiſtration at home. *Suffolk* was this Year beheaded in his Paſſage to *France*.

CHAP. XIII.

Domeſtick Troubles.

THE Year 1450 was pregnant with ill Fate to *Britain*. The Duke of *York*, who knew his Claim to the Crown, and ſaw he had Friends to ſupport him, thought of it ſeriouſly. The Government had done ill to truſt him in *Ireland*, for his Succeſs there was dangerous at home; his Friends talk'd loudly of his Virtues, and they did not forget his Title. The Duke kept Intelligence; and he found an Expedient to puſh his Cauſe without endangering his Perſon.

An *Iriſhman* of the Name of *Cade* was ſent over into *Kent*, where the *Mortimers* had many Friends: by the Duke's Advice he aſſumed the Name of a *Mortimer*; and talking loudly of his Family's Rights, he ſtir'd up the People to riſe againſt the Government.

The whole Nation was ripe for Rebellion, for they ſaw ill Meaſures purſued by the People in Power; and thoſe who fear'd *Cade* joined him.

The Friends of the Duke of *York* ſaw this Man was only a Tool employed for their Service, and they ſupported him.

Thus encourag'd, marched an Army of Rebels to *Blackheath*.

The King ſent to know their Grievances, and their Deſires, to which *Cade*, as he was inſtructed, made his Anſwer: he ſaid, they had no Deſign againſt his Perſon; but they would petition the Parliament to ſee that evil Counſellors were removed from him, and puniſh'd; and that the People might be made happy.

They preſented their Petitions, which the Parliament refer'd to the King; and his Council, judging them inſolent and traiterous, ſent fifteen thouſand Men againſt them.

Cade had his Inſtructions for every Part of his Conduct. He came to *Blackheath* with an Intent of retiring, and he did ſo at the Army's Approach. They thought it Fear, and purſued as he intended: the Rebel concealed himſelf in an advantageous Place, and happy for the King he was not there. Sir *Humphry Stafford* commanded the Force: *Cade* fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut his Army to Pieces: the Commander loſt his Life upon the Field; and the Succeſs encraſed the Rebel Army inſtantly to four Times its former Number. They came to *London*, and the King fled to *Kenelworth* Caſtle. *Cade* order'd good Diſcipline to be obſerved by his People, and he began his Reformation by beheading Lord *Say* the High Treaſurer.

Every Night *Cade* retired into *Southwark*; and while his Orders of Diſcipline were obſerved, the Gates were opened to him in the Morning; but at length ſome ill Behaviour of his People loſt the Hearts of the City, and he found that on the Bridge next Morning ſhut againſt him. He attempted to come in by Force, but in vain; and that Night, a general Pardon being offered to the Rebels, they deſerted their Chief. *Cade* fled, and was kill'd in his Retreat. The Tumult was ſuppreſs'd in very good Time; for it had raiſed others in remote Parts of the Kingdom, which fell with it.

This Year the *Engliſh* were beat in *Normandy*, and every Thing favoured the *French* Cauſe. All went ill there, and all was Fear and Suſpicion at home.

The Succeſs of *Cade* in making a Tumult, ſhew'd the Attachment of the People to the Houſe of *York*. The Duke was now ſuſpected of bad Deſigns, and the King gave Orders to prevent his Landing in *England*. Perhaps this over Caution raiſed more Trouble.

He, when the Time of his Government in *Ireland* was expired, landed in *England*, and began to ſhew his Purpoſe; he concerted Meaſures with his Friends; he retired to *Wales*; and he thence wrote to the King, telling him the Government needed Reformation.

The King was alarm'd, and returned ſuch an Anſwer as Fear dictated: he promiſed all that was aſk'd; but *York* paid no Regard to his Epiſtle. His own had been a Maniſeſto rather than a Letter, and he followed it with his Arms; marching with a conſiderable Force for *London*.

The King went out to meet him with an Army, but *York* changed his Route, and got thither unmoleſted. He expected to be received with open Arms, but he found the City averſe to his Cauſe. The Gates were ſhut againſt him, and he thought it proper to retire and encamp near *Kingſton*. The King followed him; and halting at four Miles Diſtance, ſent to know why he had taken Arms. He anſwered, not againſt the King, but to reform the Government: he added, that the Duke of *Somerſet* had been taken out of the Tower untried, and raiſed to Honours and Offices; and if he were ſent back to his Priſon to abide the Sentence of a fair Trial, he had no more Complaint.

The King took him at his Word: he cauſed the Duke of *Somerſet* to be immediately arreſted. As ſoon as this was done, the Duke of *York* diſbanded his Troops: but he had ſoon Cauſe to wiſh he had been more wary: his Enemy was at Liberty, and himſelf apprehended.

There never was a nicer Point than the Court now had to manage. This was an Enemy who aim'd at all, and he was in their Power. At firſt it was propoſed to execute him; but his Son coming on with a large Force, the Fear that his diſbanded Troops ſhould join them; and the Nation be involved in a Civil War, pleaded for the ſparing him.

The Duke of *York* was ſet at Liberty by thoſe who hated him, who feared him, and who had him in their Power: he took an Oath of Allegiance and peaceable Behaviour, and he had Permiſſion to retire.

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CHAP. XIV.

The Battle of St. Albans.

THE Succeſſes of the *French* againſt the Remains of the *Engliſh* Party there had been ſo great, that all was ſuppoſed loſt; when in 1452 private Diſputes among themſelves made Way for our Army again.

Talbot was invited over by the diſcontented *Gaſcons*, and he made ſome Progreſs: but he the next Year loſt his Life; and the *Engliſh* with that loſt all Courage.

The *French* purſued their Succeſſes, they made good Uſe of the then new invented Gunpowder; and before the Cloſe of that Year, they reduced the Poſſeſſions of the *Engliſh* in *France* to the two Towns, *Calais* and *Guiſnes*.

All Hope expiring of any farther Advantages there, the Thoughts of the *Engliſh* were wholly bent upon their own Kingdom.

The King at this Time was ſick; the Queen was deliver'd of a Son, or ſaid to be deliver'd of one, under very ſuſpicious Circumſtances; and the Duke of *York*'s Party increaſing the great Diſpute between his Houſe and that of *Lancaſter*, began to threaten dreadfully.

In 1453 Reports were ſpread very diſadvantageous to the Queen, and ſuch as called the Legitimacy of the Prince in Queſtion. In the mean time *Warwick* and *Saliſbury* embraced the Cauſe of the Duke of *York*; and the general Opinion was, that his Claim was juſt.

The King's Sickneſs, and the ill Reports about the Prince, gave him great Opportunity; he gained Friends in the Council; and for his firſt Stroke, he cauſed the Duke of *Somerſet* to be arreſted in the Queen's Bed Chamber, and ſent him to the Tower.

The Council commiſſion'd him to hold a Parliament in the King's Name, who all this Time lay ill, and thus Step by Step was the Way paved for him to the Throne.

In 1455, the King's Recovery, at leaſt his great Amendment, croſs'd their Purpoſes, who had hitherto been ſo ſucceſsful. He took the Power into his own Hands; and for the firſt Thing he releaſed the Duke of *Somerſet*.

York ſaw what Courſe Things now would take, and he retired at once. He went to *Wales*; and the next News heard of him was, that he was coming on with an Army. The King alſo collected a Force, and met him; and on the 23d of *May* 1453, was fought the Battle of *St. Albans*.

The Duke of *York* was victorious: the Duke of *Somerſet* was ſlain; and the King wounded, and made his Priſoner.

The Duke behaved to him with all the Reſpect of a Subject; and waited on him to *London* the next Day. Soon after the King relapſed into his Illneſs.

The Duke of *York*, who had carry'd all Things with a very moderate Hand, held a Parliament in his Name, in which all he had done was juſtify'd; and the King was prevailed upon to name a Protector for the Kingdom during his Illneſs; and for the Prince, in caſe of his Death; and he appointed the Duke of *York*.

This was all the Duke could expect, or dared deſire. The Crown had been near ſixty Years in the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; and he did not find the Nation ripe enough in his Cauſe to remove it.

The King next Year recover'd; and the Intereſt of the Queen prevailing, the Protectorſhip was taken from the Duke, and the King again reaſſumed the Government.

CHAP. XV.

The French *Invaſion in* 1457.

THE *French*, who had now thoroughly freed themſelves from the *Engliſh* Arms in their own Country, brought theirs hither. The private Diſputes about the Government had made publick Affairs ſo much neglected, that the Navy of *England* was not in a Condition to repel a *French* Invaſion.

Charles the Seventh took the Opportunity of theſe Troubles to inſult the Kingdom with two hoſtile Fleets: theſe were order'd to land their Men in different Places, and Commiſſion was given them to plunder. One Fleet ſailed to the Downs, the other to the Coaſt of *Cornwall*. The Indignity was more than the Damage they did, for they only burnt and plunder'd two or three Towns, and departed.

The ſame Spirit that poſſeſs'd the *French* appear'd alſo in the *Scots*, for they the ſame Year made Inroads; and after much Havock, carry'd away ſome Booty.

Theſe were little Evils to what threaten'd: the Diſputes of *Lancaſter* and *York* threw all into Conſternation; but happily in 1458, there was the Appearance of a Reconciliation.

England rejoiced, but 'twas with no great Reaſon. The Troubles were ſoon renew'd; and the Earl of *Saliſbury*, after defeating the Army ſent againſt him, join'd the Forces raiſed by the Duke of *York* in *Wales*.

With this united Force they thought to have done great Things; but Fear took Poſſeſſion of their Followers; and when they expected Victory, they found themſelves deſerted.

The Duke of *York* retired to *Ireland*, and he and his Friends were attainted. But they had ſtill their Party; and they were too wiſe to be decoy'd, and too ſtrong to be reduced by Force.

In 1460 they fought the royal Army, the King commanding it in Perſon; and they were Conquerors.

Henry was once again a Priſoner to the Houſe of *York*: the Duke was not there, but his Friends well underſtood his Intentions. They treated the King with the ſame Reſpect he had done, and conducted him to *London*.

Henry had ſo little expected this, that it work'd upon him greatly: he declared publickly, That the Adherents of the Houſe of *York* were good and faithful Subjects; that they had ſhew'd it in their Actions as well as Words; and that they aim'd at nothing but the Reformation of Abuſes, in which he would join with them.

This anſwer'd their Purpoſe; and gave a good Colour to their Arms. They kept about him; prepared the Nation by every Method to receive the Duke of *York*; and invited him to haſten over.

'Twas his Purpoſe to have been preſent at the Opening of the Parliament; but he did not arrive till two Days after: he immediately repair'd to the Houſe, and there ſtood with his Hand upon the Throne.

He look'd about him, expecting to be aſk'd to aſcend it; but this was not done. He was mortify'd by being aſk'd, if he would not pay his Reſpects to the King; to which he anſwer'd, That he knew no one to whom he ow'd that Honour; and retiring, ſent a Paper claiming the Crown by Deſcent.

The Right of the two Families was now debated, long, and warmly. At length it was agreed, That the King ſhould hold the Crown during his Life, but that it ſhould devolve from him to the Duke of *York*.

The Duke conſented; and he was proclaimed by ſound of Trumpet, Heir to the Crown, and Protector of the Kingdom.

CHAP. XVI.

The Death of the Duke of York, *and the Depoſition of* Henry *the Sixth.*

THE Duke of *York* would have been eſtabliſh'd now could he have had Patience; but he grew King before his Time, he took all into his Hands as Protector, and *Henry* poſſeſſed only a Shadow of Royalty.

The Queen now in the North raiſed an Army; and in it *Clifford* diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by Valour; and more by Cruelty. He was in Command when the Duke of *York* fought the Queen's Force this Year at *Wakefield*. 'Twas to the Conduct and Courage of this Lord, the Queen in a great meaſure owed her Succeſs; but he diſgraced all by his brutal Fierceneſs.

He killed with his own Hand the young *Rutland*, Son to the Duke of *York*, a Boy of twelve Years old; and when he heard the Duke himſelf was killed, he cut off his Head, and carry'd it upon his Spear crown'd with Paper.

Edward Earl of *March*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *York*, now ſaw himſelf immediate Heir to the Crown of *England*; and he determin'd to ſupport his Claim.

Warwick was left in *London*, and this Prince was now in *Wales*. He led out a conſiderable Army, and fought the Earl of *Pembroke*, ſent to ſtop his Progreſs: he beat the royal Force, and he continued his March. The Queen with her Army was alſo marching for *London*, and *Warwick* went out to fight her.

Their Force met at *Bernard's Heath*, near St. *Albans*, where they fought, and *Warwick* was defeated.

The Earl of *March* not daunted by this, continued his March to *London*; and the Queen fearing to encounter his larger Force, retired into the North. This was in effect giving up the Metropolis.

Edward ſaw it, and ſaw the Conſequences which certainly the Queen did not, or ſhe would never have given him the Advantage: he came into *London*, and was received with univerſal Applauſe.

His Friends ſummon'd the People about them; and the Earl of *Warwick* was Speaker. He laid before them the natural Right of *Edward* to the Crown, and the Uſurpation of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; and when he had explained it his own Way, aſk'd if they were ſenſible he had ſaid Truth. They anſwer'd, *Yes*.

He then read the Agreement ſign'd by the late Duke of *York* and *Henry*, and explain'd to them how *Henry* had violated that Compact. He again aſk'd if they were ſatisfy'd of this, and they again reply'd in the Affirmative.

He then laid before them their own Grievances under this Reign; and aſk'd, if they were ſenſible of theſe. He was the third Time anſwer'd in the Affirmative; and then he propoſed the great Queſtion, Will you have *Henry* of *Lancaſter* continue to reign over you: they anſwer'd, *No*. Will you have *Edward* of *York* your King? Yes was pronounced aloud to this, and confirmed by the full Chorus of Huzza's.

The People were thus won by *Warwick*; and the few Friends of the King aw'd by the Power of *Edward*: the Nobility were moſtly in his Intereſt, ſome from Favour to himſelf, many from Hatred to the Government of *Henry*; they confirm'd the Voice of the People; and in the Year 1461, *Henry* the Sixth was depoſed by the Voice of the People.

CHAP. XVII.

The Succeſſion of Edward *the Fourth.*

THE Succeſſion of *Edward* by the Depoſition of the King, and the ſtrange Manner of doing it, were Subjects of Amazement to all *Europe*. While others wonder'd he reap'd the Advantage, and he acted in all Things prudently and reſolutely.

He was proclaimed King in the Beginning of *March*; and his firſt Act of Royalty was to reward his Friends, and to increaſe his Army. The Queen kept the Field; and he determin'd to hazard all on an Engagement. She was in *Yorkſhire*, whither he marched, guided in all Things by his Patron, *Warwick*.

The Battle of *Towton* was fought this Year; and *Edward* owed his Victory in a great meaſure to his own Courage.

Having routed the Army, he enter'd *York*. His Father's Head was upon the Walls, fix'd there by the bloody *Clifford*: this he cauſed to be taken down, and treated with every Mark of Honour.

Having partly aw'd, and partly ſooth'd *York* into Obedience; he came to *London*, and was crown'd.

Henry did not ſubmit to the Sentence of his Subjects; but muſter'd new Force: he try'd the Cauſe by another Engagement, and again was beat.

By a ſtrange good Fortune he eſcaped after this Action, and got to *France*; and by a Folly equal to the good Luck that had preſerved him, he the next Year return'd; not with a Force, but ſecretly; hoping he could be concealed, and win Men to his Cauſe. The Event was what might be expected from the Action: he was diſcover'd; deliver'd to the King, and ſent a Priſoner to the Tower.

Edward took Care to keep good Terms with all foreign Powers; and being thus eſtabliſh'd on the Throne, he thought of the Succeſſion. The Lady *Bona* of *Savoy* he pitch'd upon for a Wife; and as he knew there might be Difficulties, he commiſſion'd *Warwick* with this Matter.

This Nobleman, who ſaw at once the Difficulties, and the Advantages, uſed every Method of Perſuaſion, and at length prevailed: but while he was labouring this great Point Abroad, *Edward* marry'd at Home the Lady *Woodville*.

Warwick for this hated the King, and deſpiſed him; but *England* found in ſucceeding Time, Cauſe to rejoice in this Alliance; for from the Marriage ſprung *Elizabeth*, a Name famous for giving to this Kingdom Happineſs and Glory; who afterwards united the two Houſes, and ſtop'd that Deluge of Blood which had ſo long defaced the Kingdom.

This Princeſs was born 1466.

Edward forgot the Services of *Warwick*, which if he had remember'd them, would have made him kind to him; if not from Gratitude, yet from Fear: he muſt have known the Power that could ſet him on the Throne might throw him off again. This he neglected; for he appear'd to have had in his Nature neither Gratitude nor Fear.

Warwick being neglected by the King, remember'd all that he forgot. He withdrew, and he meditated Revenge.

He got into his Plot the Duke of *Clarence*, whom he ally'd to him by Marriage, and many other of the principal Nobility. Himſelf kept ſecret while his Engines were at work. He was artful, and *Edward* undeſigning; and in conſequence, all his Plots were ſafe.

The King, who thought nothing of Danger at Home, ſtrengthen'd himſelf by Treaties and Alliances Abroad, *Denmark* and *Caſtile* came in; and he made a long Truce with *Scotland* and with *France*. His Attention was ſo employ'd upon theſe foreign Affairs, that he had no Suſpicion of Danger here, till he heard the People in ſome of the remote Counties were in Arms.

Pembroke was diſpatch'd againſt them, and had ſome Succeſs. The King all this Time never thought of *Warwick*: the Rebels had Advantage in their Turn, and the Earl of *Pembroke* loſt his Life. All now was ready; and in 1469 *Warwick* declared himſelf. He made the Command, fought the royal Force, and made the King Priſoner, in 1470.

Warwick had now done his Buſineſs, and he diſbanded his Troops: he treated his royal Captive with Reſpect; and Terms were drawing up between them; when *Edward* abuſed the Confidence his Conqueror had repoſed in him, and made his Eſcape.

Compaſſion often pleads in the common Breaſt as loud as Juſtice. The People arm'd in Favour of the King, and *Warwick*'s Party were unſucceſſful.

He knew what Courſe he had to take: his Buſineſs lay in *France*; there he reconciled himſelf to *Margaret*, and after ſome Months return'd. He brought with him a ſmall Force, but his Intereſt here was great, his Army ſoon encreaſed to ſixty Thouſand.

Edward raiſed Forces; but when they ſaw how faſt his Enemy gather'd Strength, they deſerted him. The King of *England* was obliged to fly; firſt to the more remote Counties; and afterwards out of the Kingdom.

Warwick came on with his victorious Army, he took the impriſon'd *Henry* from the Tower, and placed the Crown again upon his Head.

All this was done in the Compaſs of the ſame Year 1470; and, to the Honour of the Perſon who did it, without Blood. *Henry* the Sixth was reſtored by the very Hand which had depoſed him, and *Warwick* was called the Maker of Kings.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Reſtoration of Henry *the Sixth.*

WARWICK found in *Henry*, whom he had reſtored, more Gratitude than in *Edward* whom he had firſt made a King. The Condition of his Health did not permit him to attend to publick Affairs, with ſuch Conſtancy as the Nature of theſe Times ſeem'd to make neceſſary; and he appointed *Warwick* and *Clarence* Protectors of the Kingdom.

Warwick was now almoſt a King himſelf: he watch'd every Incident, and nothing more than the Fate of *Edward*. He heard of his Negotiations in other Courts, and he found he would come with powerful Supports.

He determin'd to fight him firſt at Sea, and knowing none whoſe Courage or Fidelity would make him eaſy in ſo great a Poſt as Lord High Admiral, he cauſed himſelf to be inveſted with that Title.

A Fleet was order'd to be equip'd; and tho' the Navy of *England* was not at this Time on the reſpectable Footing as in former Periods, yet it was not utterly neglected; it was not long before a Fleet of tolerable Force appear'd upon the Seas; and the Hearts of *Edward*'s Friends cooled.

Warwick, a perfect Stateſman, took this Opportunity to propoſe an advantageous Truce to *France*; this held the Hands of thoſe who might have employ'd a Part of the *Britiſh* Force, and thus all was at Liberty to act againſt *Edward*.

He notwithſtanding put to Sea in 1471, and landed without Oppoſition, eſcaping the Fleet ſent out to oppoſe him.

He pitch'd upon the Spot where *Henry* the Fourth had firſt ſet his Foot in *England*, *Ravenſpur*; and he hoped to have been receiv'd like him with Acclamations; but 'twas otherwiſe, the People were cool to him. Many declined his Cauſe thro' Hatred of freſh Broils, many thro' Favour to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; and ſome thro' Fear. Thoſe who were beſt affected to him dreaded the Event, and his Force was too ſmall to give them Courage.

Henry this Time lean'd on the Arm of *Warwick*, whoſe own Fortune was now ſo interwoven with his, that there was no Fear of his deſerting him.

Edward had Prudence; and he form'd his Conduct upon the preſent Poſture of Affairs. Seeing he was not ſupported to wreſt the Crown from *Henry*, he did not claim it; he ſaid he came as Duke of *York*, not King of *England*; and that he demanded nothing more than the Inheritance of his Family, and to live in Peace as a Subject.

CHAP. XIX.

The Reſtoration of Edward *the Fourth.*

NEVER were Revolutions, follow'd by Revolutions ſo quick as at this Period. *Henry* had been but half a Year ſet again upon the Throne, and *Edward* ſo long an Exile: he who had ſo lately been a King, pretended to have given up the Thoughts of Royalty; but tho' ſome believed him, *Warwick* did not.

He commiſſion'd *Clarence*, ally'd to the other Family by Blood, but to him by Intereſt and Marriage, to raiſe Troops in one Place, while himſelf did the ſame in another; and he gave Orders to his Brother *Montague*, at the Head of a large Force, to be ready to join him; and firſt to fight *Edward* in his March, if the Force was not too unequal.

Theſe were the Diſpoſitions of *Warwick*, and none could be wiſer. If any Thing reflects upon his Conduct, it is the truſting *Clarence*; naturally his, and his Cauſe's Enemy.

Warwick would not have failed, but that he was betray'd. He march'd; and when he expected the News of an Action between *Montague* and *Edward*'s Force, he heard the Marquis had let him paſs unmoleſted.

He ſent to *Clarence* and to *Montague* to join him, and he encamp'd.

Edward was near, and the Duke of *Clarence*; but *Warwick*, in ſpight of repeated preſſing Meſſages, lay alone.

In the Army of *Edward* was the famous, or ſhall we rather ſay, the infamous Duke of *Gloceſter*. He rode forward one Morning to the Troops of *Clarence*, without any ſafe Conduct, and without ſtopping, went in among them.

All Eyes were upon this Interview, and the Occaſion was ſoon diſcover'd, the two Brothers embraced; and *Edward* was proclaimed King in the Army of *Clarence*.

Warwick frown'd, but he bore this unmoved. The Duke of *Clarence* ſent to him, offering to be a Mediator, and to procure a Peace. *Warwick* refus'd it with Diſdain; and ſtood to expect the Enemy there.

Superior as they were in Numbers, they did not care to attack him: they march'd to *London*, where they found *Henry* unguarded: they ſent him to the Tower; and *Edward* re-aſſumed the Government.

Warwick knew what he had to expect; and he ſaw there was but one Way to attempt any Thing. He march'd after the Enemy, who would not attack him; and he had the Mortification to hear as he advanced, that *Edward* was again King.

He kept on for *London*; and *Edward* who ſaw his Spirit, and the Neceſſity of the Occaſion, march'd with a ſuperior Force from thence, determin'd to fight him.

The Armies met near *Barnet*, and on both Sides there appear'd a determin'd Reſolution of Victory, or Death.

CHAP. XX.

The Battle of Barnet.

THE King's Force was not only much more numerous than that of *Warwick*, but better diſciplin'd. The Front was commanded by the Duke of *Glouceſter*; the main Body by *Edward* himſelf, aſſiſted by the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Rear by the Lord *Haſtings*.

The Right Wing of *Warwick*'s Army was commanded by the Marquis of *Montague*, and the Earl of *Oxford*. He placed himſelf at the Head of the Left, and had with him the Lord *Exeter*; in the Middle were a Body of Archers under the Duke of *Somerſet*.

At Sun-riſe on *Eaſter Day* the Battle began. About Nine the Lines of *Edward* were broke, and News was ſent to *London* of *Warwick*'s Victory. An Accident after this gave the Turn to the Day; a Miſt riſing, turn'd *Warwick*'s Force upon himſelf in Miſtake. The victorious Squadron returning to their Poſt, were ſuppoſed a Party of the Enemy; and this Confuſion gave the Victory to *Edward*.

The Fight ended at Noon; and the royal Conqueror came that Afternoon back, and return'd Thanks in St. *Paul*'s Church.

Warwick fell in this Action, and with him his Brother, the Marquis of *Montague*; ſome of the other Commanders eſcaped by Flight; and among thoſe the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Earl of *Oxford*.

The Queen of *Henry* was now arrived in *England* with the Prince of *Wales*, whom ſhe intended to have brought into the Army. The News of the Defeat was to her as Thunder, ſhe thought of nothing but Flight; and ſhe would have made no Attempt but to eſcape, had not the Remains of *Warwick*'s Friends join'd her, and given her better Hopes.

They levy'd Forces; and they were ſucceſsful beyond Expectation; the Name of the Prince charm'd the People: the Queen gather'd Spirit from the Turn of Fortune, and *Edward* found he had more Foes to conquer: he publiſh'd a Proclamation againſt the Queen and her Adherents, and he march'd with his victorious Army to fight them.

The Queen, whoſe Fears were her greateſt Counſellors, propoſed retiring into *Wales* with their Force; but *Edward* was too quick in his Purſuit; he came up with them at *Tewkeſbury*, and he came reſolved to put the Cauſe now again to the Deciſion of a Battle. This he ſaw would be deciſive; and he determin'd to fall if he failed to conquer.

The Queen's Army determin'd to wait the Attack of *Edward*, and they encamp'd themſelves on an advantageous Piece of Ground, where they entrench'd during the Night; and waited the threatening Morning.

CHAP. XXI.

The Battle of Tewkeſbury.

THE Fortune of this Action depended upon two Perſons; the Duke of *Somerſet*, who commanded the firſt Line of the Queen's Force, and the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who led the firſt of *Edward's*.

Glouceſter began the Attack; and by a concerted Plan, retired in a few Minutes. *Somerſet* follow'd; and order'd *Wenlock*, who commanded the ſecond Line to advance and ſupport him.

When *Glouceſter* had drawn the Duke of *Somerſet* far enough out of the Intrenchments, he turn'd upon him. The King came up to his Support with his ſecond Line; but *Wenlock*, who ſhould have came to the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Somerſet*, remain'd in his Place.

Somerſet could not ſtand the Charge; he retired with Confuſion to the Lines, and by a Blow of his Battle-axe ſacrificed *Wenlock* for his Baſeneſs.

Glouceſter preſs'd into the Intrenchments after *Somerſet*, and *Edward* after him; the Queen fled, and the Duke was made Priſoner with moſt of the other Leaders.

The Prince, now eighteen Years old, was brought into the Preſence of the King; and provoking him by ſome raſh Words, was killed; 'tis ſaid, by the Hands of *Glouceſter*. The Queen was taken, and committed Priſoner to the Tower, and the Duke of *Somerſet* and the reſt ſuffer'd as Traitors.

This was the twelfth Battle fought between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*. It fix'd the Crown upon the Head of *Edward*; and his Enemies were ſo deſtroy'd, and ſo deter'd, that the Diſpute ſeem'd ended.

CHAP. XXII.

The Story of the Baſtard Falconbridge.

THOUGH the Houſe of *Lancaſter* gave *Edward* no farther Trouble, a new Enemy appear'd while he was combating the old. *Nevil*, the Baſtard of *Falconbridge*, had been a Favourite of *Warwick*, and by him appointed Vice Admiral of the Channel.

He ſaw his Fortune deſperate now; and he form'd the bold Scheme of plundering *London*, and going off with his Booty. The hardieſt of his Sailors joined him; but he ſaw the Number too ſmall for Succeſs. He took Advantage of *Edward's* Abſence; and declaring he came to free the impriſon'd King, all who favour'd the Houſe of *Lancaſter* join'd him.

This ſtrengthen'd, he led ſeventeen Thouſand Men to *London*, but he was repulſed with Loſs; he retired to *Sandwich*; and *Edward* purſued him. The victorious Monarch did not ſtay to reſt; he paſſed through *London*, and march'd on to fight this new Force.

Falconbridge knew he was no Match for him; and he offer'd to ſubmit on Terms. *Edward* granted them. He received him into Favour, continued him in his Poſt, and knighted him.

This was a Piece of Policy, not much to be commended; for *Falconbridge* was only decoy'd to his Deſtruction; he ſoon after loſt his Head. He fell unpity'd, because his Crimes deſerved none; but the King did not eſcape Cenſure.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Duke of Richmond *retires to* Bretagne.

HENRY the Sixth in Priſon, heard of the Barbarities executed on his Deſcendants and his Friends, and he ſoon ſhared their Fate; the bloody Duke of *Glouceſter* killed him in his Chamber, and by this Blow reduced the Houſe of *Lancaſter* to two Perſons, *Margaret*, Widow of the Earl of *Richmond*, half Brother to the murther'd King, and the young Earl of *Richmond*, her Son.

This was the Perſon moſt fear'd by *Edward*; his Friends carry'd him into *Wales*; and thence to *France*, where he remain'd the ſole Male Branch of that great Houſe, waiting better Fortune.

The Duke of *Bretagne* received him; and *Edward* ſoon heard where he was. He ſent an Embaſſy to demand him, but the Duke knowing his Purpoſe, refuſed: he did this with Civility: at the ſame Time that he deny'd to give up the young *Richmond*, he engaged that he would keep him there, and that he never ſhould give *Edward* Cauſe of Complaint.

The King ſeeing he could obtain no more, ſeem'd ſatisfy'd with this; and he made his Acknowledgment by agreeing to pay the Duke of *Bretagne* an annual Sum, under Pretence of allowing as the Expence of *Richmond*'s Entertainment.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Claim of England *upon* France *is renewed.*

THE Diſturbances at Home had prevented for ſeveral Years any Thought of renewing the Claim to the Crown of *France*; but theſe were now happily appeaſed; and *Edward* ſeated quietly upon the Throne, was invited in 1474 to aſſert his Title.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, who wanted to find ſome Employment for *Lewis* the Eleventh at Home, that might prevent his diſturbing him in *Germany*, apply'd to *Edward*; and offer'd to join him: St. *Pol*, the Conſtable of *France*, alſo perſuaded him to the ſame Purpoſe; and he not ſuſpecting they would deſert him before he had made ſome Uſe of the Alliance, joined them.

In 1475 he arrived at *Calais* with a conſiderable Force, and ſent a Herald to the King of *France* to demand that Kingdom; and on his Refuſal to proclaim War.

Lewis heard the Herald privately; and order'd him to tell *Edward*, thoſe who had led him to this would deceive him.

It happened ſo: they both deſerted him as ſoon as he had landed, for he had then anſwer'd all their Purpoſe. The Conſequence was, that *Edward* made Peace with *Lewis*; and St. *Pol* was treated as he deſerv'd, executed as a Traitor.

Edward this Year demanded again the young Earl of *Richmond* from the Duke of *Bretagne*; and the unſuſpecting good Man was led by his fair Speeches to give him up: happily he was better adviſed before the Youth was out of his Dominions, and he took him back.

The People of *England* who had contributed largely to the Deſign upon *France*, and who remembered what their Anceſtors had done there, were uneaſy at this ſucceſsleſs Expedition, and more at the King's ſucceeding Conduct.

Lewis amuſed him with a Pretence of advantageous Treaties, which vaniſh'd when the King would have embraced them. The People grew diſſatisfy'd; and *Edward*, far from taking from the Cauſe, added to it by a diſſolute Life, and by a moſt unjuſt and cruel Conduct.

He uſed every unfair Method of getting Money; and among the reſt, one which render'd him hated by all the principal People. This was cauſing any who were very rich to be accuſed of Treaſon, that their Eſtates might be confiſcated by Law, or pay'd for Pardon.

In 1478 the Duke of *Clarence* was executed; and in 1479 the *Scots* ſeeing the People diſſatisfy'd with their King, took the Advantage as uſual, and made Inroads upon the neareſt Provinces.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* now became again conſpicuous: it is not certain that he had in him all the Ill that Hiſtory aſcribes to him, but 'tis plain he was a great Soldier: he march'd againſt the *Scots*, and he was ſucceſsful; but with his Succeſs he was cruel.

Edward in the mean time grew licentious, and oppreſſive more and more: he found the People diſpoſed to riſe againſt him; and he ſaw the true Way to obviate that Miſchief was, to favour them in their Project of conquering *France*; he enter'd into a Deſign of ſetting about this reſolutely, or he pretended to have ſuch a Purpoſe; but whichever it was, Death ſtop'd the Execution of it.

He dy'd in 1483, ſome ſay by Poiſon; others by a Surfeit; thoſe who name Poiſon, point out the Duke of *Glouceſter* as the Occaſion, but this remains uncertain.

The *Britiſh* Navy at this Time, tho' not needed in the Service, or Defence of the Iſland, was kept upon a powerful and reſpectable Footing. Sir *John Middleton*, the Year before the King's Death, commanded a Fleet in the Service of the Allies of *Edward*, that made *Europe* tremble.

CHAP. XXV.

The Succeſſion of Edward *the Fifth.*

THE Duke of *Glouceſter* was at *York* with the royal Army when *Edward* dy'd.

That King left two Sons, the eldeſt of whom, between twelve and thirteen, was proclaimed immediately by the Name of *Edward* the Fifth.

The Minority of the King made the Government

ment of the Kingdom a Bait that all were eager to ſeize. The Queen of *Edward* had her Party; but the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Haſtings* got the better.

They ſent an Expreſs to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, acquainting him with the Death of the King, and with the Queen's Deſigns: deſiring him to come immediately; and as Uncle to the King, to claim the Regency.

Richard was artful as he was cruel: he came up immediately, he ſoothed many, and he aw'd more into his Deſigns. The Lord *Haſtings* ſerved him every where, and was an Occaſion of the City of *London*, then conſider'd as a very important Part of the Kingdom, favouring his Cauſe.

The young King was deluded into the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Party; and the Queen who took Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter* with the Duke of *York*, her ſecond Son, was obliged to give him up alſo to the prevailing Party.

A grand Council was immediately called; and *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, was declared Protector of the Realm. He determin'd to be much more, and he communicated his Deſigns to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who join'd him in every Thing, partly out of Hatred to the Queen, and her Family; and partly from Avarice and Ambition, both of which *Richard* flatter'd with vaſt Promiſes.

Buckingham being gain'd, was made the Tool to ſound the reſt of the principal People who were of *Glouceſter*'s Party. *Haſtings* was the firſt, but he declared againſt the Purpoſe: he had join'd the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Cauſe to raiſe him to the Protectorſhip, but he was too honeſt to go theſe Lengths in his Favour.

Richard was told: and *Haſtings* was ſet down for Death. The Story is well known, he kept the famous *Shore*, who had been Miſtreſs to *Edward*; and when ſhe was accuſed, his ſpeaking in her Favour, was the Cauſe of arreſting and executing him.

Richard, by this Act, aw'd every one; and he had ſo well laid his Scheme, that he had nothing to fear but the other Claim of *Richmond*. His Father-in-Law, *Stanley*, was deſtined to Deſtruction, but he eſcaped it. One of the Guard placed to arreſt *Haſtings*, had Orders to deſtroy him, but he avoided the Blow; and all was attributed to the Confuſion of the Incident.

Richard now ſaw how difficult it would be to gain, and how dangerous it was to attempt more of the Nobility: he depended upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Emiſſaries alone.

The Duke influenced the Mayor of *London*; and he a famous Preacher, his Brother: one talked at the publick Meetings, and the other bellow'd from the Pulpit, that the Sons of *Edward* were illegitimate, that the Heirs of the Duke of *Clarence* were render'd incapable by the Attainder of their Father, and that the true Right to the Crown of *England* lay in *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*.

When they and *Buckingham* had offer'd every Reaſon to the People, and done all they could, tho' without much Succeſs to perſuade them of this, *Richard* was offer'd the Crown; which, after an epiſcopal Refuſal, he accepted.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Succeſſion of Richard *the Third.*

RICHARD, Duke of *Glouceſter*, was, on the twenty-ſecond of *June* 1483, proclaimed King of *England*; and in about a Month after crown'd.

The two Sons of *Edward* were too terrible to one who had thus obtain'd the Crown, to be permitted to live. All that is known concerning them is, that *Tyrell* confeſs'd their Murther: the Cuſtody of the Tower was by the King's Orders given to him for one Night, and the Princes were no more heard of. Bones were found ſo late as in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, ſuppoſed to be theirs, and were removed with due Reſpect to *Weſtminſter*.

There remain'd now no Fear in *Richard* but of the young Earl of *Richmond*. He favour'd the Mother, and the Lord *Stanley* her Huſband; and he hoped by that Means to get the Youth into his Hands; but they entertain'd other Thoughts.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had now done all the Service he could, for *Richard* was upon the Throne. He fear'd him for the Knowledge he had of his Crimes; and he hated him becauſe he was too much obliged to him. He took Occaſion to quarrel with him upon the firſt Demand in part of his Promiſes; and the End was ſhort: *Buckingham* rebelled, and *Richard*, without Regret, order'd him to Execution.

Before this Stroke the Deſign had been form'd, which the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, tho' it interrupted, could not overthrow. All hated the King; and there were thoſe who favour'd the young *Richmond*.

The Purpoſe was to bring him over, and he was engaged to marry *Elizabeth*, of the Houſe of *York*; thus joining the two Claims, and freeing *England* from the Fear of more Blood.

The Queen Dowager conſented; the young *Richmond* was acquainted with the Purpoſe, and the Duke of *Bretagne* lent him a ſmall Force. He came for *England*, expecting the Support of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Army; but finding that was diſperſed, he happily got back.

Richard had now full Notice of the Deſign, and he ſet about the preventing it by every Method Art could deviſe.

He executed all ſuſpected of favouring the other Cauſe, without Appeal; and almoſt without Trial; he made vaſt Offers for the delivering up the Earl of *Richmond*; and he determin'd himſelf to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*.

He was already marry'd, and *Elizabeth* was his Niece; one of theſe would have been Obſtacle enough to another Man, but to him both were nothing.

His Wife died for his Purpoſe; but *Elizabeth* refuſed him; and the Earl of *Richmond* receiving Notice of his Danger, eſcaped.

The King of *France* received him honourably: and the undiſguiſed and monſtrous Wickedneſs of *Richard* alienated all Hearts from him. Every Thing conſpired to favour *Richmond*'s Cauſe, and he was determined to ſupport it.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Death of Richard, *and the Succeſſion of* Henry *the Seventh.*

THE Navy of *England* was all this Time the Terror of the neighbouring Nations; and *Richard* in 1484 order'd out a very large Force to meet his Enemy upon the Sea, if he ſhould dare to attempt the Iſland.

This prevented his Purpoſe for the preſent; but his Cauſe all the Time ſtrengthened; and at the End of the Summer, the King, not ſuppoſing any Attempt would be made, as none had been, laid up his Ships.

This gave the Friends of *Richmond* Courage; they conſpired to raiſe Forces, they invited him over, and in 1485 he landed with a ſmall Number in *Wales*.

Multitudes join'd him; and he marched forward. *Richard* received the News with Pleaſure: he had no Thought of his being able to raiſe a Force to endanger the Crown, and he was glad there appeared an Opportunity to cut him off.

He ſent Orders to the General in Power there to fight him, on his March; and he prepared to come up himſelf.

He heard the Troops that ſhould have fought, had join'd him.

Richard was now rouſed in Earneſt: he ordered a Force equal to that he heard his Enemy commanded, and he marched on to face him.

The two Armies met at *Boſworth*; and came up at once ſo near, that only Night prevented their Engaging. In the Morning the Battle began: the Lord *Stanley*, who had raiſed Forces as if for *Richard*, joined his Son-in-Law; and many of thoſe, whom the King thought moſt firm in his Intereſt, forſook him.

The Fight was deſperate: *Richard* diſtinguiſhed himſelf many Times to the Aſtoniſhment of both Armies; but he could not conquer ſingly. He fell: and the Victory was entire to *Richmond*.

The Crown found in the Field was placed upon his Head, and he was hailed *Henry* the Seventh.

This Battle was fought the Twenty-ſecond of *Auguſt* 1485, and it was the laſt in this fatal Family Quarrel, which had now engaged *England* in Civil Wars for more than thirty Years.

Henry was crown'd ſoon after, and he married the Princeſs *Elizabeth* in 1486.

The People were rejoiced at firſt; but they found Cauſe of Uneaſineſs afterwards. The King married becauſe he had engaged to do it; but he hated the Houſe of *York*, and his Queen becauſe ſhe was of it: far from uniting the two Families, as they had ſuppoſed, he made it his Buſineſs to diſtinguiſh and ſeparate them; loading the Houſe of *York* with every Indignity. The Eſtate of his Mother-in-Law he ſeized, and ſent her to a Monaſtery.

This, and other oppreſſive Acts, rais'd Murmurs, and at laſt Rebellion. All thought that now the Families were united, the Friends of both would be received with equal Favour: but it was otherwiſe; and the Adherents of *York* hated *Henry*, not becauſe he was of *Lancaſter*, but becauſe he oppreſſed them.

In 1487, *Lovel* and the *Staffords* rebell'd; and *Henry* trembled: but the Duke of *Bedford* nip'd this Rebellion in the Bud; and all ſeem'd quiet.

The Affair of *Lambert Simnell* had happen'd a little before; and theſe two Succeſſes of the King aw'd People from farther Commotions.

Simnell had been made to perſonate the Earl of *Warwick*; he had been crown'd in *Ireland*, and he came over ſo well ſupported hither, that he fought the King's Force. His Army was beaten, and himſelf by an old Turn of Fortune, taken into the Service of *Henry*, in a very mean Capacity.

Some little Buſtle happen'd the next Year in the North, on account of a Tax, in which the Earl of *Northumberland* was kill'd by the Rabble; but the Tumult was appeaſed, and the Ringleaders puniſhed.

In 1490 there were Diſputes between *England* and *France*, before kept quiet by a Truce; and in the ſucceeding Year, *Henry* not ſatisfy'd, or affecting not to be ſatisfy'd, with the Terms propoſed by the Embaſſadors, made his Claim to all *France*. He ordered Fleets, raiſed Forces, and it appeared as if the *Edwards* and the *Henries* of preceding Time had done little to what he propoſed: but in all this he in Reality only amuſed his Subjects. A Peace was the Conſequence; and it was ſettled in the Year 1492: in which Year the Prince, afterwards *Henry* the Eighth, was born.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Story of Perkin Warbeck.

THE Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* formed, in the Year 1493, the famous Plot of the pretended Duke of *York*. She found a Youth of about his Age, and ſhe inſtructed him to perſonate him.

The real Name of this Pretender was *Perkin Warbeck*, a Perſon of mean Birth; but by her Intereſt it was ſoon ſpread throughout the Kingdom, that the young Duke of *York* had eſcaped the Cruelty of *Richard*, and was alive. *Perkin* was brought to her, and ſhe acted her own Part very artfully: ſhe pretended to take him for an Impoſtor at firſt; and to be convinced afterwards that he was indeed the Perſon.

This convinced every Body elſe. The King of *France* received him as Duke of *York*, and Heir to the Crown of *England*, till he made his own Terms with *Henry* in a Peace; and in the ſame Manner he became the Tool of many other People's Purpoſes.

In 1495 he landed at *Sandwich* with ſome Troops, but he found none eſpouſe his Intereſt: thence he went to *Ireland*, where he did nothing; and thence to *Scotland*; where the King unſuſpecting, and generous, ſwore to ſupport his Intereſt, and married him to a near Relation.

Nothing material happen'd in his Story of three Years more: but in 1498, the Weſtern Counties riſing in a Rebellion, this Duke of *York* was called to head them. He received the Invitation, and coming with a ſmall Force, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King of *England* by the Name of *Richard* the Fourth.

Perkin was as cowardly as he was ambitious. He had ſome Force with him when he heard the King was preparing to attack him. He fled: he left his Friends to take the beſt Care of themſelves they could; and he took Shelter in a Monaſtery at *Bewley*.

Henry, who wanted to end the Buſineſs, offered him his Life if he would ſurrender himſelf. He did ſo, and he was committed Priſoner to the Tower, whence he eſcap'd once; and was executed afterwards for attempting a ſecond Eſcape, after he was retaken.

A Plague broke out in *England* at this Time, and with a dreadful Havock cloſed the fifteenth Century.

THE

NAVAL HISTORY

OF

BRITAIN.

BOOK XVI.

Containing the Tranſactions of the ſixteenth Century.

CHAP. I.

The State of the Britiſh *Navy in the Beginning of this Century; with the Diſcovery of the* American *Iſlands by* Columbus *for the* Spaniards.

WE. have paſſed what may be called the firſt Period of the *Britiſh* Hiſtory; and are arrived now at an Æra whence may be dated more important and more certain Knowledge.

The ſixteenth Century opened the Eyes of *England* to the Advantages of diſtant Commerce; and ſhew'd her at once what was her natural Strength, what the proper Uſe of it.

It was a Period at which *Europe* in general ſeems to have become enlightned in this great Matter; and the univerſal Spirit that now appear'd of Diſcovering new Countries, and Extending the Limits of Trade, may be in a great Meaſure attributed to the Exploits of this *Columbus*; who puſh'd his Fortune in Diſcoveries juſt at the Cloſe of the laſt Century.

This Man born, as it ſhould ſeem, to open the Eyes of *Europe*, and to lay the Foundation of a prodigious Traffick, was a *Genoeſe*, a Perſon of no Birth or Family. Some Chance threw into his Way, while a Boy, a Book of Geography, and he inſtantly form'd the Conjecture that there were on the Globe great undiſcovered Tracts of Land, which he determined to ſearch.

He went to Sea while a Youth; and the more he was acquainted with Navigation, the more he grew perſuaded there was ſome vaſt Tract between the Weſtern Coaſts of *Europe* and *Africa*, and the Eaſtern Coaſts of *Aſia*.

He propoſed the Sailing in Search of this unknown World to the *Genoeſe*, who laughed at him; and to the King of *Portugal*, who ſlighted the Offer of his Service; but ſent a Ship to try privately whether there might be any Grounds to hope ſuch a Diſcovery.

The Courſe of this Ship was directed by what he had ſaid; but, happily for him, it did not find the Land.

Columbus on this went with his Propoſal to *Spain*; and ſent at the ſame Time a Brother, of the Name of *Bartholomew Columbus*, to *England*, to propoſe the ſame Undertaking to *Henry* the Seventh.

Five Years the other ſolicited a Veſſel and Commiſſion for this Attempt in *Spain*; and finding no Succeſs, he offer'd it to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and to ſome others, from all of whom he received the ſame Neglect. He then wrote to the Court of *France*, and was coming thither, and if he fail'd there, to *England*; when in 1492 this Propoſal at length was receiv'd in *Spain*.

Eight Years had *Columbus* ſollicited this Matter, which was now agreed to be undertaken on very advantageous Terms to him. He was to be Admiral of all thoſe Seas, and his Heirs were to inherit that Poſt with all its Privileges; he was to be Viceroy, and Governor General of the Lands he ſhould conquer; and to have a tenth Part of the Produce brought thence. He was alſo to have a certain juridical Power; and to have a Right of being an eighth Part Sharer in all future Expeditions.

This was firmly ſettled; and on the Third of *Auguſt Chriſtopher Columbus* ſet ſail from *Palos* in *Andaluſia*. He touched at the *Canary Iſlands*; and after taking in ſome Refreſhments and Stores, on the Firſt of *September* ſteer'd a Courſe no Man had ventur'd before; with Proviſions for a Year, and with near an hundred Men.

Some Days Sail brought him to the Tropic of *Cancer*; and the Heats and Inconveniencies of the Voyage diſcourag'd his People, but he gave them Courage by his Example, and promiſed them Rewards.

In this Expedition the Variation of the Compaſs was firſt obſerved.

From the Firſt of *September* to the Eleventh of *October* he had purſued his Courſe according to his purpoſed Plan, without Sight of Land; and the Sailors now deſpair'd. They grew mutinous: they would return; and the Expedition had certainly fail'd, and perhaps this great Diſcovery never have been made, had not a Plank on this Day floated againſt the Ship.

Columbus order'd it to be taken in, and while he was examining it, there came alſo upon the Waves a Bough of a Tree freſh broken off, and full of a ſtrange Fruit. This was alſo taken up; and upon theſe Tokens of Land and Inhabitants, for he ſhew'd his Men the Marks of Tools upon the Plank, he promiſed them Succeſs in a few Hours.

Great Rewards were appointed for him who ſhould firſt diſcover Land; but 'twas the Fortune of *Columbus* himſelf to claim them. About Ten at Night, as he ſat on the Poop of the Ship, he ſaw a Light. He call'd his People, told them there was Land, and they perceiv'd the Light move from one Place to another. They were now perſuaded that he was right; and by Two in the Morning they ſaw the Shore.

They were ſenſible they were upon the Coaſt of an inhabited Country; and anchoring early in the Morning, they mann'd the Boat for Land.

Columbus firſt ſet his Foot upon the Shore, carrying the Royal Standard ſpread; and took Poſſeſſion of the Country in the Name of the King of *Spain*; building a Croſs, and naming it *St. Salvadore*, or *Saviour*: here he firſt cauſed himſelf to be own'd Viceroy.

The Natives, who had never ſeen Ships or *European* Faces before, were aſtoniſhed, but not terrify'd: they came familiarly up to them; and they accepted the Trifles *Columbus* gave them; and return'd him Preſents of a like Kind. He learn'd from them that there were other Iſlands; and far to the South, a Country where was Gold.

In a few Weeks he diſcovered *Cuba*; and afterwards *Hiſpaniola*.

There he planted the firſt Colony of *Europeans*, whom he left upon good Terms with the Natives; and returned to *Spain*.

The next Year *Columbus* made his ſecond Voyage, diſcover'd more Iſlands, and built on *Hiſpaniola* the City of *Iſabella*; he ſent back a Part of the Veſſels that now came with him; and after diſcovering *Jamaica*, and many other Iſlands, returned to *Hiſpaniola*, where to his Aſtoniſhment he found his Brother; whom he had ſent ſo many Years before to *England*. He had not been received there as he could wiſh; and it was from *Spain* he now came to *Hiſpaniola*, with Proviſions and Neceſſaries for his Brother.

CHAP. II.

The Diſcovery of the Continent of America *by* Cabot *for the* Engliſh.

THUS were the *American* Iſlands diſcovered by *Chriſtopher Columbus*; and in a few Years after the Continent of *America*, by *John* and *Sebaſtian Cabot*.

About this Time many private Adventurers went from *Spain*, and among them he who gave his Name to *America* as the Diſcoverer, *Americus Veſpuſius*.

This was the State of Navigation at the Period of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory we are now writing, and thus much appear'd needful to explain it.

Henry the Seventh has the Honour of having patroniſ'd the Diſcoverer of the Continent of *America*, as the King of *Spain* did *Columbus*, who led the Way to all.

John Cabot, a *Venetian*, ſettled at that Time at *Briſtol*, a Man of Enterprize, and well acquainted with Navigation, warm'd by the Succeſs of *Columbus*, offered his Service to *Henry*, to puſh the Diſcovery of new Lands farther, and more uſefully for him.

Henry accepted the Propoſal, order'd a Ship to be fitted out, and commiſſion'd *Cabot* and his Sons to diſcover and conquer unknown Lands; annexing them to the Crown of *England*.

On the Twenty-fourth of *June* 1497 he diſcover'd *Newfoundland*, and afterwards the reſt of the North-Eaſt Part of *America* to the Cape of *Florida*. Of this Land he took Poſſeſſion for the Crown of *England*; and here are ſituated thoſe Colonies, of which the *French*, not heard of in theſe Times of Diſcovery, now would diſpoſſeſs us.

Thus was the Continent of *America* diſcovered by the *Engliſh* under the Conduct of the *Cabots*, *John* and *Sebaſtian*, a Year before *Columbus* ſaw it: and in this Condition was the State of Navigation; and theſe Rights had the *Engliſh* at the Period of which we now write, the Beginning of the ſixteenth Century.

When we look back upon this great Tranſaction, the Wonder appears rather that the Diſcovery was not made ſooner, than ſo ſoon. Enough was known of the Globe's Surface to lead Men to ſuppoſe all was not Sea to the Weſt: the Continent of *America* is ſo vaſt, that unleſs ſtop'd by the Iſlands, there was no Probability any who had ſearch'd ſhould miſs it; and three and thirty Days Sail made the firſt Diſcovery.

This does not extenuate the Merit of *Columbus*: it only ſhews how ſtrange it was none attempted it before him: the Egg once broken, we ſee how many follow'd.

The Succeſs of the *Cabots* for *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, was, like that of *Columbus* for *Spain*, the Parent of many more Adventures.

Elliot and Aſhurſt, Natives of *Briſtol*, obtained from *Henry* in 1502 a Patent for the Diſcovery of new Lands; and *Gonſalez* and *Fernandez*, *Portugueſe* by Birth, had alſo an *Engliſh* Patent, and *Engliſh* Colours, for a like Expedition.

This Year the Face of an *American* was firſt ſeen in *Europe*. *Columbus* had taken on board ſix of the Natives of *St. Salvadore*, but they eſcaped from him. *Cabot* now brought to the Court of *England* three Natives of *Newfoundland*; they came in their Country Habit, made of the Skins of Beaſts, and they ſpoke a Language never heard before out of their own Country.

Henry became from this Time the Patron of Navigation, and continued ſo to his Death; which happen'd in 1509.

CHAP. III.

The Succeſſion of Henry *the Eighth.*

HENRY the Eighth, a Name famous in *Engliſh* Hiſtory, ſucceeded his Father *Henry* the Seventh in 1509, married to the Widow of his Brother *Arthur*, *Catherine* of *Spain*. His Coronation was performed at *Weſtminſter* on *Midſummer-Day*, with a Splendour and Magnificence not known before in *Britain*.

He began his Reign peaceably and honourably. His Forces were in good Order, and his Fleets not neglected; having no Uſe for them at home, he lent them to his Allies; to *Spain* againſt the *Moors*, and to the Duke of *Burgundy* againſt the Duke of *Gueldres*.

'Twas ſtrange to hear of Pyracies upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts at a Time when the Nation was on this reſpectable Footing; but ſuch Accounts came; Veſſels were from Day to Day taken; and the Pretence was that there were *Portugueſe* Goods on board. There neither were, nor did this appear a Cauſe of Confiſcation if there had.

The King intereſted himſelf in the Matter; and order'd Enquiry to be made, and Vengeance to be taken.

'Twas found that two Ships committed all theſe Ravages; they were *Scotch* Veſſels, and commanded by *Andrew Barton*. The King of *Scotland* had given him Commiſſion to fit out theſe Ships, to revenge a Capture of the *Portugueſe*; and he, after he had done himſelf that Satisfaction, not chuſing to part with Power or Advantage, had turned Pirate.

Henry was adviſed to ſend Complaints to the King of *Scotland*, then at Peace with him; but he reply'd, "Nothing is ſo dear to me as the Com-"merce of my People; and while we treat, that "ſuffers: ſink his Ships, and tell why afterwards."

'Twas propoſed to ſend out a Squadron, but the King anſwer'd, No: one to one is fair; but they ſhall have good ones.

Sir *Edward* and Sir *Thomas Howard*, Sons of the Earl of *Surrey*, were at this Time diſtinguiſh'd Officers in the *Engliſh* Service.

Sir *Edward* was Lord High Admiral; and he thought it no diſhonour to follow the Example of a King, and match himſelf in the Defence of his Country's Traffick againſt a Pirate.

Briton, whoſoever thou art that readeſt this Account, take Notice! theſe were not Days when thoſe who had the principal Power in the Navy ſat at Home, and appointed untry'd Officers. They had been prefer'd for their Courage, and they underſtood it a Duty to exert it on all Occaſions for that Publick who had given them the Dignity.

The Lord High Admiral of *England*, Son of one of the greateſt Men of his Time, and greater than his Father, match'd himſelf by Choice, Force to Force againſt a deſperate Ruffian: one who dared fight; and who in that caſe muſt; for to ſurrender was to yield to an ignominious Death.

Barton had Notice of their Preparation, and he did not chuſe to wait for them. He was on his Return, and near the *Goodwin Sands* when they came up with him. Ship engaged Ship; and the Pirate fought with a Courage that would have been very glorious in a better Cauſe.

At length he ſunk down wounded on the Deck: but even there he gave Command, ſo long as he could ſpeak intelligibly; and when his Tongue failed, he made the Signals with his Whiſtle.

So long as he had Life his Men kept up the Fight, but his Death cauſed the ſtriking of that Ship to the Lord High Admiral, and that was follow'd by the other.

They were both brought up the *Thames*; and the Plunder, which were very great, confiſcated not to the publick Treaſury; nor to the Captors; but to the Indemnification of thoſe Merchants who had ſuffered by the Pirate. The Men were ſent unpuniſh'd to *Scotland*.

The King of *Scotland* was loud upon this Matter, he called it a Breach of the Peace ſubſiſting between the two Nations, and demanded Satisfaction. "Tell "him he ſhall have none, reply'd *Henry*; to puniſh "Pirates is no Breach of Treaties." The *Scotch* King pretended to be ſatiſfy'd, but he kept it in Remembrance.

CHAP. IV.

An Engagement between the French *and* Engliſh *Fleets.*

THE Year 1512 ſtands characterized by an Engagement at Sea between our Fleets and the *French*. *Henry*, who knew that neighbouring Nation the natural Enemy of his own, had at this Time defy'd her by a Declaration of War, in a Cauſe not altogether his own.

His Father-in-Law, the King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, *Ferdinand*, engaged him in an Alliance againſt *France*, and he gave Orders for great and ſpeedy Preparations.

Sir *Edward Howard*, Lord High Admiral, before diſtinguiſh'd on a little Occaſion, now was engaged in a Service worthy of his great Name; he had the Command of a large Fleet; and the Marquis of *Dorſet* of a conſiderable Land Force deſtined for the Service of *Ferdinand* in *Spain*.

The *French* knew of this; and they were ſtrong upon the Sea. The *Engliſh* Troops were received in the Middle of *May* on board *Spaniſh* Veſſels, and the Lord High Admiral was their Convoy. There was nothing he ſo much deſired as that the *French*, who at that Time boaſted ſo much of their ſuperior Navy, ſhould attack him: but they look'd on, and ſaw him lead the Tranſports to *Guipuſcoa*.

This done, the Admiral called his Officers about him, and ſaid to them, Gentlemen, "We have "done our Duty, but we will do more: we'll "fight theſe boaſting *French* on their own Ground, "ſince they won't keep their Words with us at Sea." All applauded the Propoſal, and the Squadron ſailed to infeſt the Coaſts of *Bretagne*.

Whatever Veſſel of the *French* appeared upon the Seas he chaſed; and all were driven from thoſe Seas, or taken. No more being to be done upon the Sea, he landed his Men on different Parts of the Coaſt, and burnt and plunder'd, waſting the whole Country.

France knew not where this would ſtop, the Days of *Edwards* and *Henrys* ſeem'd returning; and they reſolved to diſpute the Point before the Fleet that braved them ſhould be ſtrengthen'd.

Henry had Notice, and he acted as became a King; far from leaving thoſe in the Power of a ſuperior Enemy, who had thus diſtinguiſh'd themſelves, and done Honour to their Country; he fitted out a new Fleet, and order'd them to make the beſt ſail to reinforce his Admiral.

Five and twenty large Men of War form'd this new Squadron, and *Portſmouth* was the Rendezvous. *Henry* himſelf went thither; and by his Care and Conſtancy in his Purpoſe, ſaw them out in ſuch Time, that they join'd the Admiral before the *French* came up with him.

Here let us ſtop a Moment to obſerve the Conduct of this Sovereign in his Choice of Officers; for *Henry* choſe them, not his Miniſters. He knew Courage was Courage under any Circumſtance; and that he who would fight on Shore would not run away at Sea.

Thoſe who had moſt diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in the Service before, had Ships in this Squadron, but not only ſuch. Sir *Thomas Knevet* commanded the Regent, a firſt Rate; he was the King's Maſter of the Horſe: and the Sovereign, the next Ship in ſize, was given to Sir *Charles Brandon*; with whom embark'd Sir *Henry Guildford*, with ſixty of the Yeomen of the Guard, who were then choſen for their Strength and Courage.

The Lord High Admiral *Howard*, now ſaw himſelf Commander of a Fleet of five and forty Ships; all fit for Service, and well officer'd. He gave Orders for the Coaſt of *Bretagne*, and he determin'd to provoke the *French* to bring out their boaſted Force againſt him.

The *French* Fleet then in *Breſt* Harbour, was nine and thirty Sail, all large and fine Ships. We had the Superiority in Number by ſix; but perhaps none in Strength.

The great Admiral drew up his Fleet before the Harbour, not to block it up, or keep the Ships there; theſe Maxims of cold Policy were not then known in *Britain*; but to invite them out: he gave them fair Room; and he let them underſtand that if they did not ſail, his Forces would deſtroy the whole Country.

The *French* had Orders: the Eyes of all *Europe* were on the Tranſaction, and on the 10th of *Auguſt* they came out.

The *Engliſh* Admiral gave immediate Signals for the Attack, and the *French* ſtood to receive him. The great Dependance of the *French* was on a Ship of vaſt Force, called the *Cordelier*: an Officer of *Bretagne* was Commander, his Name *Primauget*, a Man of deſperate Courage. The Veſſel was the beſt in the *French* Fleet, and carry'd twelve hundred Men.

Sir *Thomas Knevet* in the Regent, undertook to engage this Ship. They began the Action, and the Conflict was dreadful. Two Veſſels of that Force, well man'd, and under the Command of ſuch Officers, rent the Air and Sky with their Conflict. The Event was doubtful more than an Hour, till the *Engliſh* Ship fired the *Cordelier*.

Primauget order'd every Hand to extinguiſh the Flames, but he found that impracticable; on this "We will die, ſaid he, with our Enemies;" and running on board the Regent, he grappled her. There was no ſeparating them, and the *Engliſh* Ship blazed with the other till both blew up; and not a Man eſcaped on either Part.

The Fight on each Side was ſuſpended on this diſmal Spectacle; and the *French* engaged no more. They made the beſt ſail they could to *Breſt*, and the neighbouring Ports, and the great *Howard* followed: they loſt many of their Ships, and they were taught to dread the *Engliſh* Navy many Years.

CHAP. V.

The State of the Commerce of Britain.

IT was not only our Ships of War that at this Time terrify'd the reſt of the World; our Traffick roſe with our Strength and Credit on the Sea, as it always did, and always will; and beſide the Hopes reaſonably grounded on the new Diſcovery and Poſſeſſion of the Continent of *America*, our Veſſels puſh'd their Trade in the *Levant*.

They carried *Engliſh* Cloths and Kerſies of various Kinds; and other Products of our Country; and they traded to *Candia*, *Chio*, and *Cyprus*; as alſo to *Tripoli*, and *Barutti* in *Syria*: they brought home in return Silks, Camblets, Drugs and Spices; Oil and Wine; and Carpets.

London, *Southampton*, and *Briſtol*, were the Ports which principally furniſh'd Veſſels for this Traffick: but beſide our own, it appears that on all theſe Occaſions we traded by Veſſels of other Countries.

This is found in the moſt authentick Records of that Time, and not before that Period. We have Reaſon therefore to think the Battle of *Boſworth*, which gave the Crown to *Henry* the Seventh, one of the moſt important Events in our Country's Annals; and the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, leſs regarded than it ought in ſuch Matters, a Period whence to date a new Æra in our Naval Hiſtory.

CHAP. VI.

The Engliſh *enter the Harbour of* Breſt.

THE Year 1513, is diſtinguiſh'd by two Actions of the Lord High Admiral *Howard*, tho' attended with different Fortune.

Our Diſpute with *France* continued; and *Henry* determin'd to be preſent at one of the Expeditions of the Campaign this Year.

He order'd his High Admiral firſt to clear the Seas. In the Month of *April*, *Howard* ſet ſail with two and forty Ships of War, beſide Frigates and Tenders for the Coaſt of *Bretagne*.

He had Intelligence that the *French* Fleet lay at *Breſt* ready to ſail, but waiting the Arrival of ſix Gallies commanded by Monſ. *Pregent*.

The Admiral determin'd that it was better to attack them before they were reinforced; and he prepared for it. They alſo had prepared for their Security; for the *French* at that Time knew there was nothing too deſperate for the *Engliſh* Spirit to undertake, or too hard for the *Engliſh* Courage to effect.

They threw up Batteries, and placed Cannon on each Side the Harbour; and they link'd four and twenty Hulks together, and rang'd them in a Line at a proper Diſtance from their Ships, to defend them from the Fire of our Cannon: theſe alſo they propoſed to fire, and turn adrift when the Tide turn'd upon the *Engliſh*.

The Lord High Admiral deſpiſed their Preparations; and bore into the Harbour. It was impoſſible to attack the Ships, but he landed his Men, and burnt and plunder'd the Country, in ſight of the Fleet, and of the Caſtle.

He waited the Arrival of *Pregent* with his Gallies; but that *Frenchman* had alſo his Intelligence. He heard an *Engliſh* Squadron was in the Harbour of *Breſt*; and he thought ſome other Place ſafer for him. He got into the Bay of *Conquet*, and there waited the Event of the *Engliſh* Attack.

He had with his ſix Gallies four other Veſſels; and knowing he had every Thing to fear from ſuch an Admiral, he laid up his Squadron between two Rocks, on each of which were Batteries of Cannon.

The Lord High Admiral received Intelligence of *Pregent*'s Squadron having made this Place of Safety; but he determin'd to attack them there.

He view'd the Situation; and he told his Officers, Danger and Difficulty were the Parents of Glory. He had two Gallies in his Fleet, and he put himſelf on board one of them: the Command of the other he gave to the Lord *Ferrers*, telling it was deſperate Service; but that he knew "what Man dared attempt, he dared."

The Lord *Ferrers* was very brave, and he gather'd new Spirit from his Leader's Praiſe. He joyfully accepted the Command; and in Company with his Admiral, and with no more Support than two Barges and two Boats, they went into the Bay of *Conquet*.

Pregent was an Officer of Courage: he ſaw what was to be expected, and he placed his Galley foremoſt to receive the Shock of the Attack.

The Admiral bore down upon him in his own Galley, order'd her to be laſh'd cloſe to *Pregent*'s as ſoon as they came up; and boarded him Sword in Hand.

Tears muſt attend the Relation of the Event: about twenty follow'd him on board the Enemy; and whether it were Cowardice, or Treachery, or Chance, that cut the Hold, his Galley fell off on the Inſtant, and he was puſh'd into the Sea by fifty at a Time.

Moſt who were with him ſhared his Fate.

His Galley fell off from the Enemy; and the Lord *Ferrers*, little ſuſpecting what a Loſs had happen'd, retired as he ſaw the other.

He heard the Admiral was miſſing; and he ſent off a Flag of Truce to the *French* Commander, to aſk what Priſoners he had made; the Anſwer threw all into Deſpair: only one had ſubmitted, and that a common Sailor.

'Twas plain now that the Admiral was loſt. The

Fleet return'd to *England*: *Henry* lamented as became him, the Fate of his brave Servant, and gave the Commiſſion of High Admiral to his Brother.

CHAP. VII.

Attempts of the French *upon the* Engliſh *Coaſts.*

THE Death of the Lord High Admiral of *England*, made the *French Pregent* immortal. It was one of thoſe Events, in which much more Renown is obtain'd than is deſerv'd; for there was no Glory in the Company of a whole Galley puſhing about twenty Perſons into the Sea; and 'twas indeed the bad Conduct of his own People that had deſtroy'd this great Man, not any Thing in his Enemies.

Pregent, however, in the true Spirit of a *Frenchman*, glory'd in the Incident: he thought he had conquer'd the *Engliſh* Nation in this Action; and he requeſted to be ſent to invade the Iſland.

He came with his Force upon the Coaſt of *Suſſex*: he landed his Men in two different Places where the Shore was leaſt defended, committed ſome Ravages, and took on board ſome Plunder.

Henry, ſtung with the Inſult, order'd his new High Admiral to ſet ſail againſt him. It is ſaid Sir *Thomas Howard*, inſtead of anſwering, fell upon his Knees in the King's Preſence, and with Tears of Fury running down his Cheeks, pray'd to Heaven that he might be oppoſed Hand to Hand to the Murtherer of his Brother.

There were thoſe in Preſence who would have ſneered upon the Occaſion; but the King turn'd the Torrent of Opinions: he took up his Admiral, and ſaid, "Go! and God hear you! by St. *Paul*, "my Lords, there is not a Tear that Man has "drop'd, but a River of *French* Blood will an"ſwer."

The Admiral hurry'd to Sea, but the *Frenchman* made more Haſte away: no Diligence could find him, nor no Speed overtake him.

Henry recalled the Squadron, and himſelf landed under its Convoy at *Calais*, with a very conſiderable Force. *France* felt upon her Shores an Army come to reſent the Outrages of a few Plunderers.

Henry took the Command, and once again a King of *England* led his Army to the Towns of *France*. He inveſted *Terouenne*; and the *French* thinking to ſtop the Progreſs of his Arms at once, fought him to relieve the Town.

In this Action the King of *England* commanded, and the Emperor *Maximilian* fought under him, and received his Pay.

The Duke of *Longueville* commanded the *French* Force; and the Plan of the Action was not ill laid by the *French*. A River was between them and the *Engliſh* Army; and they had order'd a Convoy to be thrown into the Town while they engaged the King's Force.

Henry the Eighth diſtinguiſh'd more by his private Conduct than in his military Capacity, ſhew'd himſelf in this Action a bold, and a good Soldier.

As the *French* Force advanced, he left to Lord *Herbert* the Command of the Trenches, and croſs'd the River to fight them.

They were terrify'd at his Spirit; and they were broke by the firſt Aſſault, after which they never rally'd. 'Twas not a Battle after the firſt Attack, but a Purſuit; and the *French* fled ſo faſt, that Hiſtory commemorates the Action by the Name of the *Battle of the Spurs*, the only Weapon uſed on the *French* Side.

Longueville was taken Priſoner; and moſt of the Officers: for they would not fly with their Men; and they were left unſupported.

The Detachment appointed for the Convoy did their Duty better, but with no more Succeſs. Lord *Herbert* ſally'd from the Trenches, and beat them. The Town ſurrender'd on the 22d of *Auguſt*, and *Tournay* a little after follow'd its Example.

Tournay had never been taken before, and its Virgin Honour was inſcribed in Capitals over its Gates. *Henry* reduced it after eight Days Siege in the Middle of *September*; and finiſhing the Campaign by this Stroke, came back in *October* to *England*.

The *French* were terrify'd at theſe Succeſſes, and they thought of nothing but Peace; they talked of nothing elſe, and after ſome time it was concluded; but it proved one of thoſe which take more Time in the preparing than they laſt.

CHAP. VIII.

Mutual Attacks of the French *and* Engliſh.

IT was happy for *Pregent* that he ſtill eſcaped the Admiral; for he was too full of his Succeſs, as he called it, againſt the *Engliſh*, to give up the Glory of harraſſing them.

In 1514 he ſtole to the Coaſt of *England* again, and landing in *Suſſex*, burnt *Brighthelmſtone*. He was gone by that Time News of the Inſult arrived; for this Expedition at Sea was like the *Battle of the Spurs* at Land; more particularized by the Haſte of getting away, than by any Thing in the Action.

Henry, who at once heard that the Town was burnt, and that the Enemy was fled, order'd Repriſals. Sir *John Wallop* had the Command of the Squadron ſent out for this Purpoſe, and its Deſtination was to the Coaſt of *Normandy*; where landing his Men, he reveng'd the Inſult at *Brightbelmſtone*, by burning twenty Towns.

France was now tired with the War, in which nothing had attended her but Loſſes; and a Peace was concluded and ſtrengthen'd by the Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary*, Siſter to the King of *England*, with the King of *France*.

This Year *Sebaſtian Cabot*, famous for diſcovering, in Concert with his Father, the Continent of *America*, undertook another Voyage of Diſcovery, and reach'd the *Brazils*.

Unhappily a Knight of better Reputation than Deſert, Sir *Thomas Birt*, was join'd with him in the Expedition. They might have made great Advantage; but Sir *Thomas*, terrify'd with the Fire of ſome *Spaniſh* Cannon, would not be brought to adventure farther.

Columbus demands the Honour of having given Birth to that Spirit of Enterprize and Diſcovery, which now grew up univerſally in *Europe*. Till his Time all had been content with what they knew, but from his firſt Expedition, and Diſcovery of the *American* Iſlands, nothing was thought too much to undertake.

'Twas his Example that now led the *Spaniſh Cortez* to *Mexico*; and that in 1519, carried *Magellan* round the Globe. Theſe great Events happen'd both in the ſame Year, and they place it in a very conſpicuous Light.

Magellan, whoſe Name properly ſpelt in *Magalbaens*, was a *Portugueſe* by Birth; but having been neglected after ſome important Services by the King of *Portugal*, he diſclaimed his Country, and offered his Service to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, then King of *Spain*.

His Propoſal of Service was not unlike that of *Columbus*; and had not the Succeſs of that great Man's Expedition open'd the Way to others, this would have been rejected as a Madman's Viſion.

Magellan was honour'd with an Audience of *Charles* the Fifth, in which he laid before him the great Probability that another Way might be diſcover'd to the *Indies*, and the *Molucca Iſlands*, beſide that round the *Cape of Good Hope*, which the *Portugueſe* had found.

He was a Gentleman and a Scholar; he explained himſelf ſo clearly, that the Emperor accepted his Propoſal; gave him five good Ships for the Enterprize, and furniſhed them with two hundred an fifty Men, and abundant Proviſions.

He ſailed on the 20th of *September* from St. *Lucar*, and winter'd at St. *Julian*'s.

Here a Conſpiracy was form'd to deſtroy him; and he found no Way to prevent it but by an exemplary Severity. He executed two of his Captains; and ſet a third on Shore, with a Prieſt who had been buſy in the Mutiny; and having erected a Croſs, and taken Poſſeſſion in the Emperor's Name, he ſet ſail on the 20th of *October* 1520, continuing his Voyage.

He had been out more than a Year; and he now came up with the *Virgin's Cape*, ſo called by him, where he turned into the Streight, called ſince from his Name.

This was the firſt Point of his great Diſcovery. Fifty Leagues they had ſailed up the Streight when they diſcovered another Branch.

Magellan ſent one of his Ships thither to bring an Account of it, but he ſaw this Veſſel no more. The Crew confined their Captain; and returned to *Spain*.

Magellan, after waiting ſome time, purſued his own Courſe, and came into the great South Sea.

He had now only three Ships; for beſide the one that had left him, another founder'd in the Paſſage.

Thus far he had been ſucceſsful. From his leaving the Cape at the Streights End, he ſailed near four Months without any Sight of Land; but ſoon after he came to the *Ladrones Iſlands*.

After theſe he made the Iſles, now called the *Philippines*; and on the 28th of *Mareb* anchor'd off the Iſle of *Bathuan*.

Here he found there was Gold; and after much Friendſhip from the People, from thence paſſing *Meſſana* and *Cebu*, he came to the Iſland of *Matan*; fatal to his Hopes: for he was there, in a Diſpute with the Natives, killed with a poiſoned Arrow.

Odoardo Barbaſa took the Command in his Place, and ſo many of the Men being loſt, that they could not manage their three Ships. They burnt one of them, and putting themſelves in the beſt Condition they could with the other two, made for the *Molucca Iſlands*. They reached the Iſland *Borneo*, and thence were brought by *Indian* Pilots to the *Moluccas*.

Thus was the great End atchieved, which *Magellan* had propoſed; tho' by a Fate too cruel for ſo great a Man, he never knew of the Succeſs.

Twenty-ſeven Months had they been come from *Spain*, when they anchored at *Tidore*, one of the chief of the *Molucca's*; where treating with the King in the Name of *Charles* the Fifth, they made and ratified by Oaths on both Sides, a laſting Treaty of Peace and Friendſhip.

They exchanged the Commodities, taken for that Purpoſe, very advantageouſly for Cloves; and leaving one of their Ships behind them, ſailed for *Spain*.

Forty-ſix *Spaniards* were left, and with thirteen *Indians* they took their Coaſt South Weſt, and ſtop'd at *Malua*, near *Timor*, ſixteen Days. After this they touched at *Timor*, and on the 11th of *February* they ſet ſail again, taking their Way Southward, and leaving all *India* and the Iſlands to the North, that they might avoid the Danger of meeting the *Portugueſe*, the moſt powerful in thoſe Seas.

They ran into forty Degrees South Latitude before they doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, which they did after vaſt Difficulty, and with the Loſs of twenty-one of their Company.

Diſtreſs after this threw them upon the Mercy of the *Portugueſe* in the Iſland of St. *James*, and there thirteen more of their ſmall Company were detained on Shore.

The poor Remainder, however, ſet ſail; and on the ſeventh of *September* arrived at St. *Lucar* in *Spain*, whence they had ſet out: there firing their Guns for Joy, ran barefoot to the great Church, and paid their Gratitude to Heaven.

Thus was the famous Voyage round the World finiſhed; not by the bold Man who had undertaken it, but by a very ſmall Remainder of his People: an Undertaking which in ſo many Ages had never enter'd into the Thoughts of Man, nor could but from the late Diſcoveries: which *Drake* and *Cavendiſh* in the ſucceeding Time of *Elizabeth* accompliſh'd; and *Anſon* in our own.

CHAP. IX.

The English *ravage the Coaſts of* France.

IN the Year 1520, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth honour'd the Court of *England* with a Viſit, and was received with every Mark of Splendor and Magnificence. Toward the End of the ſame Month, *Henry* went over to *Calais*, and a Week after met the King of *France* between *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*.

This Interview was diſtinguiſh'd by a World of Puppet Splendor, and has given Occaſion to Hiſtorians of as tawdry Imaginations as thoſe Princes, to beſtow many Pages on its Deſcription.

All that is worth remarking is, that it produced a Treaty; and that ſcarce worth it for its ſhort Duration.

In 1522 War broke out again between *England* and *France*; and *Henry*, who had been too wiſe in an Alliance with the Emperor by the Treaty of *Bruges*, found himſelf engaged to go Lengths, that a more true Wiſdom would have made him omit.

However, the preſent Proſpect from it was great. The Emperor was engaged to join his Fleet with that of *England*; and it at that Time amounted to no leſs than a hundred and eighty Sail.

Sir *Thomas Howard* commanded the *Engliſh* as Lord High Admiral, and *Henry* permitted him to accept the ſame Title and Command in the Imperial Service. Hereafter we are to call him Earl of *Surry*, a Dignity to which he was raiſed on this Occaſion.

Surry had his Inſtructions, and he ſailed with the Combined Fleet to the Coaſt of *Normandy*.

The People fled. The Admiral diſembarked a vaſt Number of Men at *Cherburg*, and laid waſte the whole Country. They had then no more Buſineſs on the Sea: Sir *William Fitzwilliam*, Vice Admiral, had taken every *French* Merchant Veſſel on thoſe Seas before; and as to Ships of War, 'twas as if they had none: for they would not venture out into the Jaws of ſuch aſſured Deſtruction.

They return'd to *Portland*; and having taken in ſome Refreſhments, ſailed for the Coaſt of *Bretagne*. They landed on the firſt Day of *July* near *Morlaix*, and they ſtormed the Town, and the Admiral gave the Plunder to thoſe who had ſo bravely won it.

Morlaix deſtroyed, the Fleet cruiſed ſome Weeks upon the Coaſt, and after taking every Veſſel of the Enemy, which Hardineſs, or Neceſſity, put out to Sea, put in at *Southampton*.

Beſide thoſe he took, all that he ſaw upon the Coaſts he burnt; and there appear'd no Proſpect of *France* holding up her Head upon the Sea in War or Commerce for many Years.

Theſe were the Succeſſes of the *Engliſh*; and theſe the Terrors, and the Loſſes of *France*, more than two hundred Years ago; Times now to be read with Bluſhes; or with Tears.

The Succeſs of the Seaſon ended with the Deſtruction of many other Towns, and with the bringing off, beſide a prodigious Treaſure, the very Cattle of the *French* to the Amount of fourteen thouſand Sheep; and a proportioned Number of Oxen, Horſes, and other uſeful Creatures.

CHAP. X.

The Diſcovery of the South Sea Coaſt.

WE have ſaid already, that the Adventures of *Columbus* taught the World at once what to attempt, and gave them Spirit for the Undertaking. Diſcoveries became the Subject of every enterprizing Prince, and happieſt were they who engaged in the Attempts moſt readily.

The Diſputes of *England* with *France*, her everlaſting Enemy, employed her Ships and Armies the two or three ſucceeding Years; but all this Time was projecting that great Undertaking which in 1525, burſt forth under the Conduct of *Pizarro*.

In 1523 it was determin'd to ſend Troops to *Picardy*: the Obſtinacy of the *French*, and the Succeſſes of the Earl of *Surry*, join'd to inſpire this Motion; but there wanted at the Helm thoſe good Adviſers, who can tell not only what to do, but when to do it.

The Reſolution was proper, and the Troops ſent over were enough to execute the Purpoſe. The Seas were our own, and we could have reinforced them with more occaſionally, but they were ſent TOO LATE.

We who had the Command of Sea and Shore, ſent thirteen Thouſand Men to *France* in the latter End of *September*. The Reader needs not be informed there was but one Courſe for them then to take, which was to come home again. The Seaſon in which they ſhould have acted was loſt.

The Councils of *Henry* now were guided by leſs able, or leſs honeſt Heads; and Kings are what their Adviſers are. A Fleet of ſix and thirty Sail was ſent out with Sir *William Fitzwilliam*, with the ſole Purpoſe of intercepting the Duke of *Albany*, then about to carry *French* Forces into *Scotland*.

This was a Point of vaſt Importance, and *France* unable to defend her Tranſports: but that People have never failed to triumph by their Artifice, when they have been too weak to vindicate themſelves by Arms.

The Duke ſeeing the Force ſent out againſt him, and knowing it was impoſſible to oppoſe, and very improbable to avoid it, pretended to have drop'd his Purpoſe. He called back his Troops from the Coaſts, and diſcharged his Tranſports.

The *Engliſh* Admiral unſuſpecting the Deceit, return'd at the End of Summer into Port; and as ſoon as the Sea was clear, the Tranſports and the Troops of the Duke of *Albany*, all ſtation'd for that Purpoſe, met upon the Coaſts, and *England* heard with Concern, that they were landed in *Scotland*. The very Veſſels which had carried them over, were gone, before any Force could be ſent thither to obſtruct, or intercept them.

The *Engliſh* Admiral, however, tho' he failed to execute his intended Service, did not cruiſe idly on the Seas. He braved the *Scottiſh* Coaſts; and entering the *Forth*, would have boarded their Veſſels, but they ran them on Shore: this, tho' it prevented the Capture, could not ſave them from their Deſtruction. The *Engliſh* landed their Men in Boats, and ſupported them ſo well they could not be oppoſed; and what they could not take, they burnt.

After this he heard of ſome Veſſels that had ſailed for *Scotland*, and he ſet ſail to meet them: they were twelve; they diſperſed and fled at his Approach, and ten of them got back into the Harbours of *Dieppe* and *Bologne*. Two fell into his Hands, on board of which, as alſo of the others, were People of Faſhion for *Scotland*; where the *French* were determin'd to uſe all Means to make a Diverſion.

Hence he ſailed along the *French* Coaſts, landing his Men in different Places, and every where committing unoppoſed Deſtruction, and bringing off great Booty.

This *France* was then reduced to ſuffer; who ſince has threatened us with Invaſion; and laughed at our Dominion of the Seas.

Nothing of Importance diſtinguiſhes the ſucceeding Years in *England*. *Henry*, inſtead of the Sword took up the Pen; and combated, as he then called them, Hereticks, inſtead of Enemies: he was the Author of a Book in favour of the Roman Catholick Principles againſt *Luther*.

One ſmiles to read of it: *Henry* the Eighth became an Author in Support of the ſeven Sacraments, and obtained from the Pope a Title, Defender of the Faith, to him and his Succeſſors in the *Engliſh* Throne for ever.

The Year 1525, is diſtinguiſh'd by that great Event, the Diſcovery of the Coaſt of the South Sea: unhappily for us it was not by an *Engliſhman*; but *England* and the whole Earth became concerned in the Succeſs.

It was this Year *Pizarro*, then reſiding at *Panama*, firſt attempted the Diſcovery of that vaſt Empire of *Peru*, which he five Years after conquer'd.

CHAP. XI.

Diſcoveries of the English *in* North America.

THE Spirit of Diſcoveries grew more and more from theſe Succeſſes; and every Nation ſhared in the Advantage. *Sebaſtian Cabot*, who had been ſo happy in his Voyages, undertaken under *Henry* the Seventh, became neglected in this Reign, and went into the *Spaniſh* Service.

For them in 1526 he paſſed the Streights of *Magellan*, in a Voyage for the *Molucca's*.

When he came out of the Coaſt of *Brazil*, Want of Proviſion, and the Impatience of his People, reduced him to the Neceſſity of altering his Deſign. He ran up the River *Plate*, and purſuing his Courſe as far as St. *Salvador*, landed his Men, and built a Fort at *Zarcarane*; and after this coming to the River *Paraguay*, he left the great River, and ſailed up that; where, at thirty Leagues he found a civilized People, employ'd on the Buſineſs of Agriculture.

Theſe, like the *Britons* of an earlier Time, were eminent in Arms as well as uſeful Arts. They oppoſed the Stranger, and he was obliged, after a conſiderable Loſs, to go lower down the River.

Here he met with another Adventurer ſent from *Galicia*, expreſs for this Diſcovery. Joining their Force, they ſent back an Account of their Voyage, with ſome Gold, Silver, and rich Commodities; and deſired a Reinforcement.

Tho' we had loſt the Service of this experienced and ſucceſsful Voyager, our own Country now produced thoſe who had Courage to undertake Diſcoveries.

The Year 1527, brought a Propoſal to the King from a Perſon of *Briſtol*, *Robert Thorne*, who offer'd to undertake a Voyage of Diſcovery to the North Pole. He propoſed ſo many Advantages, and was ſo well acquainted with the Nature of the Expedition, that the King liſten'd to him. Two Ships were fitted out, and victualled for the Service, and the Adventurer ſet ſail about the Middle of *May*.

He went very far North Weſt, and loſt one of his Ships near the North of *Newfoundland*; but with the other he purſued his Courſe, and made the Shore, about *Cape Breton*.

The Year 1530, brings upon the Stage of Diſcovery our Countryman, Captain *William Hawkins*. He was a Sea Officer in the Service of the Government, and much eſteemed by the King; a Man of Courage, and of Prudence, the two great Requiſites for ſuch Adventures.

This Commander in 1530, fitted out a Veſſel at his own Expence, and named it the *Paul* of *Plymouth*, the Place of his Nativity.

He was ſucceſsful in his firſt Voyage, which was to the Coaſt of *Brazil*; and he had ſome good Fortune in two others.

He trafficked firſt on the Coaſt of *Guinia* for

Elephants Teeth, and whatever elſe the Place afforded, that might be acceptable among the Savages, to whom he was bound: with theſe he trafficked advantageouſly; and by a Reſolution temper'd with a cool Diſcretion, he attempted many Things, and ſucceeded in them all.

The Confidence he gained among the Natives was ſuch, that he brought over to *England* one of the *Brazilian* Kings; leaving one of his own Men a Hoſtage for his Return.

The *Brazilian* Monarch was preſented to *Henry* the Eighth, with a Jewel hanging from his Lip; and artificial Tuſks ſticking out at Holes in his Cheeks.

He died on his Return, but the People being ſatisfied that no Injury had been done him, returned the Hoſtage.

All this Time *Henry*'s private Affairs took up his great Attention; his Marriages, and his Divorces, the Riſe and the Fall of *Woolſey*, and the Quarrels with his former Patron the Pope are the moſt material Tranſactions till 1533: in that Year was born *Elizabeth* his Daughter, by his Queen *Ann Bullein*, afterwards immortalized by her Reign.

Commerce was now but in its Riſe in *Britain*; and the more remote Traffick in its Infancy. Thoſe who relate to us the Attempts of ſuch as we have named, Men who inherited the Spirit and the Fortune of *Columbus*, talk of their Voyages to *Candia* and *Chio* as long and dangerous.

The Mother of *Elizabeth* was in the Year 1535, beheaded for Adultery; but there is another Tranſaction much more important to the Kingdom, and of Honour to the King, which characterizes the ſame Period; *Wales*, often at Enmity, and always aiming at Independency on *England*, was this Year united forever to the *Engliſh* Nation, annexed to, and incorporated with it.

The Diſcovery of *Thorne* in 1527, produced an Attempt in 1536, in which a great Number of Perſons of Fortune embarked under the Conduct of Mr. *Hore*: the Deſtination was to the North Weſt of *America*, and they ſet ſail at the End of *April* in two Ships.

The Event of this Voyage, if we may credit thoſe who pretend to relate it circumſtantially, was ſuch as might have reaſonably deterred Mankind from all future Attempts that Way.

They made the Coaſt of *Newfoundland*, and for ſome time ſubſiſted on Bear's Fleſh, with the Aſſiſtance of Roots; but Famine afterwards reduced them to the State of Cannibals.

From time to time the Men were miſſing; and it was at laſt diſcovered, that when a Party went out for Food, they killed and eat the Fleſh of one of their Companions. This we relate after ſuch as write poſitively on the Fact; but thoſe who deal in ſtrange Occurrences muſt be read with ſome Caution.

A *French* Ship relieved them, it put in by Accident, and the diſtreſſed *Engliſh* ſeized it. All Thoughts of Advantage and Diſcovery were over; and they embarked and ſailed for *England*.

In the Year 1537, *Henry* had a Son, Prince *Edward*, by his Queen *Jane Seymour*: the Mother dy'd in Childbed, and in the Year 1539, *Anne*, Princeſs of *Cleves*, was brought over in great Pomp, and ſoon after marry'd to him.

Such was the Condition of the *Engliſh* Navy at this Time, that a Fleet of fifty Sail went to convoy the Princeſs. This was one of *Henry*'s ſhort Marriages: it was very ſoon annulled by a Divorce, and the King marry'd *Catharine Howard*, his fifth Wife, executed afterwards as *Anna Bullein* had been for Adultery; and thus making a Way for a ſixth, the Lady *Catharine Parr*.

Thus were theſe Years employed in which nothing material was tranſacted in publick Affairs. The Kingdom was too powerful to be attempted by any foreign State, and the King too buſy in private Affairs to meditate Conqueſts.

CHAP. XII.

The Diſputes of England *with* Scotland *at this Period.*

THE *Scots* were always reſtleſs Neighbours, and they were now under the Protection, and with the Aſſiſtance of *France*, too troubleſome for the Patience of *Henry*.

His Naval Force was at all Times in a Condition of Service, and he now order'd a vaſt Fleet to invade the Coaſts.

'Twas in the Year 1544, that the Lord *Liſle*, made Admiral in the Place of the Earl of *Surrey*, had Commiſſion to revenge the Inſults *Britain* had received from theſe Northern Neighbours.

Two hundred Tranſports took on board the Forces then in the North, who embarked at *Newcaſtle*, and with theſe the Admiral's Fleet went off.

In the Beginning of *May* the Troops diſembark'd at *Leith*; and having taken that Town, they took their Courſe ſtrait for *Edinburgh*; which, againſt all Reſiſtance, they plunder'd and burnt.

The Caſtle eſcaped the Fate of the Town; its natural Strength, and the Bravery of the Garriſon, defended it againſt the utmoſt Force of the *Engliſh*.

The Admiral after this ſcoured the Coaſt of the Kingdom, deſtroying every Veſſel he could find; and after a very terrible Havock among them, returned to *England*.

The Land Forces were as powerful, and as bent upon Devaſtation: they burnt many Towns, and laid waſte the Country where they came, after which they retired without Loſs.

All this was done in ſo little Time, that *Henry* waken'd to the Strength of his People by theſe unoppoſed Succeſſes, determined to carry his Reſentment farther.

France had ſupported *Scotland*, and he reſolved he would reſent it properly: he ſent over thirty thouſand Men, and followed them in Perſon with more Forces in *July*.

He landed at *Calais*, and he marched ſtrait for *Bologne*, which he beſieged by Land, while the Lord High Admiral inveſted it alſo by Sea. The Town ſurrendered about the Middle of *September*; and *Henry*, ſatisfied with his Succeſs, returned to *England*.

CHAP. XIII.

The French *prepare to oppoſe the* Engliſh *at Sea.*

THE Loſs of *Bologne* was not only a Hurt, but an Indignity to *France*. The King reſolved to enter in earneſt into the War; and ſenſible that it was the Superiority the *Engliſh* had at Sea, that gave them Succeſs every where, gave Orders for the fitting out a powerful Fleet. The Recovery of *Bologne* was the firſt Point aimed to be accompliſhed; but much more was talked of in conſequence.

France had let her Naval Force lie unemployed; but it had not been ſuffered to go to ruin. In 1545 their Fleet fitted for Service conſiſted of two hundred and ten Sail; of which one hundred and fifty were Veſſels of Size and Force.

Theſe were aſſembled on the Coaſt of *Normandy*, under the Command of Monſ. *d'Annabault*, Admiral of *France*; and were reinforced by ten good Ships hired from the *Genoeſe*, and five and twenty Gallies commanded by the Baron *Delagarde*.

The Fleet firſt ready, the King declared his Purpoſe: he led his Land Force to beſiege *Bologne*; and he ordered the whole Armament at Sea to inveſt the Place, and prevent all Supplies from *England*.

Henry, upon Intelligence of the *French* Preparation, gave Orders for fitting out immediately a Fleet of a hundred Sail; and knowing very well how much the Preſence of a King haſtens all Preparations, he went himſelf to *Portſmouth* to ſee his Orders obey'd.

The *French* in the mean time were ready; and as they had Orders, were ſetting ſail for *Bologne*; but they were countermanded. The Neceſſaries for the Siege were not collected; and the King of *France* not chuſing ſuch a Fleet ſhould paſs any Time in Idleneſs, ſent them to make ſome Attempt upon the Coaſt of *England*.

Henry received the News while he was at *Portſmouth*; and he gave inſtant Orders for all the Veſſels that were ready to ſail to *Spithead*.

The *French* Admiral in the Beginning of *July*, ſet ſail with his whole Fleet for St. *Helens*.

An ill Accident attended the ſetting out of this Expedition; the Admiral's Ship took fire, and it was unextinguiſhable. This was a Ship of vaſtly greater Force than any other in the Navy, and the Loſs of her by this Accident was conſidered as an ill Omen by the Enthuſiaſts, who for that Reaſon exclaimed againſt the Expedition.

If the *Engliſh* had been as ſuperſtitious, they had the ſame Reaſon to talk of Omens; for one of the largeſt Ships in the Fleet periſh'd in the ſetting out, Sir *George Carew* was the Commander; the Ship the *Mary Roſe*; and he and all periſh'd.

The King had been but a few Hours out of the Veſſel, for he had dined on board her. A ſmall Sway overſet her; the Ports being made within ſixteen Inches of the Water, and ill conſtructed. This ſhews the *Engliſh* at that Period, were far from having arrived at Perfection in the Art of Shipbuilding.

CHAP. XIV.

The Engliſh *and* French *Fleets meet.*

THE *French*, emboldened by their Numbers, came on; and the *Engliſh* making up in Courage what they wanted in Force, attacked them.

The Inſult of coming upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, was in thoſe Times of national Honour, a Crime to be puniſhed by all Severity, and to be oppoſed under all Diſadvantages: they came up with them in the Evening, and not to loſe a Moment, Ship ſingled out Ship, and made to the Attack.

The Number of the Enemy reduced our Veſſels to a hard Condition, moſt of them were attacked on both Sides together; but they maintained their Places. Night parted them, and nothing elſe could have done it. The Advantage on either Side was little, but the Loſs on both Parts conſiderable.

Next Morning the *French* were not to be ſeen till the Sun-riſe ſhewed them landing Men upon the *Iſle of Wight*; they had not choſe to renew the Fight, but took this Method of inſulting us.

They made their Deſcent in three Places at once, and in each in large Parties; but the People roſe upon them, and drove them back.

A ſecond Attempt had no better Succeſs; and the Admiral finding nothing could be done at Land, and not caring to come in the Way of the *Engliſh* Fleet again, ſet ſail for *Pertet*, near *Bologne*.

In their Way they ſaw a Part of the Coaſt of *Suſſex* which appeared defenceleſs, and they immediately gave Orders for a Deſcent: they ſucceeded here as at the *Iſle of Wight*, they were repulſed with Loſs, and happy was he who got firſt to the Ships.

The Name of *Pelham* is diſtinguiſhed very honourably in this Action. The Gentlemen of the County of *Suſſex* raiſed a Force upon the Occaſion, and at their Head was Sir *Nicholas Pelham*, he led them againſt the Invaders; and boldly throwing himſelf between the Party that were landed and the Sea, made their Return very difficult; a great many fell, and ſome were taken Priſoners.

CHAP. XV.

An Engagement between the two Fleets.

THE King of *France* was by no means contented with the Conduct of his Admiral; he had expected nothing leſs than the Deſtruction of the whole *Engliſh* Fleet; and when ſome Men were landed at *Portet*, near *Bologne*, he gave his Commander Orders to return, and execute his Commands better than before.

Henry had been all this Time indefatigable in his Preparations for reinforcing his Fleet. Our Veſſels now amounted to a hundred Sail; and they had Orders to fight the *French* wherever they could find them.

D'Annibault ſaved them the Trouble of ſeeking him; he came up, and the *Engliſh* offering Battle, he did not decline it.

'Twas Evening when they met, as it had happen'd the Time more; but the *Engliſh* being now nearer an Equality in Number, made a better Uſe of the remaining Hours of Day-light.

They diſabled many of the Veſſels, and only Night prevented their taking ſeveral of them. As it was, the Damage was ſo conſiderable on the *French* Side, that they took the Advantage of Darkneſs to eſcape. They made *Havre de Grace*; and entertain'd an Idea of the *Engliſh* at Sea, that kept them long quiet.

Henry thank'd his Lord High Admiral, but told him, the Service for which his Fleet was equip'd, was not yet accompliſh'd. "The *French*, ſaid he, "are a polite Nation, they'll call us ill-bred if we "don't return their Viſit; go and pay them your "Compliments."

The Admiral obey'd his Orders; he ſailed for *Treport*, landed ſix thouſand Men, and burnt the Town, while his Sailors ſet fire to the Ships in Harbour: there were thirty of them, and not a Veſſel eſcaped. The Viſit return'd, the Fleet came back to *England*, where they were laid up for the Winter.

Thus ended the Year 1545; the *French* having made a very poor Uſe of their expenſive Fleets, and the *Engliſh* continuing Maſters of *Bologne*.

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CHAP. XVI.

The French *attempt again to recover* Bologne.

THE Importance of *Bologne*, and the national Diſhonour in the Loſs of it, weigh'd with the *French* againſt all the ill Succeſs of their Attempts in 1545. They open'd the Campaign of 1546, by new Attempts by Land, and by every Effort in their Power at Sea.

The firſt Point they aim'd to carry was, the ſiezing *Ambleteuſe*, which they propoſ'd to fortify, and by that Means cut off the Communication with *Calais*.

The *Engliſh* in theſe Times were as well aware of Advantages and Diſadvantages as their cunning Neighbours. Four Ships of War of the *Engliſh*, and four Pinnaces, lay before it; and on the 18th of *May* the Attempt was made to force them off.

The *French* knew how neceſſary a conſiderable Superiority was when the *Engliſh* were to be attacked, and they ſent eighteen Gallies to fight them.

Our People had Intelligence, and they made good Uſe of it. The King ſent over nine thouſand Men, and encamp'd them in the Neighbourhood, and left the Ships to make their own Defence.

The *French* Gallies came up in good Order, and made the Attack with Fury; but theirs is but the Courage of a Moment: the Reſolution with which they were receiv'd, made them think of getting off as faſt as they could; and they eſcaped by the Help of good Rowing, with the Loſs of many Men, and one of their Veſſels.

They had a Calm to thank for their Eſcape: in this Fortune greatly favour'd them, for they could get off by means of their Oars; and this was the Uſe the *French* made of theſe Veſſels all the War. They ſerved as a kind of Huſſar Regiment, to attack and retire with Expedition; to harraſs an Enemy at any Diſadvantage, and always to be ſecure by their Swiftneſs.

However, they now ſaw that to fight the *Engliſh* on the Sea, was to diſpute where they were ſure to be beaten; they were diſhearten'd at the great Expence, and the little Advantage, and deſirous of an Accommodation: a Peace was ſign'd in the Month of *June*; and the next Year *Henry* the Eighth dy'd.

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CHAP. XVII.

The Succeſſion of Edward *the Sixth.*

THE Death of *Henry* the Eighth left the Crown of *England* to his only Son, an Infant; he was in his tenth Year when he was proclaim'd under the Name of *Edward* the Sixth.

France had made Peace a little before, and her Wound was yet too raw from the *Britiſh* Sword, to think of breaking it: but 'twas not ſo with *Scotland*; that Nation knew the Diſadvantages under which *England* lay with an Infant King; and reſolved to take the Benefit of them.

Edward's Miniſtry came into Poſſeſſion of a conſiderable Fleet, and a well diſciplined, and large Land Force; but the Navy was not yet got upon that reſpectable Footing on which the natural Strength of *England* might before have placed it.

Among the Ships of War employ'd by the late King againſt the *French*, there were many hired ones: the *Venetians*, the *Genoeſe*, and the *Hanſe Towns*, were the Reſource of this Prince, and they always found their Account in keeping Ships ready.

As we had not in the Time of *Henry* the Eighth, arrived at the Wiſdom of keeping large Fleets of our own, neither had we attain'd the Perfection of building, nor brought them to the Size and Force they now carry.

In the Beginning of this Century, a Veſſel with more than one Deck was not known, nor were there any ſuch Contrivance as Port-holes for the Cannon.

Theſe are Points we trace out occaſionally, and by Accident in the Records of thoſe Times; for the Hiſtory of Ship-building is a Point in which our Writers are defective.

The Uſe of Gunpowder was not very old at the Time we now treat of; and 'tis evident that Cannon came into Service in Ships but about the Beginning of the ſixteenth Century; then, like all other new Inventions, they were but awkwardly manag'd: they were placed upon the Deck, and they did little Execution.

When the Addition of another Deck, or the Uſe of Port holes came in, we are not able exactly to determine; all we know is, that it was between the Beginning and the Middle of the ſixteenth Century; for in 1545 the *French* had the Uſe of them: this appears by the Accounts given of the Action between the *French* and *Engliſh* that Year by their Hiſtorians *Bellay* and *Daniel*.

They are Authors little to be relied on for the Particulars of an Action; for the Glory of their Nation is the ſole Point of their Writing, and they will ſtrain the Truth to ſerve it: theſe Circumſtances however we may obtain from them, as well as from Authors of more Authenticity.

But tho' the Structure of the Veſſels was now better than at any preceding Time, yet in this memorable Action they could have carried very few Cannon. The two Fleets conſiſted of a hundred and ninety Ships; and the Hiſtorian, who gives the moſt circumſtantial Account of it, relates, that the Fight continued two Hours; and that on the two Sides there were fired three hundred Cannon Shot. He mentions this as a very great Number: he is aſtoniſh'd at it; and expects his Readers to join his Wonder.

We know how very ſmall a Quantity this is, compar'd with what would be now fired, in the ſame Space of Time, by ſo many Veſſels.

It is thus we arrive at a Knowledge of the State of Naval Affairs in remote Periods. We ſee that tho' Cannon had been ſome Time in uſe on board Ships of War, and Port-holes were invented for firing them; yet the Sailors were very unhandy in the Uſe of them, and a Sea Engagement was a very ſlight Matter to what it is at preſent.

We are aſtoniſh'd at the Number of Ships employ'd on each Part upon theſe Occaſions; but there is a Conſideration to be had of their Size, the Number of Men the Generality of them carried, ſhews they were much inferior to ours.

The *French* Writers infer the ſame Fact; but they draw the Concluſion from very different Principles. *Daniel* obſerves, the Ships of War of that Time could not be large, becauſe they were fitted out in Harbours, where at this Time Ships of a middle Size can hardly ride: but he ſhould have conſider'd the Sea may have deſerted thoſe Harbours in part, or Sand have choaked them up. He obſerves, that Sheep feed at *Harfleur* on the very Spot where Fleets once rode at Anchor; and he ſhould have recollected, that the ſame Cauſes which utterly filled up the Place of the Water there, might have operated elſewhere in the ſame Way, though in a leſs Degree.

This is not mention'd to hint that the *French* Ships were larger at that Time than is ſuppoſed, but that we are to judge with Caution when we follow theſe Authorities.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Fleets of England *employed againſt* Scotland.

THE *Scotch* Inroads awaken'd the *Engliſh* Reſentment; and that People were ſoon taught a Leſſon of good Policy, which was not to attempt the Peace of *England*, when her Arms were at Leiſure to be turned againſt them.

The Miniſtry offended at the mean Advantage the *Scots* would have taken of the King's Minority, and the Time of the Succeſſion; at once fitted out a Fleet, and collected an Army: both were very conſiderable, and the Fury of them was turned on *Scotland*.

The Fleet conſiſted of thirty-four large Ships; and twenty ſmaller, which ſerved for carrying Stores and Men. There was one Galley among the Ships of Force, and it was a large and a very ſerviceable Veſſel.

The Army conſiſted of thirteen Thouſand Foot, and near three Thouſand Horſe, excellent Troops, well officer'd, and well provided with every Neceſſary.

While this Preparation was making in *England*, the *Scots* were not idle; they fitted out Veſſels, and one of the largeſt of them call'd the *Lion* fell in with a ſmall Veſſel of the *Engliſh* the *Penſy*.

The *Scots* began the Fight at a Diſtance, where they had the Advantage from the Size of their Cannon, but the Captain of the *Penſy* came to cloſe Quarters as quickly as he could, and made ſo good Uſe of his Guns, that after killing a great many of the Men, and utterly diſabling the Veſſel, he took her.

The Glory of the *Engliſh* Captain was very great, becauſe of the great Superiority of his Adverſary's Veſſel; 'twas a Combat of *David* and *Goliah*. The ſmall Ship brought her in Tow for *Harwich*, but the Damage ſhe had received was ſo great, that ſhe ſunk by the Way.

The Duke of *Somerſet* had the Command of the Army, and he marched them into *Scotland*, fought the *Scots* on their own Ground, and beat them with a great Slaughter.

Mean Time the Fleet was not idle, the Lord *Clinton* commanded as Admiral, and Sir *William Woodhouſe* as Vice Admiral: they ſcoured the Coaſts, burnt the Sea Port Towns, and the Veſſels in the Harbours; and landing in many Places, laid Waſte all the Country.

Leith fell into the Hands of the Duke at this Time; and ſoon after *Edinburgh* yielded without Reſiſtance. The Ships of Force eſcaped at firſt the Fury of the *Engliſh*, not by Oppoſition, but by running up the Rivers, where 'twas not ſuppoſed they could have gone. But the Admiral no ſooner had Intelligence, than he ſent up Veſſels after them, and deſtroy'd them.

Scotland felt long the Deſtructions of this Year. There are Papers in the *Cotton* Library, which do great Honour to our Commanders in the Expedition, and ſay they did not leave one Ship of War in *Scotland*.

The Succeſs of this Year occaſioned an early Preparation for the Expeditions of the next. *Scotland*, not yet ſufficiently humbled, was deſtin'd to feel the Weight of the *Engliſh* Reſentment; and the Miniſters of her Vengeance were to be her Ships of War. A larger Fleet than that of the preceding Year was equip'd; but the Government now found that as much depended on an Admiral, as on the whole Force of the Preparation.

The Lord *Clinton*, who had behaved ſo gallantly the preceding Year, did not command in this Expedition. The Veſſels were given to the Command of Admiral *Seymour*; and all he atchieved in the Courſe of this was the burning four trading Veſſels.

He attempted to make Deſcents upon the Coaſts as the other Admiral had done; but he was in every one repulſed with Loſs. At the End of the Year he returned to the Ports of *England*, having at the Expence of many Lives, and a vaſt Sum of Money, done neither the *Scots* any Harm, nor his Country any Good.

CHAP. XIX.

The English *apply themſelves to Commerce.*

PEACE is the natural Parent of Traffick; and the *Engliſh* now enjoying it on all Parts, except this Diſpute with *Scotland*, in which ſhe was not combating but chaſtiſing, opened her Eyes to every Advantage that promiſed to ariſe from Trade.

The Coaſt of *Newfoundland* was now a Place of great Reſort for Fiſhing; and in the Year 1548, the King laid the Trade thither open; giving free Licence to all who pleaſed to trade, and fiſh there without Fee or Reward for the Privilege.

This Trade, which was very conſiderable at the Period now mention'd, fell into Neglect ſome Years after, and lay in a Manner dormant, till reviv'd of late Time.

Diſcoveries had been of vaſt Uſe to the Trade of other Nations, and *England* had put in for her Share of them; but ſhe had not been ſo ſucceſsful as ſome of her Neighbours.

The Government now in Earneſt conſider'd the Means of reaping this Benefit; and they found one Man more likely than all others to aſſiſt them; this was *Sebaſtian Cabot*, the Author of many great Diſcoveries, and thoſe of the utmoſt Importance. He had been at one Time careſs'd in *England*, afterwards neglected; and he was now courted again. The Patent is yet extant, by which *Edward* the Sixth in 1549 ſettled on him a Penſion for Life of near Two Hundred Pounds a Year; the Preamble ſays, it was in Conſideration of his Skill in Navigation, and as a Reward for his Services.

By this Reward he was firmly engaged in the Service of *England*; and he deſerved it by his future Behaviour.

A War with *France* interrupted the Plans of Commerce for the Remainder of this Year, but they were ſoon revived.

The *French*, who never make Peace but to make Preparations, had no other Intereſt in that they ſigned in 1546. They had employed the Time it gave them in building and fitting out Veſſels; and when they found themſelves able to bring them into Service, they ſhew'd how little Treaties bind them.

The Iſlands of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey* were the Objects of their Attention at that Time. It galled them that *England* ſhould be in Poſſeſſion of Places which Nature had in a Manner annexed to their Kingdom; and thinking they could ſupport what they ſhould undertake againſt them, they fitted out a powerful Fleet, and embarking two thouſand Land Forces on board them, order'd their Admiral to land his Men; and take, and keep Poſſeſſion.

Theſe Iſlands, formerly a Part of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, were now all that *England* poſſeſſed of that Province.

The *Engliſh* Government had Notice of the Preparation, and they determined to uſe every Effort for keeping the Poſſeſſion of this laſt Remain of their *French* Territories; they ſucceeded, for they choſe a proper Officer for the Purpoſe.

The Command of a ſmall Fleet was given to Capt. *Winter*, and eight hundred Land Forces were embarked on board him.

He ſet ſail; and he arrived before the Iſlands much at the ſame Time with the *French*. He found them vaſtly ſuperior to him in the Number and Strength of their Veſſels; but he was not diſcouraged. He harangued his People, bade them remember theſe were *French* and they were *Engliſh*; that it was Valour, and not Number, that gave Victory; and if they would follow where he led them, an Hour ſhould give Proof of it.

He was an *Engliſhman* who ſpoke, and an Honour to his Country; he aſtoniſh'd the *French* by the Boldneſs of his Attack, and Fear followed their Wonder: they loſt a thouſand of their Men, and all their Gallies. Thus were *Guernſey* and *Jerſey* preſerved to the *Engliſh*; and a new Cauſe of Deſpair given to the *French*; they ſaw no Superiority was an Aſſurance of Succeſs.

CHAP. XX.

Farther Advances of the English *in their Commerce.*

WE have obſerved, that a very few Years before this Time, ſuch as recounted long and hazardous Voyages, placed among the Number thoſe to *Candia* and *Chio*.

The *Engliſh*, who had found the Advantage of theſe, began now to make them more familiar. We owe their Succeſs to a Foreigner, his Name *Salvago*: he, though poſſeſſed of no Veſſel of his own, underſtood the Sea and Commerce; and hiring one, made in 1551 his firſt Voyage up the *Streights*.

He ſhewed what Advantage might be had from the Traffick with *Candia*; and his Journal ſet that Matter upon a clearer and more familiar Footing than it had been before. The Danger was from the *Turks*: but for the reſt, there appeared ſo much Profit, and ſo little Tedioufneſs or Hazard in the Voyage, that it became familiar.

The ſame Year firſt ſaw an *Engliſhman* upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*; the Spirit of Enterprize was ſtrong in the Breaſts of thoſe who knew the Sea. The Succeſs and the Rewards of *Cabot* inſpired them farther, and one of the Conſequences of this general Turn of the People, was a Voyage to *Guinea* by *Thomas Windham*.

Moſt looked on him as ſacrificed; but he returned ſucceſsful. He came back loaded with Dates, Almonds and Sugar.

He followed his Succeſs with a ſecond Voyage, and he returned better rewarded than in the former: this gave others Spirit; and *Guinea* became one of the regular Parts of *Engliſh* Commerce.

Others had Advantage; but he who had made the firſt Attempt had, as he deſerved, the greateſt Benefit.

In 1553 *Windham* ſet ſail from *Portſmouth* with three Ships, better inſtructed in the Produce of the Country, more ſenſible what was valuable to them, and with a *Portugueſe*, *Pintado* in his Company, a Man of great Knowledge and Spirit.

Hitherto *Sophia* and *Santa Cruz* had been the only Places he viſited; but in this third Voyage he went up as far as *Benin*, and inſtead of Dates and Almonds traded for Gold.

They here learned what farther the Country produced; and not ſatisfied with the great Advantage they had made, went farther, and ſtaid longer for a Loading of Pepper.

Windham died by this raſh Reſolution; and many of the Men periſh'd in the ſame Manner under the intolerable Heat; but thoſe who return'd found the *Engliſh* very ready to employ them on any Terms again; that they might reap the Advantage of the Commerce.

CHAP. XXI.

Cabot's *Propoſal of a North Eaſt Paſſage to* China *and the* Indies.

S*Ebaſtian Cabot* honour'd with the Regard of the Crown, and made happy by a conſiderable Penſion, though he determined to paſs the Remainder of his Life at home, was not idle in his Retirement.

In the Year 1553, noted by ſo many other Attempts, this great Diſcoverer waited on the young King with a Propoſal for attempting a North-Eaſt Paſſage to *China* and the *Indies*.

Edward, tho' young, was diſtinguiſh'd throughout *Europe* by his Learning and his Knowledge; uncommon at ſuch a Time of Life. He received *Cabot* with great Favour, and heard him explain the Reaſons of the Deſign with that Pleaſure, which attends the Attainment of Knowledge in thoſe who truly love it.

He was convinced of the apparent Proſpect there was of Succeſs, and highly ſenſible of the Advantage that would attend the Diſcovery. He order'd three Ships to be fitted out for the Voyage: and gave to *Cabot* the Choice of their Commanders; and the Order of the Voyage.

The Names of the Ships were the *Bona Eſperanza*, the *Edward Bonaventura*, and the *Bona Confidenza*. The firſt was the Admiral's Ship, and the Command was given to Sir *Hugh Willughby*; Captain *Richard Chancellor* commanded in the *Edward Bonaventura*; and each Veſſel had a Pinnace and a Boat with it.

The King promiſed them his Protection and Regard, and gave them miſſive Letters; and from the Mouth of *Cabot* they received Inſtructions. He ſettled every thing for the good Conduct of their Voyage; and eſtabliſhed among them a Council of twelve, conſiſting of the Admiral, Captains, and other chief Perſons in the ſeveral Ships.

Every Thing thus prepared, the Veſſels ſet ſail on the 10th of *May* 1553.

It was the 23d of *June* when they left the Coaſt of *England*; and ſteering their Courſe according to the Inſtructions of *Cabot*, they firſt ſaw Land on the 14th of *July*.

The Land conſiſted of many Iſlands, which they called *Ægelland*, and *Halgeland*: it was inhabited, but they found only the Huts of the Natives, for the People fled at ſight of the Veſſels.

On the 19th they fell in with many other Iſlands, on which they found People employ'd in the Hay Harveſt; they were *Danes*, and the Iſlands thoſe of *Roſt*.

On the ſeven and twentieth they made Land again, touching at an Iſland, where they ſtill found *Danes*; theſe Iſlands were called *Lofoot*, and ſubject as the others, to the King of *Denmark*.

On the thirtieth they made the Iſle of *Seynam*, ſtill ſubject to the *Daniſh* Crown: in ſeventy Degrees Latitude a Storm ſeparated the Veſſels in the Night off the North Cape.

The Ship of Sir *Hugh Willughby*, with the Confidenza, which join'd it ſoon after, purſued their Courſe; the *Edward*, *Bonaventure*, they ſaw no more.

On the fourteenth of *Auguſt* they made Land again in the Latitude of ſeventy-two Degrees. This was *Greenland*, then called from the Commander in this Expedition *Willughby* Land.

The fourth of *September* the contrary Winds drove them from Land; and the Froſts coming on, they found it impoſſible to get back.

Here they were frozen up in the Ice, and here all periſh'd.

The Admiral's Veſſel was found the ſucceeding Year in the River *Arzina* in *Lapland*; the Captain in his Cabin with his Will, and the Notes of his Journal before him; and the reſt of the People in the different Parts of the Ship where they had dy'd, frozen; ſome ſingle, ſome in Cluſters: a Sight, enough one would have thought to have damp'd the Ardour of Diſcoveries in the moſt bold Imagination.

What became of the Confidenza, which accompany'd the Admiral, was never known; doubtleſs ſhe periſh'd, and her People, as his had done: and the ſame Opinion was univerſally entertain'd of the other; Captain *Chancellor* was ſuppos'd to have ſhared the ſame Fate as the reſt: but it appear'd afterwards, that the Storm which had ſeparated him from the reſt of the Ships off North Cape, had ſaved him from Deſtruction.

It was on the 2d of *Auguſt* he loſt Sight of the reſt.

This was an Accident the prudent Mind of *Cabot* had ſuppoſed might happen, and he had prepared againſt the ill Effects of it. Captain *Chancellor* found among his Inſtructions what he was to do in caſe of Separation; and following the Direction, he ſailed for *Norway*.

He ſtaid ſeven Days at *Wardhouſe*; the appointed Place, and deſtin'd Time; and neither of the others joining him, he ſet ſail according to the general Inſtructions of the Voyage alone.

The Aſtoniſhment of the Captain and his Company was inexpreſſible, when after ſome Days ſail they came to a Place where the Sun did not ſet. They could not expect to be believ'd in relating the Story, ſo ſtrange are all Things in their firſt Diſcovery; but we now know familiarly, that near the Pole the Day is half a Year long, and the Night as much.

It was into this half Year's Day they came. They enter'd a large Bay, and they ſaw a Fiſhing Boat. The People were brought on board, and they threw themſelves at the Captain's Feet as if to worſhip him: ſuch a Ship had never been ſeen there before.

The Place was the Bay of *St. Nicholas*; they found the Country was called *Ruſſia*, or *Muſcovy*; a prodigious Empire, and their Prince *Juan Baſilowick*.

The polite Behaviour of the Captain to the Fiſhermen, and the Preſents with which he diſmiſs'd them, gave a favourable Impreſſion with Reſpect to the *Engliſh*.

The Governor of that Part of the Country came on board, and *Chancellor* told him his Buſineſs was with the Emperor. "That he was a Subject of the "King of *England*, a great and rich Nation; that "he had Letters and Preſents from the King his "Maſter to the Emperor, and came to traffick "with his Subjects."

The Governor was reſerved, but not uncivil: he let them have ſome Proviſions for their Money; and he told them, "When he had learn'd the Will "of his Maſter, he would treat with them farther."

He ſent to Court, but the Diſtance was a hundred and fifty Miles: *Chancellor* was tired with waiting for the Return of the Meſſenger, and he ſet out for the Royal Reſidence.

In his Way he met the Meſſenger, who had been ſent forward by the Governor; and who was returning with the Emperor's Deſire, that the Stranger would come to him.

Captain *Chancellor* on this proceeded in his Journey with better Spirits than he had ſet out. He carry'd with him ſuch Preſents as he thought would be moſt acceptable; and he was receiv'd at *Moſcow* with the greateſt Favour.

The Captain was aſtoniſh'd at the Richneſs and Splendor of the *Muſcovite* Court. His miſſive Letters were receiv'd with the utmoſt Reſpect. We owe him the Juſtice to acknowledge, that he was the firſt who diſcover'd the Paſſage to *Archangel* from this Kingdom; and that he ſettled at once a very amicable Correſpondence there, and a very advantageous Commerce.

With theſe Expeditions cloſed the Life of *Edward* the Sixth, their great Promoter and Encourager. This King, after giving to all *Europe* the greateſt Expectations from his early Knowledge, Virtue, and Application to publick Buſineſs, dy'd after ſix Years Reign, on the ſixth Day of *July*, in the Year one Thouſand five Hundred fifty-three.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

A Review of the Hiſtory of BRITAIN *from the Reign of* Henry *the Eighth.*

THE Naval Tranſactions of our Kingdom, the great and immediate Buſineſs of this Hiſtory, having been ſo many, and ſo conſiderable in the two laſt Reigns, that we have thought it improper to break in upon the Detail by any other Facts; we ſhall here connect the ſeveral Parts of Hiſtory together.

All know that to *Henry* the Eighth we owe the Reformation.

The Divorce of that Sovereign from *Catharine* of *Arragon*, was an Incident pregnant with Events little imagin'd to be dependant on it: not *England* only, but all *Europe* found themſelves intereſted in its Conſequences; and his Diſpute with the Pope ended in the Reformation of the national Religion.

Popes are no Prophets, for had they foreſeen what was to happen under the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, they would never have loaded him as they did with Titles, and with Honours.

He had been till this Time the great Aſſertor of Papal Authority, and the Champion of the Roman Catholick Religion; but under the Provocations he met with on this Occaſion, he utterly deſtroy'd the Power of *Rome* in his Dominions, and ſubverted thoſe Tenets he had patronized.

From this Time *Henry* aſſumed a new Character, he gave up all his Thoughts of Enterprizes Abroad, and he became tyrannical and inſolent at Home. He had ſuffer'd himſelf to be amuſed by the Pope; and when he ſaw it he reſented it. He found his People ripe for a Rebellion againſt the holy Tyrant of the Church: almoſt two Hundred Years before, *Wickliff* had ſown the Seeds of this Diſſention, and after ſo long reſt, they now ſhot up in all their natural Vigour.

All he had ſaid againſt the Uſurpations of the Pope, and the Pride of the Clergy, were now called up in Remembrance: the Lollards were looked on as a Set of Martyrs; and *Luther* had riſen to compleat what *Wickliff* begun.

The King no ſooner declared his Diſtaſte of Popes and Popery, but the univerſal Voice of his People called for a Reformation in the Church; not in Diſcipline alone, but Doctrine.

The Difficulties thrown in the Way of the Divorce at *Rome*, and *Henry*'s impatient Temper, agreed ill together: he was tired and teaz'd, and he found when he examin'd the Matter more deeply, that he was inſulted and impoſed upon; he took a Reſolution to accompliſh this Buſineſs another Way, and to rid himſelf and his People from the intolerable Yoke of *Rome*.

The Affair of the Divorce now became a national Concern, and the King's Cauſe the Cauſe of his Subjects: the farther he proceeded, the more he was encouraged to proceed; and he brought about that Change, ſo happy for this Nation, though at the Expence of ſome of the Peoples Liberties.

It ſeems to have been the immediate Hand of Providence that directed a Minority, and the firſt Years of a wiſe and moderate King, to follow the Tyranny of *Henry* the Eighth.

To the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was in great Truſt in the King's Minority, we owe the compleat Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England* upon the Ruins of Popery.

The Reign of *Mary*, to which we now proceed, gave a violent Shock to the new eſtabliſh'd Church: but it was ſo well eſtabliſh'd, that this Perſecution which failed to overthrow, ſerved to confirm it. The Papal Authority was no more to be reſtored in *Britain*.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Reign of Mary.

THE Death of *Edward* the Sixth was a Stroke lamented by his People for a thouſand Reaſons. They ſaw the new eſtabliſh'd Religion at Stake, for they knew very well the Temper and the Inclinations of the Succeſſor. Three Days it was concealed; and in this Time various Deſigns were form'd, and ſet aſide again by the People neareſt the Government.

Upon the tenth of *July* 1553, the fifth Day after the King's Death, the Lady *Jane Grey*, diſtinguiſh'd by her Wiſdom, Piety, and Virtue was proclaimed Queen. This was the Act of the Council, and it was done in conſequence of the King's Will: but that was a precarious Title, as the unhappy Lady experienced.

Indeed the Conduct of *Henry* the Eighth in private and in publick Affairs, had laid the Kingdom open to diſputed Claims, and Civil Wars. His Marriages and his Divorces, the confirming and annulling various Sentences, and his arbitrary Power aſſuming to diſpoſe the Crown by Will, had left it open to four Claimants, all Females. Theſe were *Mary*, *Elizabeth*, *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and the Lady *Jane*.

The two middle Names ſaw the Conſequences, and never made the Claim on this Occaſion: but while the Lady *Jane* was named Queen at *London*, *Mary* was proclaim'd at *Norwich*. One pleaded the Will of *Henry* the Eighth her Father; the other, the Will of the late King; but into the Scale of *Mary* fell alſo a Right of Birth.

Chance directed Things in her favour. When Affairs are brought near an Equality, the leaſt Incident turns the Balance.

Northumberland who eſpouſed the Cauſe of Lady *Jane*,

Jane, conſider'd the Princeſs *Mary* as a Traitreſs; and he commiſſion'd a Squadron of ſix Men of War to cruize upon the Northern Coaſts, and not permit her to eſcape the Kingdom.

Sir *Henry Jernegan* in the mean time was levying Forces in *Norfolk*, to ſupport that Princeſſes Claim; and it ſo happen'd, that while he was in the Neighbourhood of *Yarmouth*, the Ships deſtined for the Service of Lady *Jane*, were driven there by a Storm.

Jernegan immediately ſent to the Commanders, and to their Men: he threaten'd to bring his new rais'd Force upon them, and to treat them as Traitors; unleſs they join'd the Cauſe of *Mary*.

They did ſo, and the Arms raiſed for Lady *Jane* were now turn'd againſt her.

This led the Way to other Defections of the like kind. Sir *Edward Haſtings*, commiſſion'd to levy Forces in her Cauſe, finding the other Claim prevailing, took them to that Party, and proclaimed *Mary* Queen of *England* at *Buckingham*. This was follow'd by the ſame Conduct in many others; and laſt of all the Council, terrify'd by the Succeſſes of the other Party, deſerted their new Queen, and *Mary* was proclaim'd in *London*.

The Lady *Jane* gave up her Claim on this; and all Things now favouring the other Party, *Mary* was on the firſt of *October* crown'd.

The Fate of the Lady *Jane* has exerciſed the Genius of our Dramatick Writers, and forms a melancholy Story.

About nine Months after *Mary* was marry'd at *Wincheſter*, to *Philip* Prince of *Spain*; who came over to *Southampton* for that Purpoſe, with no leſs a Fleet than a hundred and ſixty Sail.

Mary, who had a thorough Senſe of the Diſpoſition of the People with reſpect to the Reformation, declared ſhe would make no Change in the Religion newly eſtabliſh'd: People knew her Principles were *Romiſh*, but they unhappily believed her.

Her next Declaration was leſs full upon the Subject; it was, that ſhe would not force any Man's Conſcience: and the third was in the ſame Words, but with this Clauſe, till it was done by publick Aſſent.

All ſaw ſhe favour'd thoſe of her own Perſwaſion; and ſuch as had Diſcernment, perceiv'd the Danger of the new eſtabliſh'd Faith.

The Biſhops depoſed in the late King's Reign for their Adherence to the *Romiſh* Communion, were recalled; thoſe who had been moſt zealous for the Proteſtant Cauſe, were degraded and impriſon'd: and next, the *Roman* Catholick Religion, contrary to the Laws, was publickly ſolemnized.

Thus by Degrees Things grew from bad to worſe. The Papal Power was reſtored, and the Acts againſt Hereticks were put in Force. *Gardner* kept up the Queen's burning Zeal, and undertook to extirpate all Hereticks out of the Kingdom.

Men ſaw what was coming: they had well underſtood the Reaſons of the Reformation, and they abhorred and dreaded a Return, when their Eyes had once been open'd, to the *Romiſh* Errors.

They prefer'd to this Apoſtacy Exile, and afterwards Death.

Many left the Kingdom in Terror of what plainly was to happen; and when the Queen ſaw this, ſhe ſtop'd it by an Edict.

To profeſs Proteſtantiſm now became a Capital Crime, and the Year 1555 was ſtain'd with numerous Executions. All who were accuſed were found guilty; all who were found guilty, executed; and this with a Severity that ſhewed Judges and Executioners were as bloody as their Queen.

This was the Reign of her, diſtinguiſh'd by that Epithet, with too much Reaſon.

Mary twice fancy'd herſelf with Child, but happily for *England* it was no more than Fancy. *Philip* grew weary of her, and he left *England* ſoon after.

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CHAP. XXIV.

The English *Trade to* Ruſſia *eſtabliſh'd.*

WHILE *England* was, under this terrible Reign, a Scene of Blood and Maſſacre, Commerce in a ſurprizing Manner, ſtill puſh'd her Intereſts. Far from being diſcourag'd, it ſeem'd promoted by the Oppreſſion of civil and religious Liberty. It was the only Method left of getting out of a Kingdom, in which every Man hated or fear'd to live.

We have ſeen the Succeſs of Captain *Windham*, the firſt *Engliſhman* who ſet his Foot on the Coaſt of *Guinea*, and we have ſeen his Loſs: both ſerved as Leſſons to ſucceeding Adventurers, and the firſt among theſe was *Locke*. He found by the Story of his Countrymen what might, and what could not be done as Things then ſtood; and by attempting no more than Prudence dictated, and Experience ſhew'd practicable, he ſucceeded.

This Adventurer went with three Ships to the Coaſt of *Guinea*, and traded along the Shore ſo far as *Windham* had gone with Safety: he brought back Ivory and Gold: and made a very ſafe and ſucceſsful Voyage.

The Death of *Windham* had deterred others from the Thoughts of this Voyage; and the Trade to *Guinea* which offer'd thoſe, and promiſed other very valuable Articles of Commerce, was near ſinking at the ſame Time it roſe; this ſecond and more ſucceſsful Adventurer, eſtabliſh'd at once the Advantage and the Safety of the Traffick, and may be called the Patron of this great and uſeful Branch of Commerce; the Extent of which was not then known.

By this Time Captain *Chancellor*, who had penetrated to *Archangel*, and eſtabliſh'd Amity and Commerce between *England* and *Ruſſia*, was returning home.

The Emperor who was extreamly pleaſed with the Offer of the King of *England*'s Friendſhip, and the Hope of receiving many of the beſt Products of our Country in the Courſe of Trade, anſwer'd the miſſive Letter that Adventurer brought in ſuch Terms, as laid the Foundation of the Trade afterwards carried on between the two Kingdoms.

The Captain at his Return found the Face of Things ſtrangely alter'd; inſtead of the Encouragement of Arts, he ſaw the Perſecution of the Reform'd the ſole Buſineſs of the Court; and that the Letter he had brought for the ſixth *Edward*, muſt be deliver'd to a furious Woman; madden'd by her Prieſts, and Wife to a *Spaniard*.

He ſaw this with a Concern equal to the Cauſe, but he perform'd his Commiſſion. He had been long given over as loſt, when he return'd with the Letters of a mighty Emperor to the Sovereign of his own Kingdom; and with Patents under his Great Seal for Freedom of Commerce to the *Engliſh* Nation, and an Invitation to them to accept his Friendſhip.

Philip was not yet quite tired of his Queen: he was in *England*, and he had Penetration enough to ſee the great Importance of this Tranſaction. *Mary*, guided by her Prieſts in other Things, was in this directed by her Huſband. They wrote jointly in return to the Emperor of *Ruſſia*, informing him of the Death of *Edward*; and adding their Deſires of keeping up a Friendſhip with him, and trade with his Subjects.

Captain *Chancellor* carry'd this Letter the ſucceeding Year 1555.

The Matter became now of ſerious Conſequence, and many embark'd in it together: among theſe were the beſt of the Nobility, who ſaw the Advantage their Country would receive from it; and many of the moſt conſiderable of the Merchants who ſaw their private Benefit in the Voyages. Theſe join'd in the Cauſe, and were incorporated by the royal Power, under the Name of Merchant Adventurers of *England* for the Diſcovery of unknown Territories.

Sebaſtian Cabot was appointed Governor for Life, and after his Death the Company were to chuſe their own. A Court of Directors was alſo appointed, conſiſting of twenty-eight Merchants, four of whom were diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of Conſuls, and the other as Aſſiſtants.

All this was confirm'd by Charter, and thus on the Part of *England* was the Trade to *Ruſſia* ſettled.

Chancellor, under the Title of grand Pilot of the Merchant Adventurers Fleet, conducted them to *Archangel*. He led them to the Court of the Emperor, where they found all he had ſaid of his former Reception fully verify'd. They were loaded with Favours, and many and very honourable Privileges were granted to them, and confirm'd by the Emperor.

Thus was the *Engliſh* Trade to *Ruſſia* begun in the Year 1553, and in 1555 abſolutely eſtabliſh'd by the two Crowns.

CHAP. XXV.

The English *enlarge their Commerce.*

MEAN time the happy Expedition of Mr. *Locke* to *Guinea* ſhew'd all the Advantages of that Traffick, and cured Men of thoſe Fears the Loſs of *Windham* had cauſed.

In 1555 while the Company ſent *Chancellor* to *Ruſſia*, *Towerſon* went with two Ships to that Coaſt, and brought home Gold. He gave a very favourable Account of the Natives, and their Manner of trading; and this grew apace like the *Ruſſian* into a regular Branch of Traffick.

With what Aſtoniſhment do we look back upon the many Ages wherein Commerce had been neglected, when we ſee how ſucceſsfully it roſe at this Period, under all the Diſadvantages that could attend it with reſpect to the Condition of the Government at Home.

The Reign of *Henry* the Eighth turbulent, and employ'd in domeſtick Quarrels, was in the Nature of Things little ſuited to encourage Commerce, and this Reign of religious Perſecution worſe; but the Thing being once ſet on Foot, the Advantages were ſo great it could not be cruſh'd. 'Twas to *Columbus* we and the reſt of *Europe* owe not only his own, but in their certain Cauſe all the Diſcoveries which honour'd this Period of Traffick.

In the Year 1555, *Chancellor* was ſent out on his third Voyage to *Ruſſia*; for it was a Trade, the Advantages of which were very plainly ſeen, and which was therefore now greatly regarded; he carry'd Preſents to the Emperor, and Letters from the Queen; and on his Return 1556, he brought on board his Veſſel an Embaſſador from the Emperor, whom we then firſt learnt to call the Czar.

This honourable Meſſenger brought Preſents for the Queen; and the moſt preſſing Invitation from the Czar to accept his Friendſhip, and the Commerce of his Dominions.

Though *Chancellor* return'd to his Country, he never ſet his Foot upon it, for he periſh'd on the Coaſt. His Ship was wreck'd on the Shores of *Scotland*; and in ſaving the Life of the Embaſſador, which he effected, he loſt his own.

The Embaſſador was met by the Company of Merchants; who, to ſhew their Importance, were dreſſed and attended by as many Servants as they could command. They eſcorted him to *London*; and there met him from the Queen the Lord Viſcount *Montague*, with a great Attendance.

The Merchants preſented the Embaſſador a Horſe richly capariſon'd. The Lord Mayor in his Formalities attended him at the Entrance of the City, and he rode between the Lord *Montague* and him to the Apartments prepared for him, where a Preſent was made him of Cloth of Gold and Silks for his Apparel.

Soon after he had his Audience: and every Thing being ſettled greatly to Satisfaction, he return'd on board the *Primroſe*, accompany'd by four other Ships, the Merchants having defray'd the whole Expence of his Stay in *England*.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Diſputes with the French.

PUBLICK Buſineſs now took up the Attention of the *Engliſh*. *Philip* who had left his Queen in Diſguſt, had now ſucceeded to the Crown of *Spain*; and good Policy taking the Place of Affection, brought him back to *England*.

The Reſignation of his Father made him King; and he knew how uſeful, if not neceſſary, the *Engliſh* Force would be to aſſiſt him againſt *France*. He declared War againſt that Kingdom in the Name of his own; and the Queen joining his Intereſts, follow'd the ſame Conduct.

The *Spaniſh* Forces were now in *Picardy*, lying before St. *Quintin*. The Queen ſent the Earl of *Pembroke* with a good Army to join them; and the Town was taken by Storm.

France reſented this in Earneſt: and in the Depth of Winter inveſted *Calais*. The Duke of *Guiſe* had the Command of the Troops; and they were numerous, and he was reſolute. The Town was ill provided for Defence; and after a few Weeks Siege ſurrender'd.

This was a heavy Stroke to *England*; two hundred Years had it been in our Poſſeſſion. The Loſs of *Calais* was follow'd by that of *Guines* and *Hames* Caſtle; and from that Time 1558, the *Engliſh* have never poſſeſs'd a Foot of Ground in *France*.

All this while the Executions for Religion were carry'd on with the moſt implacable Fury. It was a Capital Crime to have Books written in favour of the Reformation in Poſſeſſion; and ſo violent was the Zeal of the Biſhops, as well as the Queen in the Cauſe, that Repentance and a Recantation could not avert the Sentence.

A Sheriff was this Year impriſon'd for ordering the Fire to be put out, when a Proteſtant ſaid he recanted, and the unhappy Creature executed afterwards.

Happily for *England* a Dropſy ſeized the Queen; and gave the People the only Hope they could entertain of Happineſs, an Expectation of her Death.

Though no way particular with reſpect to Government, ſhe was deeply affected with the Loſs of *Calais*. To retake it would have been impoſſible, all that remain'd was, to revenge its Loſs: this the Queen meditated, and this *Philip* urg'd to the utmoſt.

A Fleet of no leſs than a hundred and forty Sail was fitted out, and the Command given to Lord *Clinton* the Lord High Admiral; and thirty Sail were added by *Philip* under the Command of his Admiral of the *Netherlands*.

The Deſign was upon *Breſt*; but that was found impracticable: they contented themſelves with ravaging the Coaſts of *Bretagne*, and burning ſome of the Towns. They brought away the Plunder, and return'd to *England*.

The Ships of *Philip* which had join'd them, ſtaid behind unluckily for themſelves. They continued their Ravages, and even ventured farther up into the Country; but the *French* did not ſuffer this ſmall Party to act as the whole Body had done: they fell upon them, deſtroy'd a great Number, took ſome Priſoners, and drove the reſt to their Ships.

This, however, was not all the Succeſs of *Philip*, and the *Engliſh* againſt the *French* that Year. The Marſhal *de Termes*, Governor of *Calais*, had made an Excurſion on the Side of *Newport* with a very conſiderable Force; and it happen'd, unexpectedly on either Part, that the Count *d'Egmont*, Governor of the Earldom of *Flanders*, was at that Time upon the March with a large Part of the *Spaniſh* Army, and had advanced toward the Place.

Spies brought Intelligence to either Army of the Approach and Number of the other: and of the great Superiority of the *Spaniards*, at the ſame Time that it ſpirited them up to preſs the Enemy to an Engagement, made the *French* wiſh to avoid it.

Marſhall *de Termes* gave Orders to march back for *Calais*, and took every Method to avoid the Count; but he preſs'd him ſo hard, that it was impoſſible.

This was not an Engagement between *French* and *Engliſh*, but *French* and *Spaniards*; and the Soldiers, when forced to fight, well knew the Difference. The Marſhal, when he ſaw he muſt engage, did it reſolutely. The Diſpute was obſtinate; and after a great Slaughter, Victory was declaring for the *French*, when by an Accident all turn'd the other Way.

The *Engliſh* had a Squadron cruiſing on thoſe Coaſts, and they were at that Time within the Sound of the Cannon. They enter'd the River; and the Tide favouring them, drew up in a Line, and flank'd the *French*. They fired their Broadſides on them, and this turn'd the Scale. The Victory was in the End compleat to the *Spaniards*; and the *French* Marſhal was taken Priſoner.

This was the laſt memorable Tranſaction in the Reign of Queen *Mary*; ſhe dy'd on the ſeventeenth of *November* this Year 1558: lamented by none but thoſe who had join'd in her blind Bigotry, and moſt deteſted Cruelties.

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CHAP. XXVII.

The Acceſſion of Elizabeth.

WE have ſeen the Commerce and the Arms of *England* ſucceſsful in the preceding Reign; but we are now advancing to one in which they reached their higheſt Glory: a Reign enthuſiaſtically admired and reverenced by our People; and indeed deſerving all, and more than has been ſaid of it.

The Death of *Mary* left three Competitors to the *Engliſh* Throne; *Elizabeth*, *Mary* of *Scotland*, and

Frances Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, Daughter of the younger *Mary*.

The ſeveral Claims were debated wiſely in Parliament; and upon that moſt mature Deliberation, the Title of *Elizabeth* was declared the faireſt. She was on the Day of *Mary*'s Death, proclaim'd Queen of *England*.

The Council and the principal Nobility were Papiſts; and the Biſhops who gave their Voice for her knew her a Proteſtant; they conſider'd her as a Woman, weak, and eaſily to be perſuaded; and they gave their Voices upon the Preſumption they ſhould be able to manage her.

The holy Diſſemblers were caught in their own Snare: there could not have been choſen from among the human Species, a Perſon whom it was more impoſſible for them to manage.

Elizabeth was of a Diſpoſition fit for Royalty; too reſolute to be awed by Miniſters; and too wiſe to be deceived by them. Heaven gave her Talents poſſeſs'd by few, and none ever made a better Uſe of them.

The Diſadvantages under which ſhe aſcended the Throne, were greater than many are aware; but ſhe ſaw the only Way to conquer them: this was, by gaining the Affection of her People. This ſhe ſtudy'd, this ſhe made her great Attempt; and ſhe took the true Way of attempting it, for ſhe did every Thing to deſerve it.

Elizabeth, a Proteſtant, aſcended the Throne, when the Nobility were in a manner all Papiſts, and moſt of them Bigots. But ſhe ſaw the Body of the People were inclined to the reform'd Faith; theſe had been Slaves and Vaſſals in former Times, but Commerce had begun now to enrich them, and their Riches to give them Independency and Power.

She ſaw the Change that had happen'd in their Condition, and ſhe ſaw the greater Change that would happen; ſhe perceived their Power, and ſhe lean'd on it entirely.

Henry the Seventh, in whoſe Reign Commerce began to extend her Influence, reduced more than all preceding Sovereigns, the Power of the Nobility; and by this alone the Importance of the Commons would have roſe; but Traffick now joining its Influence, it grew very faſt.

With their Encreaſe of Property, they grew impatient of that abject Dependance, in which they had been uſed to live to a few titled Fools; and thus roſe the Spirit of Liberty: always inherent in *Britons*, but never till that Period ſo perfectly diſplay'd.

Elizabeth, far from attempting to extend the Prerogative of the Crown, or bring the *Britiſh* Conſtitution into Danger, encouraged and ſupported this Spirit of Liberty in the People; to this owed the Courage they exerted in her Defence, when attacked from Abroad; and by this ſhe perfectly carry'd her Point of gaining their Hearts.

Inſtead of the learned Labours propoſed to her to clear and prove her Title to the Crown, ſhe was content to poſſeſs it to the Satiſfaction of the People, and ſhe made it their Intereſt to wiſh her continuing at their Head.

It was by this virtuous and wiſe Conduct, that a Woman eclipſed all the Kings of that Period, and moſt of the ſucceeding; and raiſed the Nation ſhe govern'd in the moſt dangerous and troubleſome Times, to a Condition more flouriſhing, more rich, and more reſpected than it had ever ſeen before. We make no Parallels with what has happened ſince.

This Queen underſtood better than all who had gone before her, the Spirit of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution. She found herſelf advanced againſt great Oppoſition, and great Perils, to the Throne of a Kingdom, where the Monarchy was in its Nature limited; and ſhe ſtudy'd what were thoſe Limitations: not that ſhe might find when they could occaſionally be tranſgreſs'd, but that ſhe never might tranſgreſs them.

She was contented with having the Power of doing every Thing ſhe ought; and thus at her firſt ſetting out in the Government, adapting her Thoughts and her Deſires to its Nature and Regulations, ſhe engaged the Hearts and Souls of her People, by every Way ſupporting it; by holding their Privileges ſacred, and by knowing and obſerving the Limitations of her own Power.

When *Elizabeth* came to the Throne, the Nation was divided into two Parties; the Papiſts the ſtronger, and render'd inſolent by the late Exerciſe of their Power; the Proteſtant the weaker, but the more numerous, and harden'd by Oppreſſion.

The Queen againſt all Expectation favour'd the weaker Party; but it was becauſe ſhe knew they would ſoon become under her Protection the ſtronger. The Body of the People were Proteſtants in their Hearts; and the Nobility of that, like thoſe of other Times, of no Religion in Reality; but wearing the Maſk of Popery becauſe it had been the Religion of the Court.

She knew the ſame Principle which had led them to that would carry them to the other Side; and that there could be no Difficulty in obtaining from them a Renunciation of a Faith they had never been at the Pains to underſtand.

One Religion with a Ribband would do as well for them as another Religion with a Ribband; but my Lord the Proteſtant, and Mr. *Somebody* the Roman Catholick, were Differences indeed. Theſe were Conſiderations in their light Minds, againſt which no Religion could weigh.

Thus Queen *Elizabeth* thought of the general Body of the Nobles of her Time, and thus ſhe found them: in the mean while by favouring the Proteſtant Religion, ſhe won the Hearts of all the common People; and reſpecting theſe as much as ſhe deſpiſed the others, ſhe built on the Foundation of their Love and Confidence, that Pile of Glory which no Time ſhall break.

She came to the Crown without a Friend, unleſs we are to except *Cecil*, afterwards Lord *Burleigh*. The Proteſtants whom ſhe favour'd were in a manner a devoted People; and the Papiſts whom ſhe determin'd to oppoſe, and who hated when they found they could not govern her, were in Poſſeſſion of all the Offices of Truſt and Power.

She therefore came to the Government of a People divided fatally againſt one another; and impoveriſhed by the laviſh Expences of three preceding Reigns.

Imagination cannot paint out a worſe State at Home, nor could any Period of our Hiſtory ſhew a more deſperate Condition of the Nation in reſpect of its Affairs Abroad.

The *Engliſh* Name which uſed to be reſpected, was fallen into Contempt: the Loſs of *Calais* had ſtamp'd an indelible Infamy upon the Reign of *Mary*; and the Nation, beſide its inteſtine Diviſions, was at War with *France* and alſo with *Scotland*.

Treaſures for the Support of a War never were ſo much wanted, and we had not in the World one Ally. *France* was an Enemy, and it was eaſy to ſee *Spain*, for whoſe Sake we had enter'd into a War with *France*, ſoon would be ſo.

Both theſe Nations were govern'd by young, by powerful, and by ambitious Kings; and a Woman was taken from a Priſon, or little better, to be placed againſt them upon the Throne of this divided, and exhauſted Nation.

Let *Britons* in all ſucceeding Times remember this Period; and it will in the worſt prevent Deſpair. What was not paſt Recovery in thoſe Circumſtances, can never be paſt Hope: and future Kings may read in her Annals the Way of conquering Difficulties.

The Queen with a determin'd Mind examined the Condition of her Kingdom; and when ſhe had dared to inform herſelf of the worſt, with a more than manly Spirit ſhe undertook the Care of its Concerns. She found the Kings of *France* and *Spain* Bigots to *Rome*, and conſequently implacable Enemies to her in their Nature. The one diſcloſed, the other ready to diſcloſe himſelf, whenever Time ſhould offer.

Henry the Second, then upon the Throne of *France*, joined to his Hatred of the Queen, Ambition. He claimed the Crown of *England*, as well as that of *Scotland*, for *Mary* his Daughter-in-Law: *Philip* of *Spain* ſoon threw off, as ſhe expected, the Maſk of Friendſhip, and he took up immediately that Spirit of implacable Enmity which he held againſt her his whole Life, a Period nearly equal to that of her Reign.

Mary Queen of *Scotland* was a very dangerous Competitor. She had Power and Intereſt; and beſide a Party at home, the Roman Catholick Princes of *Europe* were her natural Friends.

This was the Condition of *Elizabeth* at her aſcending the *Britiſh* Throne: and ſhe ſaw it. With the Danger ſhe perceived her Remedy. She placed her Strength in the Affection of her People; and to deſerve it, ſhe in all Things ſupported their Rights.

Under her Reign Liberty was ſacred, Learning was rewarded, and Commerce flouriſh'd: therefore every brave, every wiſe, and every opulent Man was her Friend. She thus divided the Nation anew into two Parties, the one of the worthy her Friends; the other the worthleſs. Her Strength was thus the Strength of the Nation; and whenever ſhe exerted it, thoſe againſt whom it was raiſed found it ſo.

Thus began a Reign, which was an Honour to *England*, and an Example to the World.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Conduct of Elizabeth *in the Beginning of her Reign.*

THE Queen who ſaw at one View what ſhe might reaſonably hope, and what ſhe had Cauſe to fear: took Cautions with Reſpect to both. She ſent Embaſſadors to the ſeveral *European* Courts with ſuch Inſtructions, as might beſt tend to influence them in her Favour; and having fortified the ſtrong Places in *England*, and taken due Care of the Affairs of *Ireland*, ſhe ſat down to the private Buſineſs of her People.

Thus ſecured by a prudent Beginning, ſhe laughed at Danger; and to the Aſtoniſhment of the prevailing Party, admitted into her Council eight of the principal among the Proteſtant Party.

Both Sides ſaw this with equal Wonder; but the Effect was different: if it made her ſome ſecret Enemies among the Roman Catholicks, it created a thouſand Friends for every one of them among the Proteſtants. They ſaw at once they were favoured, and they looked up after their late Deſpair.

The Queen declared to her Proteſtant Councellors the firm Reſolution ſhe had taken to reſtore that Religion, and took Meaſures with them for bringing it about.

Philip King of *Spain*, and Huſband to the late Queen of *England*, propoſed himſelf in Marriage to *Elizabeth*. She refuſed with the beſt Grace ſhe could; and told her Council this was a Man who would be an Enemy, but it was well to keep Terms with him as long as they could.

She called a Parliament, and ſhe iſſued a Proclamation, favouring the Proteſtant Religion; but yet very moderate. She trod the ſame Steps now in reſtoring the Reformation, that *Mary* had done in ſubverting it. She did not begin with Edicts againſt the one, but with ſome ſlight Indulgences to the other: this gave a Beginning, and the Cauſe roſe of itſelf, when once left free.

The firſt Buſineſs of the Parliament was to recognize the Queen's Title; which they did by a very favourable and expreſs Act. After this they turned their Thoughts upon the great Matter of Religion. The Firſt-fruits and Tenths had been already reſtored to the Crown, and the Parliament by ſucceſſive Acts, all in the ſame Spirit and Intention, ordered the publick Worſhip to be performed in the vulgar Tongue, reſtored to the Crown the Supremacy in Church Affairs, and renewed and confirmed all the Acts of the laſt *Edward*, favourable to the Proteſtant Cauſe.

The Biſhops attempted to oppoſe this, but they were over-powered; and when they ſaw they could not command, they obeyed with Readineſs. They indeed influenced ſome of the moſt popular Preachers to talk freely in the Favour of their Cauſe from the Pulpit; but this was ſoon ſtopt, and all Preaching without Licence from the Crown was forbid; as in the preceding Reign.

The Clergy ſaw they muſt comply or ſtarve;

and many choſe the former: there were ſome obſtinate, as there will be Enthuſiaſts in all religious Cauſes, but they hurt none but themſelves, for they were too weak to influence publick Meaſures.

CHAP. XXIX.

The State of Publick Affairs in the Beginning of the Reign of Elizabeth.

THIS prudent Care being taken of Affairs at home, the Queen reſumed her Attention to the general Concerns and Intereſt of the Nation; and ſhewed *Europe* what was to be expected in the ſucceeding Period of her Reign.

In the Year 1559 a Treaty was ſigned between *Elizabeth* and *Mary* Queen of *Scotland.* This took off one Object of Concern, and left her open to another, that demanded Notice. The King of *France* cauſed the Dauphin, and the Dauphineſs Queen, to aſſume the Title of King and Queen of *Scotland, England* and *Ireland*; and to quarter the Arms of thoſe Kingdoms. This rouſed the Spirit of *Elizabeth*, and ſhewed her what ſhe had to expect.

She began by making a Remonſtrance by her Embaſſador; but that was ſlighted, as ſhe expected it would: and informing her Council of this, ſhe told them that 'twas an Inſolence not to be forgot, though not worth particular Reſentment; that it ſhould ſleep at preſent, but in due Time it ſhould be remember'd.

Henry the Second of *France* had entertained the Purpoſe of attacking *Elizabeth*, in favour of the Queen of *Scots*; and his Death, which happened the next Year, did not at all diſconcert that Meaſure. *Francis* the Second, who ſucceeded him, entered on his Reign with the ſame Determination; and the *Guiſes* coming into Power, it was promoted warmly.

A ſmall Body of Troops was this Year ſent into *Scotland*, and the Inſtructions of their Commander *Lebroſe*, were to join the Catholicks of *England* for the depoſing of *Elizabeth.*

Elizabeth knew the Catholicks of *England* better than they did; and ſhe alſo knew her Friends: this *Scotland* found ſoon, and *France* learn'd the ſame Leſſon afterwards.

CHAP. XXX.

The French *Ships attack'd in* Leith *Road.*

HAppily for *Elizabeth* Parties raged in *Scotland. Francis* the Second, who had ſent over Forces, aſſumed a great Share in the Government; and ſhe found Reaſon to apprehend, that either by theſe Attempts at preſent, or by the Succeſſion in the Children of *Mary* afterwards, *Scotland* might be united to the Crown of *France.*

She was too wiſe not to foreſee the Conſequences; and whoever ſaw muſt fear them. She took Advantage of the Diſſentions raiſed in that Kingdom on the Uſurpations of *Francis*, and ſigned a Treaty with the Confederates.

Theſe were Proteſtants, and it became her Duty now, as well as her Intereſt, to protect them.

Elizabeth was ready to ſee her Duty, and never ſlow to execute it. She gave Orders for Raiſing a conſiderable Land Force to ſend thither, and ſhe gave the Command of a Squadron of Men of War, deſtin'd to the ſame Service, to Admiral *Winter*, a Man of diſtinguiſhed Courage and Integrity.

Francis who had hoped to bully *England*, as well as awe the confederate *Scots* in this Expedition, had convey'd his ſmall Force thither by a powerful Squadron, which he ordered by way of Defiance to ride at Anchor in the Road of *Leith*, to ſee the Operations in his Favour.

Elizabeth was not of a Temper to bear this Inſult, nor was the Admiral ſhe had choſe, ſlow to execute her Reſentment. She told him he had the Honour to be commiſſion'd for the firſt Blow againſt an aſpiring Neighbour, who had claim'd for his Deſcendants the Title of Kings of *England*, and bade him act as one who felt at once Indignity to his Country, and his own Honour in being firſt ſelected to reſent it.

The Admiral was a Perſon of few Words, he bow'd and went upon the Expedition.

He ſet ſail for the Firth of *Forth*, and went up to *Leith* Road, where he found the Veſſels of the *French* riding at Anchor, and inſulting the *Britiſh* Seas in an imagin'd Security.

The Land Forces were now advanced to beſiege the Town of *Leith*; and the Admiral gave them an Example of a brave and ſucceſsful Conduct, by attacking in their Sight this *French* Squadron. They made the beſt Reſiſtance they could, but not a Ship eſcap'd him.

From this Expedition he proceeded to block up the Iſland of *Inchkeith*, where there was a *French* Garriſon. Theſe he ſtarv'd into Submiſſion; and partly to his Vigilance and Spirit, partly to the Favour of the Heavens, the Nation owed the giving up this Project of our ambitious Neighbour.

The *French* heard the Loſs of their Veſſels, and the Succeſs of the *Engliſh*; and they ſent over a ſtronger Squadron, and a larger Reinforcement, under the Command of the Marquis *d'Elbeuf.*

Winter prepar'd to fight them, but a Storm ſav'd him the Trouble: they were ſcatter'd, and glad to get back as well as they could: and with this fruitleſs Preparation ended the Attempts upon *Scotland* on this Occaſion.

The Land Forces of the Queen laid Siege to *Leith*, defended by a *French* Garriſon, and they were aſſiſted by the Admiral, who after his Succeſs in his own Expeditions, took every Occaſion, in the Nature of his Service, to promote theirs.

The *French* were diſhearten'd; and they made Propoſals. They offer'd to give up *Calais*, if ſhe would draw her Forces out of *Scotland*; but ſhe reply'd, at her own Time ſhe would think of *Calais*: now the Buſineſs was in *Scotland*, and that ſhe knew the Importance of what ſhe was doing there as well as they.

France ſeeing nothing could be done, deſired a Peace, which was negotiated, and in the Compaſs of the Year ſettled at *Edinburgh*.

Elizabeth here made her own Terms. The *French* Forces were to quit *Scotland*, and to be convoy'd home in *Engliſh* Ships; and the Confederates were to be indemnify'd in all they had done by an Act of Oblivion.

Thus all was ſettled, and our Fleet and Land Forces return'd to *England*.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Queen's Preparations against foreign Attacks.

EUROPE ſaw by this Time that the Queen of *England* was a thorough Proteſtant; and that ſhe was reſolved to ſupport the Cauſe. The Roman Catholick Powers were all enrag'd, the Pope ſpirited them up ſecretly; and nothing was contrived with ſo much Zeal and Earneſtneſs in every Court, as the freeing the Catholicks of *England* from the Yoke of a Proteſtant Queen.

Elizabeth ſaw this: ſhe knew what ſhe had to expect, and ſhe prepar'd in Time againſt it. She was not lull'd into Security by a forc'd Peace, but acted now as in Time of War. She filled her Magazines, order'd Cannon to be caſt, and Gunpowder to be made in vaſt Quantities; and laid up in Readineſs all that could be requir'd in the greateſt Emergency.

What is moſt of all to her Honour is, that ſhe did this without oppreſſing her People. As ſhe was neither expenſive in her Way of Living, nor laviſh of the publick Money on her Favourites; ſhe was able to ſupport all this Expence without any great Burthens upon them. They rejoiced to ſee a more powerful Fleet than any preceding Sovereign had ever equip'd of his own, fitted for Service without their feeling the Load of the Preparation: and there was nothing they would have refuſed, becauſe ſhe aſked ſo little.

She built a Fortreſs on the *Medway* for the Protection of the Veſſels while they lay there; and ſhe prepar'd for putting them in Action, by ſelecting Commanders from the braveſt and moſt experienced in the Nation; and by enlarging their Pay.

While the Queen thus put into the beſt Order the great Bulwark of the Iſland its Fleet, ſhe did not neglect any thing at Land. She had heard from Hiſtory that *Scotland* always join'd her Inſults, to foreign Invaſions; and ſhe ſaw from Reaſon, that there never was more Probability of the Nation being invaded than at preſent; not ever an Inſtance in which thoſe *Scots* could be more intereſted to join it.

In this Senſe of the Danger ſhe repaired all the northern Fortreſſes; and having thus, while nothing threaten'd openly the Kingdom, provided againſt the latent Danger, as if it was every Moment coming on, ſhe explain'd her Conduct to her People, invited them now all was finiſh'd to enjoy with her the Security theſe Preparations gave them, and attend to the next Article, to the Security, that was the Proſperity and Wealth of the Kingdom, by enlarging Commerce.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Strength of the English *on the Sea at this Period.*

SPAIN had for a long Time aw'd the Seas with Fleets more powerful than thoſe of any other Nation: the *Engliſh* now began to diſpute the Sovereignty, and ſoon reclaim'd it. Our Country had in former Periods been more powerful than any other at Sea; but it was, becauſe others were weak upon that Element; now the Superiority was more glorious, becauſe the Competition was greater.

England had never been ſo powerful in her Navy as ſhe was in the Year 1560; and from the Attention this Sovereign paid to it, and the Rewards by which ſhe encourag'd every Article of the Service, ſhe might be with Juſtice called the Reſtorer of our Naval Glory.

The People caught the Fire from their beloved Queen, and while the Royal Navy continually encreaſed in Strength, the principal Inhabitants of the Sea Ports fitted out private Veſſels in great Numbers; and thoſe who wiſh'd to invade us, fear'd.

Francis the Second dy'd this Year, and *Mary* now a Widow, and deſtitute of that great Reſource, ſhould have aſſumed another Conduct.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The English *trade to* Perſia.

THE Words of the Queen were look'd upon as the Decrees of an Oracle by her People. She had recommended to them at the Cloſe of the Year 1560, the extending their Commerce; and early in 1561, Mr. *Jenkinſon*, who had before viſited the Court of *Ruſſia*, ſet out on his ſecond Voyage thither, big with the Proſpect of thence extending the *Britiſh* Trade over the *Caſpian*.

At theſe Times there were in the *Engliſh* thoſe two great Articles for improving Commerce, Knowledge and Spirit. This Adventurer poſſeſs'd them both, and that ſo equally, that it would not be eaſy to ſay which in him was the greater.

In his firſt Voyage he had penetrated to *Bogliar* in *Bactria*, and he had ſeen enough to tempt him, and nothing to diſcourage him from his preſent great Purpoſe.

The Queen was the Patroneſs of all uſeful Undertakings. The Company of Merchant Adventurers fitted out three Ships for the Expedition, and on the fourteenth of *May* he ſet ſail from *Graveſend*.

Two Months ſail carry'd him to the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*: 'twas on the fourteenth of *July* he ſaw *Ruſſia*.

He found new Difficulties in this Part of his Expedition; but he had the Spirit to oppoſe, and the Patience to go through them.

A new Secretary of State had been appointed in the Court of *Ruſſia*; and by whatever ſtrange Means it happen'd, he was an implacable Enemy to the *Engliſh*.

The Company of Merchant Adventurers had given to *Jenkinſon* a Caſket of Jewels, a Preſent to the Czar; but even with this Paſſport it was not without great Difficulties, and long Delays, he obtain'd Admittance.

He found the Czar, as he had been before, pleas'd highly with the Intercourſe eſtabliſh'd with our Nation; but in this, as it has ſometimes happen'd in other Courts, the Sovereign had leſs Power than his Miniſters.

The Delays that follow'd his Audience were more tedious than thoſe before it, but he oppoſed againſt them the ſame firm Patience, and negotiated with the Secretary by the never failing Secret of Rewards.

In the ſucceeding Spring he obtain'd the Letters of Licence and Paſſport to go through the Territories of the Czar into *Perſia*, and at the End of *April* he ſet out upon the Expedition.

New Worlds were open'd now to *Britain*, and new Reſources for her Commerce.

Jenkinſon went down the *Volga* to *Aſtracan*, and thence about the Middle of *July* he ſet ſail for *Derbent*, a-croſs the *Caſpian*: he reach'd his Deſtination without any Accident, and thence taking his Courſe South Eaſt, he arrived about the Middle of *Auguſt* at the Port of *Shabran*, in the Territories of the King of *Hircania*.

He apply'd to the Governor, from whom his *Muſcovite* Credentials obtain'd him a very favourable Reception; and he had Permiſſion to land his Goods, and ſecure them under a Tent, till a Meſſenger diſpatch'd by the Governor to his Sovereign at *Shirvan* could return.

The King, influenced by what he heard from the Governor, invited *Jenkinſon* to his Court: and ſent a vaſt Retinue of Horſes for himſelf and his People; and of Camels for carrying his Goods.

The intolerable Heats at this Seaſon had driven the King from his Palace. *Jenkinſon* was received in his Tent pitch'd under the Shade of Rocks and Trees, among the remote Mountains, where his Court lay ſcatter'd round him.

The King received him very graciouſly; he made him Preſents from his beſt Effects, and having eſtabliſh'd a good Underſtanding with him, and receiv'd an Invitation to traffick in his Country; the Stranger had his Audience of Leave; and retiring, provided Camels and all Neceſſaries for his Journey into *Perſia*, deſtin'd to *Tauris* and to *Caſbin*.

The King of *Hircania* had his Buſineſs at the Court of the Sophy, then at *Caſbin*; and it was happy for the Adventurer that by the Letters of the Czar, and his own Politeneſs and Generoſity, he had obtain'd the Friendſhip of that Potentate and his Son, otherwiſe he had never again ſeen *Europe*.

'Twas not in all Places he was deſtined to be received with the ſame Favour as in *Ruſſia*; he had there found his Difficulties from the Impertinence of a Miniſter, and he here was in Danger from a foreign Power.

This was the End of his Expedition, and he came hither better authorized than to other Places, becauſe he had the Letters of the Queen, the great Patroneſs of his Voyage, to the Sophy.

A *Turkiſh* Embaſſador then at the Court of *Perſia*, intereſted himſelf againſt the *Engliſh*: he found Means to obſtruct *Jeukinſon*'s Admiſſion to the Sophy; and he had form'd the Purpoſe, of ſeizing on his Effects, and carrying him and his People Slaves to *Conſtantinople*.

Kings hear but with the Ears of their Miniſters. The Sophi was told that ſome Chriſtians had penetrated into his Dominions, and that the *Turkiſh* Embaſſador was deſirous of taking them back with him as Slaves; he would probably have liſten'd to the Propoſal, had not this King of *Hircania* been in ſome Credit, and pleaded warmly in favour of the *Engliſh*.

He repreſented to the Sophi that theſe Strangers were not of ſo mean Condition as had been repreſented. That the Principal of them was to be look-ed upon as an Embaſſador to him from the Queen of *England*, from whom he had Letters to him, and Preſents of great Value; that the *Engliſh*, though unknown in this Part of the World, were poſſeſſed of a vaſt Territory in their own, and were a very great People.

That this Embaſſador had been before at the Court of *Ruſſia*, with whom his Nation was in Friendſhip and Alliance; and that he had viſited his Reſidence in his Way, where he had behaved nobly: as it became

came the Embaſſador from one of the greateſt Sovereigns of the Earth.

The Sophy had been poiſon'd in his Thoughts of the *Engliſh* too deeply for any Thing to remedy: but this ſoften'd him, the Greatneſs of the Queen, the Alliance of the Czar, the Condition of the Perſon, and the Preſents, all join'd to moderate him.

Jenkinſon was honour'd with an Audience: he deliver'd his Letters from the Queen, and his Preſents; and the Sophy return'd a civil, though cool Anſwer.

It was in vain that Mr. *Jenkinſon* puſh'd his Buſineſs at this Court; the Sophy was ſuſpicious, tho' he could not well ſay of what. He refuſed to ſee the Embaſſador, as he was ſtiled, from *England* again; and it was with much Trouble he obtain'd Permiſſion to traffick with the People.

His Delays kept him there the whole Winter; and in the Spring he did not find it eaſy to get away. The Civilities of the Sophy, ſlight as they had been, were forced, and it appear'd they had no Mind to let the *Engliſhman* depart.

The King of *Hircania* remained at the Sophy's Court, and he continued the firm Friend of the *Engliſh*. He obtain'd *Jenkinſon* at length Permiſſion to depart; and the Honour firſt of an Audience of Leave, at which the Sophy did what he had been perſuaded to, handſomely; he treated him graciouſly, and gave him a magnificent Preſent of Cloth of Gold.

Jenkinſon thank'd God for his Deliverance; and as he heard the King of *Hircania* was departing about the ſame Time, he made the City of *Zavat* in his Way, where that Sovereign then kept his Court.

He found the King and the Prince were there before his Arrival; he made his Acknowledgments; and before he took his Leave, requeſted the Prince to accept a farther Preſent of *Engliſh* Commodities. The King loaded him with Favours, and gave him a Privilege of Trade in his Dominions, extending it to the whole Company of Merchant Adventurers.

After a Week's Stay at *Zavat*, *Jenkinſon* departed for *Shabran*; and thence ſent his Goods on Camels to the *Caſpian* Sea, himſelf following; he re-paſſed the *Caſpian*, and arrived ſafe at *Moſcow*; whence after ſtaying another Winter, he returned to *England*.

Jenkinſon in this Paſſage diſplayed all his Virtues and all his Talents. Beſides his Traffick on Account of his Principals, the Merchant Adventurers of *England*, he traded for the Czar to *Perſia*, and from the King of *Hircania* to *Muſcovy*, and ſettled an amicable Correſpondence among thoſe ſeveral Powers.

This Succeſs gave him great Credit with the Czar; and during the Winter while he remain'd in *Ruſſia*, he found Means to uſe his Intereſt with the Czar to the Account of his Company, ſettling the Commerce with *Ruſſia* not only on a more firm, but a more advantageous Footing.

Jenkinſon did not return to *England* till the Year 1564; he was received with Applauſe, and the Company were great Gainers by his Cargo.

It appear'd that there required all the Addreſs and Management of *Jenkinſon* to have made the Friendſhip and Connections he did: for others, who ſucceeded him in thoſe Attempts, tho' the Way was already paved by his Negotiations; nay, though he choſe the Perſons for the Undertaking, were not receiv'd as he had been.

We have obſerv'd, that beſide the Concerns of his Principals, he was entruſted with Commiſſions from the Sovereigns of one of theſe new diſcovered Countries to another. The King of *Hircania* in particular, his great Friend, gave him Commiſſions to *Muſcovy*. Theſe required the Return of the purchaſed *Muſcovite* Commodities; and not improbably Mr. *Jenkinſon* had the Addreſs to obtain thoſe Commiſſions to ſecure a favourable Reception for thoſe who ſhould be employ'd another Year.

He made the beſt of his Buſineſs for this Account; and before he ſet ſail for *England* he diſpatch'd the Return.

He was ſo upright an Officer of the Company, that he took every Method to confirm and eſtabliſh for ever the Intercourſe he had begun with theſe Countries. He executed all the King of *Hircania* could expect in the Cargo he provided for him, and he ſelected the moſt able Perſons in his Company for undertaking the Buſineſs.

Three Ships had been fitted out on this Expedition from *England*, and into each of theſe were put ſuch Perſons as could be found moſt ſuited to the Enterprize. From among theſe Mr. *Jenkinſon* ſelected three of the moſt intelligent, and ſent them with the Return to *Hircania*. Mr. *Alcock* was the Principal; and his Aſſiſtants were Mr. *Wren* and Mr. *Chime*.

Jenkinſon gave them every needful Inſtruction before they ſet off; and ſoon after he had diſpatch'd them, himſelf, as we have obſerv'd, return'd to *England*.

The King of *Hircania* was rejoiced to hear of the Arrival of the Servants of Mr. *Jenkinſon*: they preſented the Return, with which he was highly charmed, and thus far all went well: but theſe were very Merchants. Nothing of the good Senſe, Moderation, or Generoſity of Sentiment, which had diſtinguiſh'd the Conduct of Mr. *Jenkinſon*, was found in them. They took every mean Advantage, and they attempted to impoſe upon the generous Diſpoſition of the King.

This was their Method of attempting to ſerve the Company, and they fancy'd they had in ſo many Inſtances over reach'd the *Hircanian*, that the Advantages *Jenkinſon* had procured, would appear trivial when theirs were ſhewn, in compariſon.

They deceived themſelves: the King ſaw their Conduct, and he deſpiſed them for it.

He grew cool to them; and they found before they were diſmiſs'd, that far from adding to the Advantages, they had forfeited all the Company poſſeſs'd before.

Allcock behaved himſelf ſo ill, that he was murther'd in the Country; and the reſt came off with little Credit.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Affairs of England *in* 1561.

WHILE private Adventurers, and eſtabliſh'd Companies were thus advancing Commerce, and extending the *Britiſh* Trade over the whole Earth; the Queen, who honour'd them with her Protection, and encourag'd them by Rewards, had many Things upon her Hands beſide, that claim'd her great Attention.

Mary Queen of *Scots*, after the Death of her Huſband, propoſed to return into that Country. This *Elizabeth* by no Means deſired: ſhe was a dangerous Rival to herſelf; and what perhaps weighed with her virtuous Mind as much, ſhe was an Enemy to the reform'd Religion.

Mary aſk'd of *Elizabeth* a ſafe Conduct thither; and that prudent Queen knowing the Importance of the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, which ſhe had not yet ſign'd, made her ſigning it the Condition.

Mary was obſtinate in her Refuſal, and offended highly at the Demand: ſhe anſwer'd haughtily, "That 'twas in Ceremony, not Neceſſity, ſhe "aſked it; that as ſhe had ſhewn *Edward* ſhe "could go to *France* without his Conſent, *Elizabeth* ſhould learn ſhe could return to *Scotland* "without her Permiſſion."

She did ſo: but it is not known what might have been her Fate at that Time, if a Fog had not ſecured her by hiding her from an *Engliſh* Squadron, which ſome have been bold enough to affirm was ſent purpoſely to intercept her.

Mary arrived on the twenty-firſt of *Auguſt* 1561, in *Scotland*: and *Elizabeth* ſoon ſaw ſhe had been amuſed with ſpecious Pretences; and that ſhe had every Thing to fear from her.

Mary had been induced to quit the Arms of *England* in hers, but ſhe would not be brought to own the Injuſtice of aſſuming them: and as this prov'd ſhe ſtill maintain'd in ſecret her Claim to the *Engliſh* Throne, the Projects of the Roman Catholicks in *Scotland* immediately on her Arrival, ſhew'd the reform'd Religion was devoted.

'Twas by degrees the Storm broke forth: the People were happy in *England* under the Reign of *Elizabeth*; but they were in Pain about the Succeſſion.

The Parliament had addreſs'd her to marry, and ſhe had anſwer'd, "That ſhe was already "marry'd to her People." *Mary* of *Scotland* now ſent an Embaſſador, deſiring to be named her Heir.

This did not appear unreaſonable: but *Elizabeth* anſwer'd, by deſiring on her Part, "That "prior to all other Negotiations, the Treaty of "*Edinburgh* might be ratify'd."

Evaſions were made to this Requeſt, and they were anſwer'd by Evaſions on the other Part: ſo that both Propoſitions fell to the Ground together.

The Clergy of *England* having failed in their Hopes of influencing the Queen in Matters of Religion; the Pope took up the Cauſe. He deſired Leave to ſend a Nuntio: the Queen, who knew the Miſchief theſe holy Incendiaries were calculated to raiſe; and knew alſo the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, refuſed to admit him.

It was an antient Law of *England*, that no Nuntio from *Rome* ſhould ſet his Foot on the Land without Permiſſion; and *Elizabeth* boldly and wiſely now aſſerted her Authority, and deny'd him.

This was declaring Enmity with the Court of *Rome*, and ſhe knew it; but ſhe judged rightly, that Diſputes there, were better than Rebellions here; and that the Miſchief the Pope could do her Abroad, though he ſhould draw into his League all *Europe*, was leſs than his Emiſſaries might occaſion at Home.

Elizabeth all this Time ſaw the Court of *France* oppreſſive of its Proteſtant Subjects; and in Heart and Soul her Enemy. The diſtreſs'd *Hugonots* had no Hope but from her; they apply'd to her in the Name of Heaven, Profeſſors of the ſame Faith, and reſtored from the ſame Errors; and ſhe heard them with a royal Ear. She enter'd into Terms with them, ſign'd an honourable Treaty; and then publiſh'd to all the World in a prudent and ſpirited Manifeſto, her Reaſons for aſſiſting them.

In 1563 a Peſtilence ravag'd the Metropolis of *England*, and ſwept off in a few Weeks more than twenty Thouſand Perſons.

The *Hugonots* in this Year behaved unworthily of the Protection they had received; they made a Peace with the *French* Court unknown to their Protectreſs *Elizabeth*; and *Havre*, which had been deliver'd to the *Engliſh*, was beſieged and taken.

The next Year 1564, a Peace was concluded between *England* and *France*.

The Queen of *England*, and *Mary* of *Scotland*, now grew more diſſatisfy'd with one another; and they amus'd each other with a diſſembled Conduct. *Mary* determin'd to marry the Lord *Darnley*; but ſoon after *Rizzo*, the Muſician, became her Favourite.

However, in 1565, ſhe marry'd that Nobleman, againſt the Opinion of the Queen of *England*, her Siſter, and againſt the Inclinations of her Subjects.

Her Favourite *Rizzo* continued ſuch after her Marriage, and he was murther'd in her Chamber; and herſelf put under a Guard.

Mary had the Intereſt and Addreſs to elude this Danger; and ſhe conducted herſelf ſo openly, that *Elizabeth* ſaw her Deſigns, and they became acknowledged Enemies.

A Prince was this Year born to *Mary*, and baptized by the Name of *James*: *Elizabeth* was inſulted with the News; and now no Terms were kept between them.

Thoſe who try'd to reconcile them were receiv'd cooly. Two Points were demanded, one on each Side; *Elizabeth* again requir'd that *Mary* ſhould ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*; and *Mary*, that *Elizabeth* ſhould declare her Heir to the Crown of *England*; but neither of theſe Things were ever done.

The Death of *Rizzo* did not anſwer the Purpoſe for which it was intended. *Bothwell* ſucceeded in *Mary*'s Favour, and ſhe gave her Huſband as great Umbrage by him as by the other.

Notwithſtanding her bad Behaviour, Schemes were ſtill laid in her Favour. The naming her to the Succeſſion was the Point at which her Friends in *England* aim'd; and they attempted it by every poſſible Method. The Parliament diſguſted to the utmoſt with the Deſigns, requeſted the Queen to marry.

In 1567 the Huſband of *Mary* was ſtrangled. A Murther, from which many have attempted to vindicate her, but vainly.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Trade of the English *with Negroes to the* Weſt Indies.

THUS ſtood the Affairs of *England*, and of *Scotland*, in the Year 1567: great Diſturbances in publick Buſineſs, and great Diſſatiſfactions were found in private Minds; but while one Part of the Nation were buſy'd in the Affairs of the State, another were intent upon the extending and improving the growing Commerce.

Elizabeth favour'd all who deſerv'd it, in whatever Poſt or Office; and was the Patroneſs of every wiſe and honeſt Undertaking. The Trade of her People was her principal Concern; and her Encouragement at this Time raiſed new Adventurers, and inſpired the old ones to repeat, and to extend their Undertakings.

An Attention to Commerce, and a Spirit of Enterprize in its Favour, ſeem'd at this Time hereditary. We have named a Captain *William Hawkins*, deſervedly eſteem'd by his Sovereign *Henry* the Eighth. A Son of his now appear'd upon the Theatre of the World; and propoſed himſelf to purſue the Plan ſo happily marked out by his Father.

This young Man, bred under his Father's Eye, and furniſh'd for the Adventure by his repeated Inſtructions, began with Voyages to the Canary Iſlands.

The State of the *Weſt Indies* had been the great Subject of his Enquiry from his Father; and he had improved the Knowledge obtain'd by his Diſcourſe by many Things diſcover'd in theſe Voyages.

He enquired what was moſt acceptable there. He found the People were loaded with all the Commodities of *Europe*; but his enterprizing Mind carry'd the Diſquiſition farther.

Hiſpaniola, the firſt planted, and the richeſt Colony, abounded with uſeful Products, but there wanted Hands to do the needful Buſineſs; four fifths of the natural Value was ſacrificed to this Deficiency; *Europeans*, eſpecially thoſe ſettled there, could not toil under the burning Sun: there required for this a Hardineſs unknown to Sloth and Luxury.

The Inhabitants of *Africa* appear'd to be the proper People: a Species almoſt diſtinct from the reſt of the human Kind, hardy, miſerable, and in continual Servitude to one another.

Theſe the Adventurer ſaw capable to go thro' the Buſineſs of the *Weſt India* Plantations: he thought their Lot would not be harder there than in their own Land: for he did not foreſee that *Europeans*, where they had Power, could be more cruel than Barbarians. The only Buſineſs was to get theſe People from one of thoſe remote Countries to the other.

This was the Undertaking of *John Hawkins*, and under his Hands roſe the famous, or to ſpeak of it in the proper Terms now, the infamous Trade in Negroes. A Trade that baniſhes Compaſſion, Mercy and Juſtice; and ſcandalizes human Nature.

The Inventors of Things are rarely chargeable with all thoſe Faults which attend them afterwards in the Proſecution: nor are we in the preſent Caſe to ſtigmatize the Name of *Hawkins*, as the Man who taught us to trade in one another's Liberty; or to reduce the human Species to what is little above the Condition of Brutes.

This Adventurer, when he had well conſider'd the Nature and Extent of his Deſign, and weigh'd every Advantage againſt every Diſadvantage, propoſed it to the Publick in theſe Terms.

"That on *Hiſpaniola*, and the other Settle-
"ments in that Quarter of the World nothing
"was wanted ſo much as Labour. That the
"Heat of the Climate made *Europeans* incapable
"of performing it: but that there were upon
"the Coaſt of *Africa*, a ſtrong, healthy, and a
"hardy People; whoſe Country was ſo unprofit-
"able, that they would be glad to change it;
"and whoſe Condition of Life ſo bad, that they
"could not fear any other being worſe."

"That theſe People were inur'd to labour, and
"patient of Hardſhip; accuſtom'd to mean Food,
"and thus ſuited in every Article to the Nature of
"the Employment for which they were requir'd
"in thoſe Countries."

Theſe *Africans* he propoſed to invite into the better Climate, and more fruitful Country of the

Weſt Indies; and for their willing Service to obtain any Price in that Part of the World.

This was the Original Propoſal of the Negroe Trade. No deluding Men from their Country, under ſpecious and falſe Promiſes; no ſeizing them by a ſuperior Force; nor the baſe Art of ſetting them to war on one another for purchaſed Captives.

Thoſe who went were to go willingly; and this honeſt Adventurer propoſed no other Means of taking them thither than a fair Repreſentation of the better Condition of that Country.

This Traffick thus propoſed, without ſhocking Humanity, promiſed great Advantage. A Company was immediately form'd of the Adventurer's Friends; for 'twas to thoſe he particularly named it who raiſed a Fund for the Support.

Mr. *Ganſon*, Father-in-Law to *Hawkins*, open'd the Subſcription, and it was filled at once by Sir *Lionel Duckett*, Sir *Thomas Lodge*, and Sir *William Winter*; all diſtinguiſh'd Perſons, and a private Gentleman of the Name of *Bromfield*.

Few more were admitted, for the Contributions of theſe would have defray'd the Charges, but ſo many ſaw the Advantage, that there was no refuſing the Sollicitation of ſome among them.

Hawkins deſired three Ships of about an hundred Ton. Himſelf embarked on board the *Solomon* the largeſt, and he gave the Command of the ſecond to Captain *Hampton*. The other Ship was the *Jonas*, the Name of its Commander Hiſtory has loſt.

Captain *Hawkins* knew that in ſuch a Voyage the Merit and good Behaviour of his Men would be more important than their Number. He ſelected an hundred Sailors, of every one of whom he had perſonal Knowledge; and theſe he encouraged by good Pay, and good Treatment. He diſtributed them with Judgment in his little Fleet; and in the Year 1562 he ſet ſail firſt from *England* on this Expedition.

'Twas in *October* he departed, and his firſt Deſtination was to *Teneriffe*. There he took in ſuch Refreſhments as would make the Voyage moſt agreeable to his People; and thence he ſailed for the Coaſt of *Guinea*.

He arrived without any Accident at *Tagarin*, ſo the Natives call, what *Europeans* have named *Sierra Leona*.

He declared as ſoon as he arrived, that his Purpoſe was to traffick: and he had taken Care to go out ſtored with every Thing moſt valuable on that Coaſt. He exchang'd thoſe Things for the beſt Commodities of the Country; and during theſe Tranſactions, he talked with the People.

He cauſed it to be repreſented to them, that he was going thence to a Country more pleaſant, fruitful, and in every Senſe more agreeable: that it was inhabited by ſuch as himſelf, and his Company; and that if any of them, tired with their own Country, doubtleſs the moſt unpleaſant Spot upon the Earth, and of their poor way of living, would embark with him, he would be anſwerable that for their Service to the People who poſſeſſed the Country, they ſhould have a Share of all its Advantages.

This he repeated often; and every Time adviſed them not to be haſty in their Anſwer; but to deliberate, and reſolve upon full Conſideration.

The good Conduct of *Hawkins* took its Effect: the People conſulted about it, and they agreed to truſt themſelves with him for this new World; three Hundred came into the Reſolution, all of full Age and Strength, and every Thing was ſettled for their Departure.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The firſt Violence offered to the Negroes.

THUS began upon very fair and honourable Terms this moſt important Traffick. No Violence was offer'd to any: a full Number offer'd, and more would have engaged, had his Cargo and the Number of his own People, afforded Room for them.

All was ſettled upon Terms of Friendſhip; when in the Night, ſome little Time before their Departure, all was in Confuſion. The Cries of dying People reach'd the Ears of *Hawkins*, and he called up his Men.

They went arm'd, not knowing what was the Cauſe, but determined to oppoſe themſelves to it whatſoever it were: and about Day-break they were in the midſt of the Confuſion. It was a Scene of terrible Havock, Men, Women, Children lay mangled together; and nothing could be more deſperate than the Encounter of thoſe who ſurvived.

Captain *Hawkins* underſtood nothing of the Matter; but he followed the Courſe Reaſon directed: he attach'd himſelf to thoſe he perſonally knew, and fought with his People in their Defence.

The Advantage that Party gain'd by his Aſſiſtance, gave him Opportunity to learn the Cauſe of the Havock. A Body of Negroes from another Part of the Country, had fallen unexpectedly at Midnight upon theſe, without Offence or Provocation. This he heard was not uncommon in thoſe wild Countries: ſo brutal is in itſelf human Nature.

As ſoon as he underſtood the Nature of the Attack, he determin'd at once upon Revenge and Intereſt. He ſurrounded a large Part of the Aſſailants, who would have eſcaped now they were overpowered: with theſe he made up the Number their brutal Rage had deſtroy'd, and he took them by Force to the Place where the others went freely.

Captain *Hawkins* made a great Diſtinction between thoſe he had taken Priſoners of War, and the others who came voluntarily: and this Juſtice is owing to him, that he endeavour'd to inculcate the ſame Principle where he deliver'd them; but the Diſtinction was there loſt in Power. Thoſe who purchaſed them at the ſame Price, conſider'd them all as Slaves of the ſame Condition: and hence aroſe that Inſolence of Barbarity with which theſe unhappy People continue to be treated in the Colonies; hence the deteſtable Practice of Violence in taking them from their Country.

Captain *Hawkins* was not blameable in the carrying off and ſelling thoſe he took by the Sword in a Conflict themſelves moſt unjuſtly had begun, and in which they became by the Laws of Nations Slaves at the Diſpoſal of the Conqueror; but the Uſe made of this Incident afterwards was moſt deteſtable. Men made it an Example for attempting that by Force, which in the Origin of the Commerce was never intended but by the free Will of the People.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Reception of Captain Hawkins *among the* Spaniards.

THE Adventurer having thus, by the Bravery of his Company, made up the Number of his People for the *Weſt Indies*, ſet ſail with the univerſal Good-word of the *Africans*.

He went ſtrait for *Hiſpaniola*, and he reached without any Accident Port *Iſabella*.

He knew the Value of his ſeveral *African* Commodities, and he firſt diſpoſed of them. He then declared his Purpoſe to the *Spaniards* of aſſiſting them with ſome Negroes for the Drudgery of their Plantations: they embraced the Propoſal readily, and would have taken perhaps all: but he was cautious. He kept up his Price; he diſembarked ſome of them; and having manag'd thus far a dangerous Traffick ſucceſsfully, he went to *Puerto de Plata*.

Here he obſerv'd the ſame cautious Conduct, and he had the ſame Succeſs. He ſaw the *Spaniards* deſirous of taking dangerous Advantages, but he foil'd them all: he parted with more of his *Africans*; and, after a ſhort Stay, went round to *Monte Chriſti*, on the North Side of *Hiſpaniola*.

Never was a more critical Affair than this, in which the Adventurer had engaged; but the ſame Prudence which had hitherto led him ſucceſsfully, did not now fail him. He here diſpoſed of all the Remainder of his Negroes; and he made ſo good Advantage of the Price, that his three Veſſels could not receive the Cargoes. He hired two more, which he freighted with Hides, Sugar and Ginger; and in his own Ship he brought home a large Quantity of Pearls.

One Year ſaw the Beginning and End of this moſt ſucceſsful Expedition.

Hawkins, when he had finiſhed every Thing, went out by the Iſlands of *Caycos*, without entering farther into the Bay: and returned ſafe to *England* in the Month of *September* 1563.

Few Adventurers had been more bold than Captain *John Hawkins*: none more prudent or more ſucceſsful.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A ſecond Voyage of Captain Hawkins.

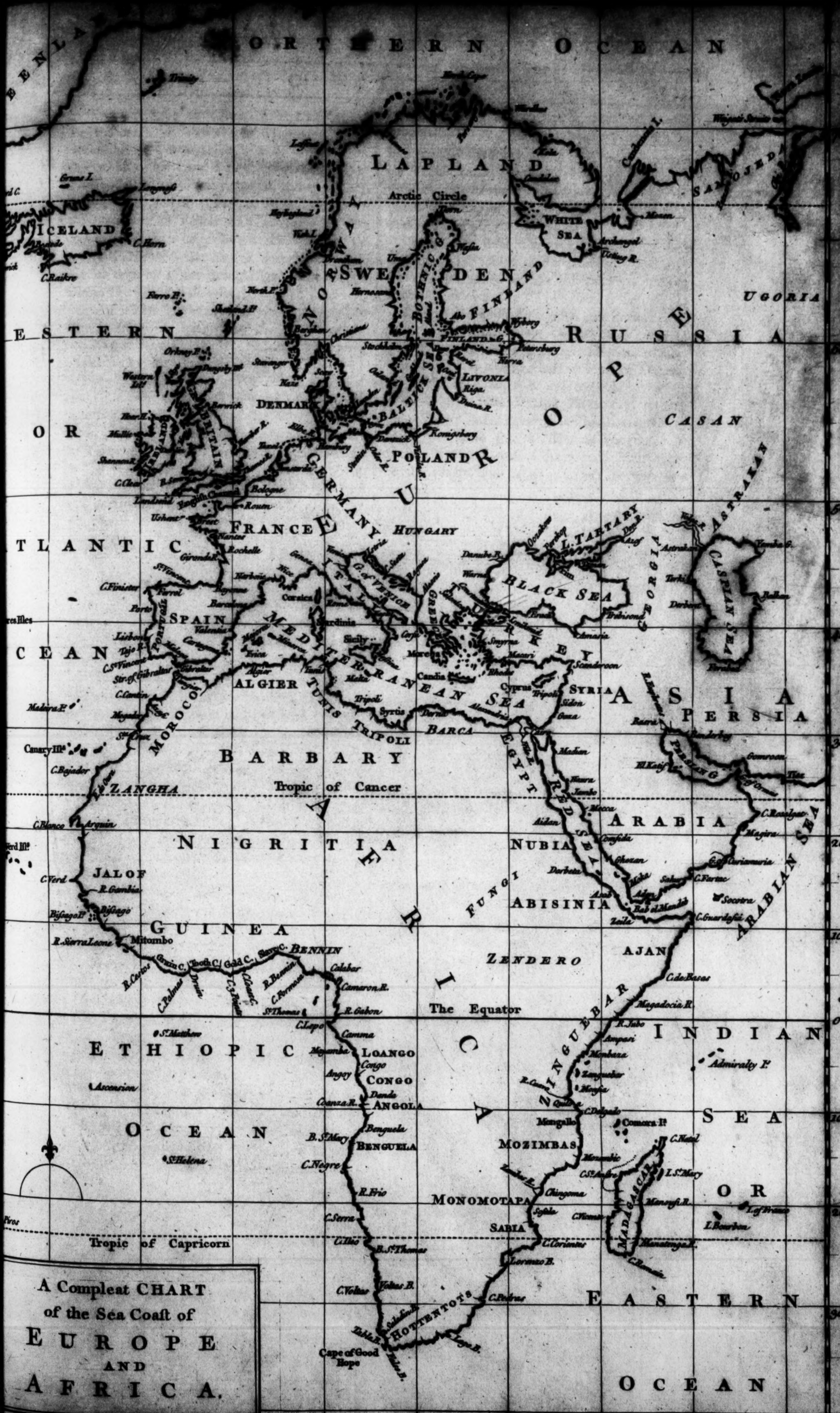
THE Returns of the Voyage of this Adventurer *Hawkins* inſpired the Proprietors with an univerſal Reſolution of continuing and enlarging the Traffick.

The Court heard of it; and the Queen, always attentive to the Intereſt of her Subjects, ſent for the Commander, loaded him with Applauſe and Preſents; and enter'd into Converſation upon every Incident of the Voyage.

Two Things affected her moſt: the Fear of carrying away the *African* Negroes without their free Conſent, which ſhe declared would be deteſtable, and would call down the Vengeance of Heaven upon the Undertakers, was one; and the other was the Power and the ill Behaviour of the *Spaniards* in the Places where the Traffick was neceſſarily carried on.

Captain *Hawkins* promiſed for the firſt, that in no Expedition where he commanded, a Negroe ſhould ever be carried off unwillingly: for tho' of different Colour, he ſaid their Hearts he knew were human. The Queen anſwered for the other. She told him, that while he and his Proprietors acted with Integrity and Humanity, they ſhould have her Protection; and ſhe recommended to him to go out ſtronger, and offered to aſſiſt the Expedition.

Hawkins return'd his Thanks, and declined the Propoſal. He acquainted her Majeſty, that the Succeſs of the Trade raiſed Aſſiſtance for itſelf; but that he would employ that Power they put into his Hands, according to her Majeſty's good Pleaſure. She repeated to him her Injunctions, to be bold againſt the *Spaniards* if they behav'd ill: promiſed to ſupport him in all lawful Enterprizes, and diſmiſs'd him.


NORTHERN OCEAN
LAPLAND
Arctic Circle
ICELAND
WHITE SEA
SAMOJEDA
SWEDEN
NORWAY
FINLAND
BOTHNIC G.
UGORIA
RUSSIA
EUROPE
WESTERN OR ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITAIN
DENMARK
BALTICK SEA
LIVONIA
POLAND
CASAN
GERMANY
HUNGARY
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
ITALY
G. of VENICE
L. TARTARY
BLACK SEA
GEORGIA
ASTRAKAN
CASPIAN SEA
TURKEY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MOROCO
ALGIER
TUNIS
TRIPOLI
BARCA
SYRIA
ASIA
PERSIA
BARBARY
Tropic of Cancer
ZANGHA
NIGRITIA
AFRICA
EGYPT
RED SEA
ARABIA
NUBIA
FUNGI
ABISINIA
ARABIAN SEA
JALOF
GUINEA
BENNIN
ZENDERO
AJAN
The Equator
ETHIOPIC OCEAN
LOANGO
CONGO
ANGOLA
BENGUELA
ZINGUEBAR
MOZIMBAS
MONOMOTAPA
SABIA
MADAGASCAR
INDIAN SEA OR EASTERN OCEAN
HOTTENTOTS
Cape of Good Hope
Tropic of Capricorn
C. Verd
Canary Iles
Madera I.
St. Helena
Ascension
Admiralty I.
Comora I.
Socotra
10
20
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60

A Compleat CHART
of the Sea Coast of
EUROPE
AND
AFRICA.

NORTHERN OCEAN
LAPLAND
ICELAND
RUSSIA
POLAND
OCEAN
EUROPE
and
AFRICA

'Twas in 1563 the Queen of *England* became the Patroneſs of the *French* Hugonots. Her Squadrons ſent into thoſe Seas to ſupport the Operations of her Land Forces, made Prize of all *French* Veſſels they met; and in a few Months ſtop'd, and almoſt deſtroy'd their Commerce. The Number of Veſſels they took, is an Account almoſt too large for Credit. It ſets the *French* Trade and the *Engliſh* Sovereignty upon the Sea both in a very ſtrong Light; but in theſe Times *France* made few Repriſals.

The Partners in the new Trade eſtabliſhed by Captain *Hawkins*, ſpirited by the Profits of the laſt Expedition, and by the Queen's Protection, prepared now for a ſecond Voyage.

They equip'd two large Veſſels for this Purpoſe, and two ſmaller. The larger ones were the *Jeſus* of *Lubec* and the *Solomon*. The firſt of theſe a Veſſel of ſeven hundred Ton: the two ſmaller were the *Tyger* and the *Swallow*. With theſe *Hawkins* ſet ſail from *Plymouth* in the Middle of *October*, bound for the ſame Ports, and loaded with the moſt acceptable Merchandize to the Negroes.

Winds will not always favour the Sailor. The ſetting out on this Expedition was by no Means like the former: Storms ſcatter'd and damaged the Veſſels, they were obliged to put into *Ferrol*; and after much bad Weather, they on the fourth of *November* ſaw *Madera*, and on the ſixth made *Teneriffe*.

There they ſtaid a Fortnight repairing their Damages, and taking in Refreſhments: and after this they proceeded to the Coaſt of *Africa* without farther Accident.

Captain *Hawkins*'s little Fleet had in their Way fallen in with ſome of the Queen's Ships; one of which, the *Minion*, attended him to *Africa*. They landed in the Latitude of fourteen Degrees and a half, but they were unſucceſsful.

Here began that horrible Practice of forcing the *Africans* into Slavery: an Injuſtice and Barbarity which, ſo ſure as there is Vengeance in Heaven for the worſt Crimes, will ſome Time be the Deſtruction of all who act or who encourage it.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Tranſactions of Captain Hawkins's *People on the* African *Coaſt*.

'TIS not to Captain *Hawkins* we are to attribute the Barbarity of this Cuſtom, as its Author. He went out commiſſioned by his Owners, and commanded by his Sovereign, to take no Man but by his Conſent; to trade with theſe People for the Commodities of their Country, and to propoſe to them the changing it for a better, to take as many as were willing to the Place he nam'd to them; and while he ſerv'd thoſe to whom he deliver'd them, and changed their Life for a better, to profit by the Intercourſe.

This had been his firſt Practice, and this was the propoſed Employment of the preſent Voyage; how it came to be ſubverted, and inſtead of the moſt juſt and equitable Trade in the World, the moſt wicked and cruel that ever was deviſed, to be introduced, we ſhall endeavour to explain.

The Accounts of this early Period of the Negro Trade are in particular confuſed and irregular; yet by Compariſon of one with another, Truth may be diſcover'd. Upon ſuch Examination the Story appears to have been thus.

The Queen's Ship *Minion*, commanded by Captain *Carlot*, anchor'd with the Fleet of *Hawkins* on their firſt Arrival on the Coaſt of *Africa*.

Captain *Hawkins* began to open his Cargoes deſtin'd thither, and to invite the Negroes to trade with him.

This would probably have ſucceeded; and by this Means he would have engaged, as he had done before, a Number of them to exchange voluntarily their miſerable natural Country for one much better; and to embrace by Choice a Life of Servitude, really preferable to their own miſerable Freedom: burnt by the near Sun, deſtitute of every Convenience of Life, and many of its Neceſſaries; and expoſed, as we have ſeen, to nightly Inroads, and unprovoked Maſſacres from the neighbouring Nations of their own Complexion.

This was the Propoſal, and it was honeſt; nothing of Injuſtice ſtain'd it; much leſs of Inhumanity. But this was now perverted by the People who had unhappily join'd him.

The Sailors of *Hawkins*'s Fleet, and thoſe of the Ships of War, frequently converſed together: His People had ſet out with the ſame honeſt Principles as himſelf; but all was now perverted.

The Story of the former Voyage was told over their Cups; and the Event of taking the hoſtile Negroes Priſoners, and ſelling them for Slaves, rung in the Ears of the Man of War's Crew.

They, a People commiſſion'd for Vengeance and Hoſtility, immediately founded a new Conduct upon this. They laughed at the cold Delays, and timorous Method of *Hawkins*, and rallied his thinking of Perſwaſion. "What are "theſe, ſaid they, but Savages? are not we ſu-"perior in Force, and cannot we at any Time "ſeize them, as you did their Enemies."

The Sailors of *Hawkins* liſten'd and applauded; for when did ever Drunkenneſs admit the Thought of Juſtice or Humanity. The Scheme of ſurprizing the Negroes was propoſed to *Hawkins* by a great Number; and they were ſurprized to ſee him frown upon it. "Gentlemen, ſaid he, "what you propoſe would turn Merchants into "Ruffians: it would ſcandalize the *Britiſh* Name, "and it would deſtroy your own Intereſt. This

“Violence could be practiſed but once in a “Place; and in the next Attempt would be re-“turn'd upon yourſelves: whereas the Traffick I “propoſe may be annually carried on for ever; “and we ſhall be received always with Reſpect “and Honour.”

This was the Voice of Juſtice and Humanity; but it had no Effect.

Captain *Hawkins* then put on the Commander. When Perſwaſion failed, he aſſumed the Authority of his Poſt. He told them the Conduct of the Voyage was committed to him, and he would not ſee it diſgraced by ſuch Brutality; nor the Hopes of the Owners and Adventurers blaſted, by ſo weak, as well as wicked a Deſign.

Even this would not do: the Party was too powerful: they were ſupported by the Ships Company of the *Minion*; and againſt his Opinion and Authority they reſolved to do it.

The next Night was propoſed for the Expedition: the Body was to go off arm'd, and they were to deſtroy all who reſiſted; and force on board the reſt.

Drunkenneſs can no more be ſecret than be wiſe. The People of the *Minion*, who had ſpirited up the Men to this Enterprize, betray'd their Purpoſe to the Natives; and when they had ſurrounded the Place they found none there.

Captain *Hawkins* had loſt much of his Authority by his Oppoſition to this Propoſal; and he now ſaw his Life in Danger. The People enraged at their Diſappointment, ſuppoſed he had given the Notice: and 'twas with the utmoſt Difficulty he perſwaded them of the contrary; and appeaſed them.

There was no more Hope in this Place; but the Spirit of Barbarity and Villainy remain'd unaltered in the People; and they requeſted him to ſail to ſome other; the nearer the better, where they might purſue their Purpoſe with better Succeſs.

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CHAP. XL.

A ſecond Attempt upon the Negroes.

CAptain *Hawkins* was in that Situation wherein Men are obliged to palliate Miſchiefs they cannot wholly put aſide. He told them he would ſail to *Alcatrarſa*, an Iſland but of one Day's Diſtance, but he requeſted of them there to try the firſt intended Courſe; and if that did not ſucceed, then to have recourſe to Violence.

None liſten'd to him: his Humanity appeared to them a Weakneſs and a Folly, and they were deſperate to purſue their own Courſe.

On the eighth of *December* he came to *Alcatrarſa*. Here the two large Veſſels rode at Anchor; and the two ſmall ones, much againſt his Inclination, went for the neighbouring Iſle of the *Sapies, La Fornio*, to purſue their Purpoſe.

Fourſcore of the moſt deſperate of the Company arm'd themſelves for the Expedition, and at the Duſk of Evening landed.

They were no more ſucceſsful than in their former Expedition of the ſame Kind; for the Negroes perceiving them coming, gueſs'd by the Time of Evening, it was with an ill Purpoſe, and in a Body fled, too far for their Purſuit.

They return'd as unſucceſsful as they had gone; but nothing damp'd their Reſolution.

Captain *Hawkins* repreſented their Diſappointments as the Mark of Providence being againſt their wicked Purpoſe; but to Men inſpired with theſe Notions of Cruelty, no Arguments had Weight. They entreated him to ſail for ſome other Port, where they might again try their Fortune.

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CHAP. XLI.

A third Attempt upon the Negroes.

THE Spirit of Rapine being raiſed in the Breaſts of theſe People, nothing could allay it, no Words, no Entreaties of their Commander: his Arguments againſt the Deſign only made them more violent in the Reſolution; and their ill Succeſs in the former Attempts, render'd them bloody in their Purpoſes. They determined to revenge upon the firſt Negroes they ſhould ſurpriſe, the Eſcape of the others; as if that had been a Crime, and the next they found had been guilty of it.

Captain *Hawkins* was all this Time no more Commander than as his Orders agreed with their Inclinations. He ſet ſail for *Sanbula*, another Iſland on the *African* Coaſt, and anchor'd before it on the fourteenth of *December*.

The Negroes of this Part of *Africa* are not without Communication one among another: theſe had heard of the Humanity and Virtues of Captain *Hawkins* among their Countrymen upon the Coaſt; and judging rightly that this Fleet was under his Command, they went out with open Arms to meet him, and to trade with him.

Unhappy People! it was indeed the Fleet committed to the Charge of Captain *Hawkins*; but none in it had leſs Command.

On the Day of their Arrival, a large Party went arm'd on Shore, determining to prevent any more Diſappointment by Flight; and entering the little Towns, into which the friendly Creatures invited them, they ſet Fire to the Houſes, ſeized their Perſons, and butchered all who attempted Reſiſtance.

Hawkins wept: but nothing was in his Power. Town after Town was burnt; Maſſacre on Maſſacre committed; and the poor Inhabitants who were ſpared, were brought off.

Thus in a Week nearly the Number of Negroes they wanted was brought on board, and they ſet ſail.

Captain *Hawkins* now could be heard: he ſaid nothing of the Barbarity of their Proceedings for it was over. 'Twas his Purpoſe to be ſilent on this Head 'till his Return to *England*; and now his whole Thoughts were employ'd in making the moſt Advantage of the Voyage.

He repreſented to his People, that in taking theſe Negroes by Violence, they had prevented his Trading: that he had Commodities intended for the *African* Coaſt, in Return for which they ſhould bring back the beſt Produce of the Country; and that their Owners would have Reaſon to be diſſatisfy'd, if they omitted ſo eſſential a Part of their Commiſſion.

They liſten'd to him; and they reſolved to leave the reſt of the Voyage wholly at his Diſpoſal.

This was the firſt Propoſition, but it was overrul'd; the Commander of the Ship *Solomon*, whom Captain *Hawkins*, little gueſſing the Badneſs of his Heart had advanced to that Commiſſion, oppoſed it.

This Man, whoſe Name was *Field*, (a Name devoted to as laſting Infamy as theſe Memoirs can give) propoſed to continue as they had begun: To have no Concern with the Savages, as he called them, but by Force: to make up the Cargo with more Slaves, inſtead of *African* Commodities, excepting only Gold, which he had been inform'd there was in Plenty in a Negroe Town called *Bymba*, and which he propoſed to ſeize by Force, not to obtain by Trade; and with the Treaſure to bring off the People.

It was not yet Captain *Hawkins*'s Time to command, but under the Authority of his proper Servants. He was obliged to ſubmit, and to receive Inſtructions, from thoſe who ſhould have been ſubject to his Commands.

Nothing but the moſt conſummate Prudence could have preſerved his Life. They knew he underſtood the Voyage better than any other, and ſo long as he was not too troubleſome, they bore with him for that good Reaſon.

CHAP. XLII.

Continued Attempts upon the Negroes.

THE Captain, guided by the irreſiſtible Will of his People, who now looked upon *Field* as the great Man in the Expedition, ſailed for the River *Callowſa*, loaded with freſh Proviſions, and every Convenience for the Voyage they were to undertake, on leaving the *African* Coaſt.

While they anchor'd at the Mouth, ſome Boats went up the River; and returned with more Slaves; boaſting of their Cruelty.

Bymba, the Place where there was Gold, was the next Scene of their Attempt. They landed in a large Body; and there are ſome among the careleſs Commentators of theſe Events, who place *Hawkins* at the Head of them: but thoſe know little of the Event of the Action, or of that good Man's Character.

'Twas Captain *Field*, the People's Idol, who led them to this Attack.

The Negroes of *Bymba* fled; yet not to ſuch Diſtance, but that they could ſee what paſſed. *Field* entered the Town, and gave up all to Plunder: himſelf ſpiriting up the Wretches of his Party to cut the Throats of thoſe whom Age or Infirmities, preventing from Eſcape, had left to his Mercy.

There was among the Negroes who had fled a Man of Seventy, an experienced and bold Warrior. He called them to him, inſpired them by his Diſcourſe to fall upon the Enemy, now ſcattered in Search of Plunder; and he offered to lead them, promiſing to engage the Captain ſingly.

They followed with a Shout, which gave a Signal of their Purpoſe. Some of the *Engliſh* got together; and Captain *Field* ſtood at their Head to receive the Enemy. The Leader of the Negroes pierced him through the Heart; and immediately fell himſelf under innumerable Wounds.

The Conflict was from this Moment very bloody; and the Leaders on both Sides being loſt, all was Confuſion. The *Engliſh* were more numerous; and better arm'd: and Succeſs at length fell on their Side, but it coſt them many of the boldeſt of their Men; and they made few Captives. Ten Negroes they brought off, and ſome Plunder, but the Expedition by no Means anſwered their Expectations.

The Loſs of Captain *Field* was very advantageous to the proper Commander; 'twas he who had kept up the Spirit of the Men; and his Death from the Hand of the old Negroe, probably anticipated only the Sentence he would have found on his Return.

Thoſe who had fallen with him had been alſo ſome of the moſt mutinous; and from their Loſs Capt. *Hawkins* promiſed to himſelf that he ſhould be able to finiſh his Voyage better than it had been begun. He called the Principal of his People about him: repreſented to them what was beſt to be done, without taking any Notice of what was paſt; and after adjuſting every thing in the beſt Manner he could, he ſet ſail at the End of *January* 1565 for the *Weſt Indies.*

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CHAP. XLIII.

The Traffick of Captain Hawkins *with the* Spaniards *in* 1565.

THIS Part of the Expedition being finiſh'd, though in a Manner very different from the Commander's Inclinations, he ſet ſail for his next Port; and after the Tediouſneſs of an eighteen Days Calm, arrived in the Beginning of *March* at the Iſland of *Dominica.*

The unexpected Delay of the Voyage had exhauſted his Water; and 'twas but juſt in Time to ſave the Crew from Deſtruction, they made this Iſland.

Here they obtain'd a Supply, but very bad, and upon hard Conditions. They dar'd not penetrate far into the Country, for fear of the Natives who had oppoſed their Landing; and hover'd at little Diſtances to obſerve their Motions. They contented themſelves with ſome Pond Water; and this they bought at the Price [illegible] many Lives.

This, ſuch as it was, was all they got upon this Iſland. They were in almoſt as much Diſtreſs for freſh Proviſions, but tho' they ſaw Sheep upon the Paſtures, they did not dare to attempt carrying any off.

Ten Days more brought them to the Iſland of *Margarita*; and there they were relieved. The Governor received them with great Humanity, pity'd their Diſtreſs, and relieved them in every thing.

This gave them Encouragement; but their Hopes of Traffick were ſoon blaſted. An Order was publiſhed immediately, prohibiting all Trading with the *Engliſh* under ſevere Penalties; and Notice was diſpatched of their Arrival to all the neighbouring Coaſt, with the ſame Injunctions againſt all Trade with them. They had been relieved as Men: but as *Engliſh* they were debarred all Privileges.

The People grew uneaſy; but Captain *Hawkins,* who now commanded in his proper Sphere, diſpelled their Terrors. He told them they would pay for their Refreſhments, and return their Thanks for the Reception they had met withal: and that this ſhould be their whole Buſineſs in the preſent Place; for it did not become them to return Benefits with Violence: but that for the reſt, he knew what was the Intereſt of the Company at whoſe Expence they ſail'd; and that he had their Commiſſion, and the Queen of *England*'s Authority, for compelling thoſe to a fair Trade, who would not enter into it willingly.

He told them, they had exerted Spirit enough in an indifferent Cauſe, and he deſired them not to faint in a good one. For his Part he told them he knew what he had to do: that if there were Danger, they ſhould ſee him now the firſt Man to expoſe himſelf to it; and that he would engage for the good Event of the Voyage.

Thus ſpiriting them up to a Conduct he ſaw would be neceſſary, he ſet ſail for the Continent, and in two Days arrived at SANTA FE.

Here he landed with a Party, led them to freſh Water, and ſhewed them when and how other Refreſhments were to be obtain'd. They ſtaid ſix Days in this Place, and they ſet off in great Spirits, furniſhed to the full with every thing neceſſary.

On the Third of *April,* having paſſed between the Continent, and the Iſland of *Tortuga,* they came to *Burboroata.* This was one of the Places of the deſtined Traffick. He knew the Difficulty he had to encounter, for he was ſenſible all Trade with the *Engliſh* was prohibited by the Court of *Spain.* He determined to try ſoft Methods firſt, and to have Patience; but if theſe were finally rejected, he knew his Courſe.

Fourteen Days he rode at Anchor, ſolliciting, entreating, and preſſing for the Liberty to trade; and but for ſome harſh Words he was obliged to uſe at laſt, he would never have obtained it: Fear operated with the *Spaniards*: and to avoid coming to abſolute Extremities, they at length granted him Permiſſion of Traffick, but they loaded it with ſo many Inconveniencies, and annex'd ſuch a Duty to the King of *Spain,* as the Profit of no Trade could anſwer.

Captain *Hawkins* knew now what he had to do. He had all they would allow him fairly, and it was not ſufficient. He conſulted the Intereſts of the Company, and he remember'd the Injunctions of the Queen.

He repreſented to the *Spaniards,* that what they offer'd was the ſame Thing with their firſt Refuſal: that thoſe who traded did it for Advantage, and that it anſwer'd no Purpoſe to accept the Permiſſion under Conditions, which took away the Profit: that he was very ſenſible a Duty was proper to be paid to the King of *Spain* by all who traded in his Settlements; and that he was willing to agree to it; but that the Sum, though ſettled by no univerſal Compact, was very well underſtood by every body; and that he was willing to hear any Thing reaſonable.

He concluded, that the Terms they propoſed could not be comply'd with; that the Voyage he had made was too long to be loſt, and that he muſt have this Liberty upon better Conditions.

The *Spaniards* reply'd, They had no Power to alter the Duty impoſed; and that the Choice of all Strangers was to traffick under that Regulation, or to omit the Thought of any Trade at all.

Hawkins had now brought the Diſpute to its

Concluſion: his Patience was exhauſted, and their Obſtinacy was unconquerable by Reaſons. He ſelected a Hundred of his braveſt People; arm'd them; and placing himſelf at their Head, march'd to the Town.

The *Spaniards* trembled: and he, deſiring nothing but Traffick upon fair Terms, halted at a ſmall Diſtance, and ſent his laſt Propoſal. They knew the Alternative; and they engaged to agree to whatever he demanded.

His Men were for making harſh Terms; but he knew better the Intereſt of his Owners, and his own. He drew up an Article, which they ſign'd without reading; and they were ſurprized to find in conſequence, that he had taken no Advantage of his Strength, or their Terrors; but had ſettled the Courſe of Traffick upon a fair and equitable Footing, and had given them all the honeſt Advantages they could wiſh; allowing a very fair Tribute to the Crown of *Spain*.

Captain *Hawkins* loſt nothing by this Prudence and Moderation; and he gain'd an Advantage to his Country: the *Spaniards* of this Place behaved very honourably in every Article; and entertained from that Time a better Idea of the *Engliſh*.

The *Engliſh* Veſſels remained at *Burboroata* till the Fourth of *May*; when, having ſettled every thing to the Satiſfaction of both Sides, they embarked for *Curacoa*, where they arrived after two Days Sail.

The Credit of the Traffick at *Burboroata* had reached *Curacoa*, and Captain *Hawkins* was received there with great Marks of Reſpect. He traded for Hides, the Produce of the Country; and he would have purchaſed Sheep, Oxen, and freſh Proviſions; but the People furniſhed him with all Neceſſaries, and would hear of no Price, except for the abſolute Articles of Merchandize.

Thus far could a prudent Reſolution influence natural Enemies.

On the Eighteenth the *Engliſh* Veſſels reached *La Ranchiera*, a Pearl Fiſhery of the *Spaniards*, and the next Day arrived at *Rio de la Hacha*.

Here was the Reſidence of the King's Treaſurer for the *Indies*; and here the Trade of the *Engliſh* was oppoſed more than at any other Place. The *Spaniards*, though they were very inſolent, were alſo very weak in theſe Places: loud Words were all that threatened Captain *Hawkins*, and theſe he knew how to deſpiſe.

He ſent his P opoſals to the Treaſurer; laying down the ſame Plan of Commerce that he had eſtabliſhed at *Burboroata*; and not intending to loſe ſo much Time here, as he had done on that Occaſion, he put himſelf at the Head of his hundred Myrmidons, and at once frighted the *Spaniards* into Compliance.

Here he traded with the ſame Integrity and Honour as at the other Place. He remained there near a Fortnight, which Time he employed in furniſhing himſelf with every thing valuable that was the Produce of the Country, upon the Footing of an honourable Commerce.

CHAP. XLIV.

The Return of Captain Hawkins *from his ſecond Voyage.*

'TWAS the laſt Day of *May* 1565, when Captain *Hawkins* with his little Fleet left the *Rio de la Hacha*, and ſailed for *Hiſpaniola*. The Currents led them out of their Courſe, and after about five Days Sail, inſtead of their deſtined Place at the Weſt End of *Hiſpaniola*, they found themſelves againſt the Middle of the Iſland of *Jamaica*.

The Currents continued unfavourable to them, and their Force not being then ſufficiently known, they overſhot *Jamaica* and *Santa Cruz* in *Cuba*, and on the Sixteenth anchor'd at the Iſland of *Pynas*.

Sailing the next Day, they after ſome Difficulty made on the Twentieth Cape *St. Anthony's*, the Weſt End of *Cuba*.

Here the cuſtomary Breezes drove them from Shore; and ſtretching to the North Weſt, they came on the Twenty-ninth into the Soundings of *Florida*.

On the Fifth of *July* they made the Iſles *Tortugas*; and they afterwards deſigned for the *Havannah*.

There was not in *Britain* a better Sailor than Captain *Hawkins*; but the Navigation of thoſe Seas was but imperfectly known at that early Time. We have ſeen him miſtake his Courſe more than once; and as his Want of Knowledge of the Seas there miſſed him, here his Confidence in an Enemy betrayed him into the ſame Accident.

Fearing he ſhould miſs the *Havannah*, as he had failed in his other Purpoſes, he applied for Advice to a *Frenchman*, who pretended to know, and perhaps did know the Courſe; but, more in the Intereſt of his own Nation than of the *Engliſh*, he carried them purpoſely by the deſtined Port; and it was ſo late before they found the Error, that it was irrecoverable: they could not come up with it again.

The Coaſt of *Florida* was all that was now left them. They made all the Advantages that could be obtain'd there; and ſtoring themſelves with Neceſſaries and Refreſhments, ſteer'd their Courſe for their Return.

On the Twenty-third of *Auguſt* they made the Banks of *Newfoundland*, where they took Abundance of Cod; and on the Twentieth of *September* 1565, arrived in *Cornwall*.

Never was a Voyage of Adventure attended with more croſs Accidents than this of Captain *Hawkins*; but he ſhew'd by it that Conſtancy of

Mind, and a Determination to make the beſt of every Incident, even among bad ones, will turn all Things to account.

What would have been the Profit of the Voyage had every Thing favour'd him as at firſt, is not eaſy to ſay; but as it was, he brought with him Gold, Silver, and Pearls to a vaſt Amount; and other valuable Commodities in ſo great Abundance, that it was not eaſy to conceive any Thing had croſs'd his Purpoſes. His Owners were happy, and he eſtabliſh'd an everlaſting Reputation.

CHAP. XLV.

A Voyage to Perſia.

THE Advantages of the *Perſian* Trade appear'd ſo evidently, that among the Adventurers who puſh'd the Commerce of their Country at this Time to its great Extent, there were many who were earneſt to revive the Hope of its Eſtabliſhment, and to cultivate the Friendſhip of the Sophy.

The Succeſs of two Voyages already taken thither, was by no means equal to the ſanguine Expectations of thoſe who had engaged in the Undertaking. Yet they did not deſpair: they knew the Advantages if they could find the proper Means of procuring them; and they knew the capricious and mercenary Temper of *Eaſtern* Monarchs.

Many to whom it was propoſed fear'd to undertake the Voyage; but at length there offer'd in this Year, a bold and an experienced Commander in the Service of the new eſtabliſh'd *Ruſſia* Company. The Name of this Adventurer was *Richard Johnſon.*

He propoſed his Service to the Company, made good Conditions for himſelf, and engaged in the Enterprize Mr. *Edwards* and Mr. *Kitchen* alſo in their Service.

This was not propoſed as a Voyage of Traffick, ſo much as to fix the Intercourſe with that Kingdom upon a better Footing, and to open the Way to a ſucceſsful Trade thereafter.

The Company behaved with Spirit. They fitted out a handſome Preparation, and they commiſſion'd their Adventurer with very honourable Preſents to the Sophi, and with Terms that muſt invite him to accept the Intercourſe.

This Plan was ſo well laid, and ſo prudently executed, that it ſucceeded.

The Adventurer made his Way over the *Caſpian* Sea to *Perſia*, and obtain'd an Audience of the Sophi. He repreſented to him the Nature of the Traffick propoſed by the *Engliſh* in its moſt favourable Appearance.

He produced his Preſents, which were favourably accepted; and he told that Prince, that what he and the Company of *Engliſh* Merchants under the Protection of their Queen propoſed, was, to bring into his Dominions the beſt Products of their own fruitful Kingdom; and to give them in Exchange for ſuch of the Commodities of his as would be valuable in *England*, though they were there little regarded.

The Sophi conſulted his Miniſters upon the Propoſal; and he found them full of Suſpicion: they imagined the Offer was too great to be made without ſome latent Deſign; and their Ignorance of Trade made them incapable of entering into the Motives of the *Engliſh*. However, the Sophi anſwer'd with Civility and Reſpect.

He gave them alſo ſome Privileges and Indulgencies. The Trade to *Perſia*, though not eſtabliſh'd yet, was much improved by this Negotiation, and the Company not at all diſcontented with the Voyage.

CHAP. XLVI.

A Diſpute with ſome Portugueſe *Veſſels.*

THE laſt Voyage of Captain *Hawkins* to *Guinea* and to the *Weſt Indies*, gave him ſo much Diſguſt, that he declared his Unwillingneſs to go any more to Sea.

The Inhumanity of the Proceeding he was obliged to countenance, the Mutiny againſt his Authority, and the Danger of his Life from his own People, all conſpired to make him averſe to any farther Undertaking.

He remained at home two Years; againſt the utmoſt Solicitations of thoſe who had been concern'd in his Voyages, and ſatisfied with their Succeſs.

But the ſame Event which made him deteſt the Thought of the Expedition, raiſed in others a new Fire for undertaking it. 'Twas not every one who had his Humanity; and the Method of carrying off the Negroes by Force ſeemed ſo much a readier and quicker Way than the perſuading them to go, that many were deſirous to be employ'd in ſuch another Expedition.

Captain *Fenner* in 1565, propos'd the Scheme to many; and at laſt prevail'd with ſome Perſons of Fortune to undertake it. 'Twas in the Month of *December* he ſet ſail from *Plymouth*; and he engag'd to his Proprietors for a ſafe and advantageous Return.

Let us do Juſtice to this Adventurer, while we cenſure the Nature of the Undertaking. 'Twas evident he wanted Humanity; but it is not too much to ſay in his Praiſe, that *England* never produced a braver Man.

Three Ships and a Pinnace were fitted out for the Expedition, and pick'd Men were put on board of them, ſelected by Captain *Fenner*, for their Courage and their Skill in Navigation.

No Accident croſs'd their Voyage to *Guinea*, and they were too powerful to be reſiſted in their Undertaking: wherever they landed they made Slaves of all they could ſeize; and with a full Number as their Ships could carry, ſail'd for the *Weſt-Indies*.

Every thing favour'd them, and they were in the higheſt Spirits good Fortune could give Men, when in the middle of *May*, 1566, a Storm ſeparated the Veſſels.

Captain *Fenner*, who was in the largeſt Ship, found himſelf off *Tercera*; and while he was refitting, he ſaw the *Portugueſe* bearing down upon him in ſeven Veſſels, the weakeſt of them much ſuperior to his own.

He call'd the Men from their Service, bade them take up their Arms, and defend themſelves as became *Engliſhmen*. He told them it would be a Shame now to give up the Fruits of a ſucceſsful Voyage; and added, that for his Part he ſhould prefer Death on board his Ship, to Life in a *Portugueſe* Dungeon.

His Men anſwer'd by a Shout, and the Enemy were immediately upon them. The principal Ship of the *Portugueſe*, a Veſſel of four hundred Tuns, fell on board the *Engliſh*, and grappled at once; they depended on their Numbers, and intended themſelves the Glory of conquering the *Engliſh* ſingly.

Their Captain boarded her, and a third Part of his Men follow'd: a hundred in an Inſtant upon the Deck and Sides of the *Engliſh* Veſſel.

A Moment was like to decide the Fate of the Controverſy for them; but one happy Blow determined it otherwiſe. Captain *Fenner*, whoſe Arm was as furious as his Words, oppos'd himſelf ſingly to the Captain of the *Portugueſe*, and with one Blow of his Cutlas, cleft him to the Shoulders.

The People ſet up an univerſal Shout, and the *Portugueſe* attempted to regain their Ship. Thoſe in her were as much confus'd and terrify'd as the Part that had boarded the *Engliſh*: they looſen'd their hold; and half thoſe who attempted to eſcape, fell into the Sea.

This was the Act of leſs than a ſingle Minute. The other ſix Veſſels were diſcourag'd to ſee the principal ſheer off, and they fought but faintly. There was no more at attempting to board. They ſurrounded the Veſſel, and did what diſtant Miſchief they could, but they ſuffer'd much more than they inflicted.

The Fight, in this Manner, continued two Days, at the End of which Time they ſheer'd off; thinking the *Engliſh* unconquerable, even by the greateſt Odds.

Thus ended an Attack of more than twelve to one, counting the Men, or the Strength of the Veſſels againſt the *Engliſh* Force or Number: and by this we may learn what *Engliſh* Sailors were at this Period, under a Sovereign who encourag'd Liberty: for every Virtue grows up, or dies with it.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Engliſh *improve their Commerce with* Ruſſia.

THE Company eſtabliſh'd by the Royal Charter for trading to *Ruſſia*, grew all this Time more and more ſucceſsful.

The Commerce was advantageous, and they ſtudy'd every Method of improving it. They ſaw new Adventurers every Day ſtarting up on different Expeditions, and they grew jealous of their own.

They addreſſed the Queen, whoſe Ears were always open to the Intereſts of her Subjects and the Affairs of Commerce, requeſting her farther Protection for the extending more and more the Trade of their Country; and humbly propoſing to her Majeſty other Advantages of a political Kind, which might naturally ariſe from the Intercourſe with ſo great and powerful a Nation.

The Queen granted their Requeſt and accepted their Propoſal. They engag'd Mr. *Jenkinſon*, who had been ſo inſtrumental in ſettling this Trade, to go once more on their Account; and the Queen commiſſion'd him at the ſame Time as her Embaſſador: and, on the fourth of *May*, 1566, he ſet out from *Graveſend*, on board the *Harry*.

He arriv'd, on the Tenth of *July*, in the Bay of *St. Nicholas*; and on the Twenty-third of *Auguſt* he made his Entry into *Moſcow*; in Character of Embaſſador from the Queen of *England* to the Czar.

Jenkinſon, who was a Man of Senſe and Addreſs, manag'd his Affairs in this double Capacity, of Agent for the Merchants, and Embaſſador to the Queen, ſo well, that he made a very profitable Return for the Company; and in the ſucceeding Year return'd in a very honourable Manner, in Company with two Embaſſadors, ſent from the Czar to the *Engliſh* Court.

This ſhew'd, more than all Words, the Succeſs of his Negotiations; the Embaſſadors were treated with the utmoſt Splendor and Magnificence; and, according to their Commiſſion, they renew'd and extended the Privileges granted to the Merchants, and ſeal'd a laſting Treaty of Friendſhip between the two Crowns.

Thus was the *Ruſſia* Company perfectly eſtabliſhed in the Year 1567, under the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, and of the Czar *John Baſilowitz*; and a perfect Friendſhip confirm'd between the two Kingdoms.

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CHAP. XLVIII.

The Conduct of the English *and the* Spaniards *in their Traffick.*

CAptain *Hawkins* who had now two Years declin'd the Service, ſaw others making the Advantages which he forfeited, and to which none had ſo good a Right as himſelf.

The Proprietors of his Voyages fitted out Veſſels for an Expedition; and they propos'd to him and requeſted of him to take the Charge of them; but if he declin'd it, they told him they muſt appoint ſome other: for that they would not loſe ſo profitable a Branch of Trade, which themſelves, at his Inſtigation, had ſet on Foot, by the Tenderneſs of his Conſcience.

Captain *Hawkins* could not reſiſt theſe Motives; he ſaw the Negroes would be forc'd on board whether he commanded or not; and a Regard to the Company and to his own Intereſt, led him at length to accept the Commiſſion.

The Fleet committed to his Convoy was to rendezvous at *Plymouth*, and it conſiſted of ſix Ships. In the *Jeſus of Lubeck* Captain *Hawkins* embark'd, this was the Admiral Ship; and with the Captains *Hampton*, *Bolton*, and *Francis Drake*, in the other principal Ships, the *Minion*, *William and John*, and *Judith*, he ſet ſail on the ſecond of *October*.

A Storm ſeiz'd them off Cape *Finiſtere*; in which the Ships were ſeparated, and the Admiral's Veſſel extremely damag'd.

They purſu'd their Courſe after this without any other Accident, and arriv'd at the Coaſt of *Guinea*; where the horrible Trade was again practis'd, of falling upon the unarm'd and defenceleſs Negroes, and ſeizing them for everlaſting Slavery.

The Crews of the ſeveral Veſſels amounted to ſo large a Body, that they could now undertake almoſt any thing; but in ſome Places they found the *Africans* numerous and reſolute in their Defence.

Many Skirmiſhes happened on theſe Occaſions, and ſome of them very bloody ones, but at length they ſucceeded; and in the Beginning of *February*, 1568, ſail'd for the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, with five hundred of theſe miſerable People, Slaves.

Captain *Hawkins* knew, that although he carry'd to the *Spaniards*, what ought to have been of all Things in the World the moſt valuable to them, they would be averſe to trade for them: but he knew alſo what he had to do, and how he was to do it.

He remember'd the Succeſs of his Threatnings the laſt Voyage, and he proceeded upon a very juſt Foundation; for there ſubſiſted a Treaty made between *Henry the Eighth* and *Charles the Fifth*, for that Purpoſe.

The Captain had laid down his Courſe, which he now follow'd more ſucceſsfully than in his former Expedition. On the Twenty-ſeventh of *March* they came in Sight of *Dominica*, and from thence they coaſted from Place to Place to *Margarita*, *Carthagena*, and Cape *de la Vela*.

The ſame Difficulties were here oppos'd to their Trade as had been in the preceding Voyage; but the Courage and Moderation of the Captain got over them in the ſame Manner; and at every one of theſe Places he maintain'd a very fair, and at the ſame Time a very profitable Trade.

From thence they came to *Rio de la Hacha*, but there, where they expected a very conſiderable Trade, they found an abſolute Prohibition.

Captain *Hawkins* purſu'd his old Courſe unalter'd; but he was oblig'd to carry it a little farther. Threats took no Effect upon the People, and he proceeded to Action. He ſtorm'd the Town with two hundred of his braveſt Men and loſt in the Action only two.

There was no ſtanding it out after the Loſs of the Place: the *Spaniards* came to Terms; and a proper Method of Traffick being adjuſted, the *Engliſh* here, as in the other Places, while they ſerved the *Spaniards*, were themſelves great Gainers.

On the Sixteenth of *September* the Weather having been ſome time very unfavourable, Captain *Hawkins* was driven to the Bay of *Mexico*. He repair'd to the Port of *St. Juan de Ullua*; where he fell in with the *Spaniſh* Flota.

The Captain had been oblig'd to deal roughly with the *Spaniards* in many Places; but he now by a very ſingular and honourable Act of Moderation, ſhew'd that whenever he had done ſo, it was upon Compulſion; and that he was no Enemy but when they forc'd him.

Thoſe who know the Nature of that Harbour, will be ſenſible that he could, with his ſix Veſſels, eaſily have prevented their entering it; and if he had done ſo, the whole would probably have been loſt; for they could not have weather'd the Storm to which they muſt have been expos'd.

Hawkins ſaw this, but he made no ill Uſe of his Power. He knew it was to the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Merchants to be upon good Terms with the *Spaniards* in this Part of the World; and he courted their Confidence and Friendſhip by ſuffering them, unoppos'd and unmoleſted, to enter the Port.

On his entering with his own Veſſels, he gave another and a greater Inſtance of the ſame Moderation and Integrity: he found there twelve defenceleſs Ships, whoſe Lading in Gold and

Silver was of Immenſe Value; theſe he could have ſeized, but he offer'd them no Violence.

There were among his People ſome who murmur'd; but he had taken good Precautions on his going out this Time to prevent the Loſs of his Authority.

He repreſented to them the Diſhoneſty, and the Conſequences that would attend ſuch an Action. "We are trading here, ſaid he, in virtue "of a Peace; and ſhall we, at the ſame Time "we inſiſt upon its Privileges, break it?" he added to his Reaſons his abſolute Commands; and he had now the Authority which belong'd to his Poſt, ſo that they were obey'd.

The *Spaniards* were ſtrangely alarm'd at his Appearance; for they knew as well as he did, what was in his Power; and when they ſaw his Moderation, they attributed it to other Principles: they thought whatever hurt he did not do, he could not; and they grew haughty, where they ſhould have ſhewn no Senſe, but of Gratitude.

As ſoon as Captain *Hawkins* had ſettled with his own People, he apply'd himſelf to the *Spaniards*. He repreſented to them that they were in his Power; but that he conſider'd their Nation as at Peace with *England*; and ſhould take no Advantages. He demanded Security for himſelf and his People while he committed no Inſults upon them; and a fair and honourable Traffick.

He took Poſſeſſion of the Iſland with its Artillery and Stores; but he acquainted them it was only for the Time of his Stay; and he demanded of them to ſign a Treaty of Commerce for the preſent Occaſion; and to give ten Hoſtages for the Performance.

This was the open Generoſity of the *Britiſh* Commander; but the *Spaniards* were People of another Character: they refuſed at firſt; and it was with Difficulty; and not without Threatnings on his Part, that they at laſt comply'd.

When they came to the Reſolution, however, they did it handſomely; they gave full Aſſurances by Words as well as Writing, and deliver'd their Hoſtages.

Captain *Hawkins* had kept the Power in his own Hands though he did not uſe it, while the Treaty was negotiating; and all this Time the Flota rode without the Port.

This perhaps haſten'd the Treaty as ſoon as it was ſign'd, and the Hoſtages were deliver'd to the *Engliſh*, the Fleet was permitted to enter; and thoſe Veſſels and the *Engliſh* ſaluted one another, according to the Cuſtom of the Sea as Friends.

The Traffick was very conſiderable that was expected here, and every thing was prepared for it with Regularity. The *Engliſh* had their Place on Shore, and the *Spaniards* theirs; and each Party promiſed and offered to the other, all Marks of friendly Intercourſe and Aſſiſtance.

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CHAP. XL.

The Behaviour of the Spaniards *after their Obligation.*

THE *Engliſh*, who meant nothing but what they ſaid, ſuſpected no harm from the *Spaniards*, whom Gratitude, as well as Agreements, ſhould have made faithful to them: but they form'd a Deſign of deſtroying the whole Body of them under this Maſk of Friendſhip.

The *Spaniards* were not numerous enough to attempt this as they were, but they clandeſtinely got a Thouſand Men to join them from the Continent. This gave the Balance of Strength and Number greatly in their Favour; and they uſed it without Faith or Mercy.

The Deſtruction had been perhaps abſolute, if there had not been a few Hours of Suſpicion on the *Engliſh* Side. They never entertain'd the leaſt Thought of the Treachery till the Morning of the Day fix'd for the Execution of it; but Captain *Hawkins* then perceiv'd a Buſtle among them, and could diſtinguiſh the removing of Arms and Ammunition from one Veſſel to another.

He called together his principal People, and made them join with him, without giving any Notice of their Suſpicion, in watching to what theſe Motions tended.

They ſaw them level their Cannon from all their Ships toward the Iſland; and they obſerv'd Parties in continual Motion.

The *Engliſh* Captain ſaw the Preparation, but he little imagin'd that they were ſo well prepared to do him Miſchief; or that they had fix'd upon an Hour then approaching, for the Execution of their Deſign.

He ſent to the Viceroy to acquaint him of this, and told him, "The *Engliſh* were a People "neither fearful, nor ſuſpicious; but that what "he ſaw on all Parts, ſeem'd the Preparation for "an Attack: that he did not fear it; but as the "two Kingdoms were at Peace, he hoped it "would not be broken: and that he had thought "the Treaty ſign'd by him was a Security of "peaceable Behaviour."

The *Spaniard*, to whom Treachery was as natural as Ingratitude, return'd an Anſwer in the moſt pompous Terms of Friendſhip; "That the "Treaty ſhould be ſacred, that on the Faith of a "VICEROY, he would protect them from all "Treachery; and that he had ſent Orders to "remove all Cauſe of Suſpicion."

While this Meſſage and Anſwer were negotiating, Captain *Hawkins*, who had a watchful and diſcerning Eye, grew ſuſpicious of a particular Ship of the *Spaniards*: this was a very large one. It was moor'd near the *Minion*, one of the principal of the *Engliſh* Veſſels; and from many Circumſtances, he judged there were a very large Number of Men concealed in it.

He diſpatch'd the Maſter of his own Veſſel to the Viceroy, with a verbal Meſſage; importing his particular Suſpicion on this Head, and requir'd to be ſatisfy'd.

The Hour was now arrived for the fatal Blow: the Viceroy, inſtead of hearing the Meſſenger, gave the Signal by ſound of Trumpet, and the *Engliſh* were attacked on all Sides at once.

'Twas well Captain *Hawkins* had entertain'd Suſpicions, for he had put his People on their Guard; otherwiſe it would have been not a Conflict, but a Maſſacre.

The firſt Care of the *Spaniards* was to land a Number of Men upon the Iſland, where they gave no Quarter.

The large Ship that lay near the *Minion*, was, as the Captain ſuppoſed, full of Men for this Purpoſe; but the *Engliſh* Veſſel deſtined to be her Sacrifice, having in the Time of Suſpicion unlooſed her Moorings, the Inſtant ſhe was attacked bore away to Sea, and got with little Damage out of the Harbour.

Captain *Hawkins* was in the ſame free Condition to eſcape, and he was the next that was attack'd. He ſtood the firſt Shock, and cover'd the Deck of the large Ship with their Dead; but ſeeing there was no contending with ſuch Numbers, he follow'd the Courſe of the *Minion*, and drove out to Sea. He had loſt ſeveral of his own People, and he hoped the reſt of his Veſſels would bear out to Sea after his Example.

The *Spaniards* were encouraged by their Numbers, and they fought with the Fury of Cowards who have an Advantage. The *Engliſh* behaved like Men in Deſpair: they perform'd Wonders, but there was not a Poſſibility of Victory. In three Hours the Admiral's Ship of the *Spaniards* was ſunk; the Vice Admiral burnt, and a third of their beſt Veſſels deſtroy'd.

Our Ships would have been able to have defended themſelves from all their Efforts at Sea; but there was a Force on Shore which nothing in their Power could reſiſt.

There were upon the Iſland twelve Braſs Cannon of conſiderable Size; and theſe, after the Butchery of our People there had fallen into their Hands. Theſe they fired inceſſantly at our Ships, and ſunk one after another all of them except the *Minion* firſt eſcaped and the *Jeſus*. The latter of theſe they had ſo diſabled, that it was judged impoſſible to carry her off; and all Hope of Safety lay in the other.

The Cannon, after the Execution they had perform'd on the ſmaller Veſſels, were now pointed ſolely at theſe; and the *Jeſus* which was given up as loſt, was placed as a Defence for the other, to receive the Shot fired at her.

The Reſolution was to ſtand it thus till Night; and then taking out what was moſt valuable in this Ship, the *Minion* was to receive that, and the Men, and to proceed home.

Captain *Hawkins* all this Time kept on board his own Ship, deſperate as the Situation was; and ſupported his Men's Spirits by his Example.

All was agreed, and Night expected with Impatience; when a new Alarm terrified the Remainder of the *Engliſh* more than ever.

The *Spaniards* not caring to come out after them, fired two of their own Veſſels, and ſent them down upon the two remaining.

This terrified the People of the *Minion* more than all the former Shock. They liſten'd to no Command; but hoiſting ſail to avoid the Danger, were difficultly prevailed upon to ſtay for the Admiral's coming on board.

Nothing could now be done but to leave the Ship, to which Captain *Hawkins* very unwillingly ſubmitted. He and a few of the Men got on board the other Ship, and the reſt fell into the Hands of the treacherous Enemy.

The People of the *Minion* thought they were very happy when they were got out to Sea, for then no Dangers preſented themſelves to their Imaginations, but the Swords of *Spaniards*, and the Fire of the Veſſels: but as ſoon as they were out of Reach of this Deſtruction, their Eyes were open to the Miſery of that Situation which they had thought ſo fortunate.

They were alone on the broad Sea, with only two Anchors and two Cables; and in a Veſſel damag'd ſo much, in ſo many different Parts, that 'twas labour to keep her above Water: near no friendly Shore, and in a manner deſtitute of Proviſions.

Had their Enemies been honourable ones, no Courſe could have been propoſed ſo wiſe as throwing themſelves upon their Protection; but the Protection of a *Spaniard* here was Murther; more Treachery never diſgraced a Nation, nor more Cruelty, than muſt live upon the *Spaniſh* Annals from this Story.

None thought of this Courſe when they had ever ſo little conſider'd it. Some propoſed throwing themſelves upon the Mercy of the Savages; but here their own Cruelty upon the Coaſt of *Guinea* roſe in their Mind, and daunted their Reſolution.

In Deſpair Men think of that Providence, whoſe Exiſtence is baniſh'd by Security: they now conſider'd all they had ſuffer'd as the juſt Vengeance of Heaven for their Barbarity to the Negroes; and they dreaded to face thoſe Savages from whom 'twas natural to expect like Treatment.

Theſe Terrors got the better of the Fear of Famine, and 'twas determin'd to keep the Sea.

A Fortnight they held this Purpoſe, beating about an unknown Ocean; and after the Conſumption of what Proviſions chanced to be on board, which the three firſt Days had ended, they fed on Hides, part of their Cargo; and hunted Rats in the Hold, as Food.

Water now failed as well as Proviſion, and for this there was no Reſource.

'Twas now reſolved that they muſt make the Land, no Death could be ſo terrible as what appear'd before them; and they prefer'd to fall by the Sword, rather than by the lingering Miſeries of Thirſt and Hunger. This was the univerſal Reſolution, and they made for Land with their beſt Sail.

CHAP. XLI.

The Concluſion of Hawkins's *third Voyage.*

ON the Eighth of *October* the *Minion* made the Shore at the Bottom of the Bay of *Mexico*, in twenty-three Degrees.

The Crew had repreſented to themſelves every Idea of Danger from a cowardly and bloody Enemy, and were prepar'd to face it with an *Engliſh* Courage; but no Enemy appeared: the Coaſt was Deſart: no *Spaniards*, no Savages, nor the leaſt Proſpect of Food or Refreſhment, no Port to receive the Veſſels, nor the leaſt Hope of any kind of Succour.

Captain *Hawkins*, who had hitherto ſupported the terrible Scene with a true Courage, propoſ'd the adventuring farther along the Shore, to ſeek a better Place; but the Terrors of Thirſt and Hunger prevail'd among the Crew, they felt what they fear'd, therefore their Terrors were unconquerable: ſome were of the Captain's Mind, to ſeek a better Place; but many thinking there could be no Diſtreſs on Land equal to Famine on the Sea, deſired to be ſet on Shore there.

Captain *Hawkins* adviſed them otherwiſe: but he told them, the common Miſfortunes had brought him too much on a Level with them, any longer to aſſume Command: what they choſe he ſhould conſent to their doing.

A Hundred join'd the Reſolution, and were ſet on ſhore: the Ship with the Remainder, which was about an equal Number, after taking in Water, put again to Sea.

Thirſt, more terrible than Hunger, deſtroyed many of thoſe who made the Shore; they no ſooner ſaw freſh Water, than they drank ſo immoderately, that inſtant Death followed.

Others were betrayed to their Deſtruction in the ſame Manner by their Hunger. Fruits of many Kinds offer'd, ſome wholeſome, ſome poiſonous; they eat of all with an unconquerable Greedineſs, and partly the Quantity upon their weaken'd Stomachs, partly the bad Qualities of ſome of the Kinds threw them into Anguiſh, Swelling, and Suffocation, in which they died.

Half the Number thus periſh'd in a Day or two after their Landing; and theſe were happieſt: the Remainder were reſerved to more miſerable Deſtruction, from which only two of the Number were ſaved, ſent home as it were to tell the Story.

Thoſe who had eſcaped Death from the Surfeit of their firſt Refreſhment, came to a Reſolution of marching next Day farther into the Country. They ſet forward in a Body at Sun-riſe, and when they had travell'd an Hour ſaw *Indians* upon the Hills.

Any thing human gave them Comfort, but they perceived nothing of their dangerous Condition; the Brutality of all the Nations upon Earth never amounted to that of *Spaniards* to the Natives of this Country. They who were left had retired to Foreſts full of implacable Revenge; and to them all *Europeans* appear'd *Spaniards*: they knew nothing of the Diſtinction of Countries on this Side of the Globe.

Thoſe the miſerable *Engliſh* ſaw with ſo much Joy were a Party of theſe *Indians*: they collected more, and they came down with Fury upon them. A fifth Part of the *Engliſh* were kill'd at the firſt Onſet: but the Remainder throwing themſelves upon their Knees, ſo much of human Nature was in the Savages, that they did not fall upon them. They examined their Dreſs and Aſpect, and found they were differenr from the *Spaniards*; and upon the beſt Explanation that could be made between People who knew nothing of one another's Language, the *Indians* ſhook their Heads with Concern at what they had done, gave the Remainder ſome Fruit, and directed them to a certain Courſe.

The *Engliſh* buried their dead Companions, and not knowing what the Direction of the *Indians* meant, whether it pointed to ſome Town of their own where they ſhould have more Refreſhment, or whether to the Habitations of the *Spaniards* at firſt purſued it.

Upon the Way they came to a Conſultation; and it was propoſed to ſeparate into two Bodies; that if either found Succeſs, they might ſend Notice to the other.

They were now reduced to about forty; and forming their two Diviſions, each choſe a Leader and a ſeparate Courſe; *Ingram* conducted thoſe who marched Northward, and the other Party under the Conduct of *Phillips*, made for the Weſt.

Theſe reached *Panuco*, where they found the *Spaniards* pitileſs, and ſavage! they were thruſt into a Dungeon; denied a Surgeon for their Wounds, received from the firſt Onſet of the *Indians*, and after a few Days ſent bound to *Mexico*.

Some died upon the Way, and others ſoon after their Arrival; but the reſt were here put into an Hoſpital, and Surgeons were ſent to them.

Let not the *Engliſh* Reader think this Mercy. A *Spaniard* knows it not: they wanted Slaves, and theſe they purpoſed to employ as Negroes.

What became of the Party which went Northwards we have no juſt Account. They probably all periſh'd: of theſe who reached *Panuco*, and thence were ſent to *Mexico*; two, after fourteen Years miſerable Slavery, got back to *England*, by an Eſcape from Priſon.

Hawkins had purſued the wiſer Courſe in keeping to Sea.

The Diſtreſſes thoſe with him underwent were very terrible; but after a Series of them, not to be parallelled by all we read in Hiſtory, he arrived with about twelve of his Crew in the Month of *January* 1569, in *England*.

The Captain having recommended his poor Remnant of a Crew to the Care of the Company, in whoſe Service they had been expoſed to ſo many Dangers, publiſhed the Story in all its Circumſtances, and ſet the Nation in a Flame, The univerſal Cry was Revenge againſt the *Spaniards*.

The Queen, who had ſeen *Hawkins* before he ſail'd, ſent for him on his Return. She heard the Story with a deep Attention, and ſhe told him this ſhould never be forgot, nor forgiven, till it had been well revenged. She added, that *Spain* was a Nation with which War was inevitable; but the Condition of the State made it imprudent to ruſh into it now: that Things omitted in Reſentment for a Time, were not forgot; and that he might take a Queen's Word, this ſhould be reveng'd.

CHAP. XLII.

The Conduct of Queen Elizabeth *at this Period.*

THE Queen, who ſtudied her Subjects Temper, as People read the Sciences, ſaw all was Rage and Violence againſt the *Spaniards*; and ſhe uſed every honeſt Method to keep up that Indignation, which ſhe very well perceiv'd would be uſeful.

In the mean Time ſhe made all the Preparations that were neceſſary, without appearing to make any. She knew the Hearts of her People were her great Security, and ſhe courted them the true Way, by deſerving them.

Her Wiſdom and Moderation, in reſpect to Parties, which at this Time ran as high as religious Zeal could raiſe 'em, cool'd all by Degrees, and made all but the bigotted her Friends. So long as her own Safety permitted, ſhe treated the Papiſts with the greateſt Lenity; and when the Bull of *Pius*, and the ſubſequent Rebellion, obliged her to harſher Meaſures, ſhe ſtill diſtinguiſh'd with a prudent Care, Papiſts in Conſcience from Papiſts in Faction; and while ſhe was ſevere to the latter, always pity'd and ſpared the former.

Inſtead of a military Force, ſhe depended upon the Protection of her Subjects; and of this ſhe ſecur'd herſelf, by making it their Intereſt to protect her. In the Place of raiſing Taxes, ſhe encouraged Commerce: ſhe did not deſire to fill her own Treaſury, but the Purſes of her People. She knew there could be no Demand of great Sums but for their Service; and that they would then be as willing to contribute, as ſhe had made them able.

'Twas thus *Elizabeth* prepared for a War with *Spain*: ſhe took Care that her Subjects ſhould be able to ſupport the Expence of it; and ſhe ſo united their Hearts in the Cauſe, that whenever it broke out, it would appear their Act, not hers; a War not between Queen *Elizabeth* and *Philip*, but between the two Kingdoms of *Spain* and *England*.

Mean Time other Affairs demanded and employed her Attention. *Mary*, her Siſter, had been obliged to reſign the Crown of *Scotland* to her Son, and after an unſucceſsful Action, in which ſhe was defeated by the Regent, fled that Kingdom, and threw herſelf into the Protection of *Elizabeth*.

Mary had behaved too ill to her Siſter to do this by Choice; but indeed who was there to whom ſhe had not ſo conducted herſelf, as to ſacrifice all Expectation of Protection in her Diſtreſs. It was Neceſſity, not Choice, that threw her into the Hands of the Queen of *England*: Neceſſity of leaving her own Kingdom, and the having no other poſſible Refuge.

Elizabeth knew very well what her Intereſt directed; and ſhe ſaw alſo how contrary it was to the Ties of Blood. She avoided the Reproach which would have fallen upon her acting of herſelf in it, by taking the deliberate Advice of her Council: they thought as ſhe did; and they ſaw the Cauſe: it was by their Advice *Mary* was detain'd, and *Elizabeth* became the great Arbitreſs of the Affairs of *Scotland*.

It was no Secret in the reſt of *Europe*, that *England* hated *Spain*.

The Proteſtants in the Low Countries, oppreſs'd by that Crown becauſe of their Religion, flew to *Elizabeth* for Protection; and they found it. They requeſted Permiſſion to come to *England*; which the Queen readily granted: not alone for Conſcience Sake, but Intereſt.

She knew they were People addicted to, and verſed in Commerce; and ſhe gave them Settlements in *Norwich*, *Colcheſter*, and other conſiderable Towns, which to this Day retain the Advantages of their Eſtabliſhment, in the Profits from the Manufactures they introduced; which ſubſiſt in great Perfection.

Spain took Umbrage at this; but *Elizabeth*, who ſaw what muſt happen, diſregarded all particular Occaſion of it.

CHAP. XLIII.

The Beginning of the Diſputes with Spain.

WHEN Kingdoms are ready for a Rupture, little Accidents will make it break out: the ill Blood which was between *England* and *Spain*, diſcloſed itſelf on both Sides within the Compaſs of the Year we now treat of, 1568.

The King of *Spain* had ſent, toward the Winter of this Year, a conſiderable Sum of Money for the Low Countries on board ſome *Biſcayan* Veſſels with the royal Paſſport.

Some *French* Pirate Ships, which then infeſted the Seas, had Intelligence of this, and they ſailed to intercept the Treaſure. They came up with the *Biſcayans*, and giving them chaſe, the others for Protection made the *Engliſh* Coaſt, and put into the Ports of *Plymouth*, *Falmouth* and *Southampton*.

The People exclaimed; and the Queen heard them. She deſired the Matter might be left to her Management; and with that Addreſs, of which no Woman ever had more, and which diſtinguiſhes many of her moſt important Tranſactions, ſhe found the Means, under a very fair Pretence, to detain the Money.

When the Ships came in, ſhe received them into her Protection; order'd them to be aſſiſted with every thing they required, and gave them Permiſſion to land the Money.

When it was landed, ſhe explained her Purpoſe: ſhe order'd it to be ſtopt: and declared, that although ſhe had given Permiſſion for the bringing it on Shore, ſhe muſt now have a better Account of its proper Owner, and right Deſtination. That if it was the King of *Spain*'s, it ſhould be ſacred to him; but that ſhe heard it was the Duke of *Alva*'s, and was deſtin'd for carrying on the War in the *Low Countries*: or if not ſo, that he intended to ſeize it for that Purpoſe.

Her Regard for the King of *Spain*'s Property ſhe declared would not permit her to ſee this, when it was in her Power to prevent it; and ſhe concluded, that ſhe would be anſwerable for its Safety: but would detain it for the King of *Spain* againſt the Duke of *Alva*, or till ſhe knew who had the proper Title.

Here broke out the Flame that had ſo long labour'd to find a Paſſage. The King of *Spain* and the Duke of *Alva* ordered *Engliſh* Veſſels to be taken by way of Reprizals; and the *Engliſh* obtained Permiſſion from their Sovereign to follow the ſame Practice. The Seas were covered with arm'd Veſſels, and ours were very ſucceſsful.

The Duke of *Alva* prohibited all Commerce with the *Engliſh*. This was all he could attempt; but the Court of *Spain* then full of deep Policy, laid the Plan of a Civil War in *England*, applying to the Duke of *Norfolk* to raiſe Forces againſt the Queen at home, and the Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*.

The Treachery fell upon the Head of its Deviſer. The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Ormond* diſcloſed the *Spaniſh* Purpoſe to the Queen, and ſhe to her People. She told them, the Time was now approaching, which they had ſo long wiſh'd, of humbling *Spain*; and ſhe gave them immediate Commiſſion to treat the *Spaniards* as Enemies of their Country, and to continue ſeizing upon all Veſſels belonging to them.

Elizabeth had not conceived, when ſhe gave this Commiſſion, how far it would be carried. Every Merchant that was able fitted out a Veſſel for the Purpoſe; and in a Manner all the Ships of *Spain*, employed in theſe Seas, were brought into the *Engliſh* Ports. The Trade of *Spain* periſhed: the *Engliſh* Courage, arm'd with their Reſentment againſt the Inſults and Cruelties of that People, knew not where to ſtop.

The Queen, who weigh'd this in the Scale of Reaſon, ſaw that all *Spain* muſt be arm'd for Revenge: and ſhe examined the State of Government, to know whether it were in a Condition prudently to engage in a War with ſo powerful a Kingdom. She found it was not; and ſhe therefore repreſs'd the Depredations of her Subjects, which ſhe ſaw muſt bring it on.

The Method ſhe took ſhew'd at once her Prudence and her Spirit: ſhe prohibited the buying Merchandize, taken after ſuch a Day from the *Spaniards*, and giving her People her Reaſons at the ſame Time, the whole grew eaſy.

The Merchants liſten'd to the Queen's Arguments, and found her Conduct was wholly favourable to their true Intereſts.

It is not the taking the trading Veſſels of an Enemy that muſt enrich a People, but their own Commerce: they ſaw this was interrupted by the preſent Situation of Affairs; and they returned their Thanks to their Sovereign, who had interfer'd ſo wiſely; and entreated her to favour their future Endeavours.

CHAP. XLIV.

The State of the English *Commerce in* 1568.

THE common People, who ſee Things ſuperficially, were charm'd with the Succeſs of the *Engliſh* Veſſels in their Captures; but the Body of Merchants found their Error in devoting themſelves in a Manner wholly, to what ſhould have been but a ſlight Article of their Concern.

Trade was ſtop'd with the *Low Countries*, and with *Spain*, and the Adventurers who had gone farther in Search of Commerce, were not ſo ſucceſsful as their Predeceſſors.

The Trade to *Perſia* and that to *Ruſſia* were continued, and Induſtry enough was uſed to promote and extend their Advantages; but croſs Accidents, and an ill Choice of People, made them in one Place leſs ſucceſsful for ſome Time, and the other expoſed them almoſt to Ruin.

The *Engliſh* Affairs in *Perſia* had gone ſo ill, that a very peculiar Method of Management was become neceſſary; and in this Year 1568, Mr. *Edwards*, Agent to the *Ruſſia* Company, went out for that Country with magnificent Preſents for the Sophi and his Chief Miniſters; and Offers of great Advantages to be allowed in the *Perſian* Trade: as alſo with a modeſt Repreſentation of their preſent Hardſhips.

Mr. *Edwards* was ſo well inſtructed, that he executed his Commiſſion ſucceſsfully. The Sophi and his Favourites, ſoften'd by the Preſents and the Promiſes of Advantage, order'd every Abuſe to be rectify'd, and gave the Company new and very conſiderable Privileges, which he brought home written in Gold.

While *Edwards* was negotiating the publick Concerns, two other Perſons in the Service of the Company, their Names *Baniſter* and *Ducket*, went out upon the private Conſideration of Trade.

They had not the Addreſs to manage themſelves as thoſe who had begun the Intercourſe, or as he who was now eſtabliſhing it; but having ſome Diſputes with the *Tartars* in their Paſſage to *Aſtracan*, they were aſſaulted by that People to the Number of three hundred, in near twenty Boats, all arm'd and deſperate.

There were on board the *Engliſh* Ships ſome *Ruſſians*, who better underſtood their Method of Fighting than our People, and this ſaved them. They directed the proper Uſe of the *Engliſh* Fire Arms, and kept the Enemy diſtant, who would have been Conquerors in a few Minutes in a cloſer Engagement. It ended wholly on the Side of the *Engliſh*, they had ſome kill'd, and more wounded; but they deſtroyed no leſs than two hundred of the *Tartars*.

The reſt fled; and this Action was rumour'd abroad, and reported ſo much to the Advantage of the *Engliſh*, that it created a Reſpect for their Name, and kept off their Enemies. They proceeded in Security on their Voyage, and arrived without farther Accident.

Mr. *Edwards* had implanted in the Breaſts of the *Perſian* Court ſo favourable an Impreſſion with Reſpect to his Countrymen, that theſe were received with Favour; and invited, under every poſſible Encouragement, to remain there ſome Time, for making themſelves better acquainted with the Products of *Perſia*, and the Method of moſt acceptable Traffick.

They remain'd in *Perſia* five Years; and in 1573, ſet out for their Return loaded with Treaſures.

The Courts of *Perſia* and *Ruſſia* were both well affected to the *Engliſh*, but in all Nations there will be Thieves and Robbers. The *Ruſſian Coſſacks*, a kind of Banditti, heard with how vaſt a Treaſure the *Engliſh* Merchants were returning to their own Country from *Perſia*; and they watch'd an Opportunity to ſeize upon it. The Winds too much favoured their Purpoſe, for the *Engliſh*, who had ſet ſail from *Bibil* on the *Caſpian* Sea upon the Eighth of *May*, had been diſtreſs'd by contrary Guſts till the Twenty-eighth, and were on that Day at an Anchor on the Flats.

This was ſuch an Advantage as the *Coſſacks* wanted: they put off in a Number of Boats, to the Amount of a hundred and fifty Perſons, and pretending to be Friends were received on board by the *Engliſh* with all the Teſtimonies of Civility.

The *Coſſacks* waited the Signal of their Leader; and when he ſaw all were on board, he drew his Sabre. Every Man's Weapon was in a Moment at the Throat of an *Engliſhman*, and the Reſiſtance Mr. *Ducket* made, only ſerved to encreaſe the Slaughter: the Survivors were oblig'd to capitulate, and to give up the Ship and Cargo for their Lives.

Thus ended an Expedition to *Perſia*, which had promiſed the largeſt Advantages; and for the Miſcarriage of which, the People entruſted with the Care of it were wholly anſwerable. Mr. *Ducket*'s Courage in the Engagement only ſacrificed ſo many more Lives; but his Prudence ſhould have directed him not to have admitted ſuch a Number of Strangers on board on any Pretence whatever.

The ſame ill Succeſs attended the Company's Trade to *Ruſſia*, and from the ſame Cauſe, an improper Choice of thoſe who conducted it.

The Czar had diſtinguiſhed our People by every Mark of Favour, and had made Friendſhip with the Queen; but he was not without Reſentment, when he ſaw his Subjects ill treated. The Avarice and Fraud of the People employed by the Company in this Trade, alienated all Hearts from them.

The Czar had granted them a free Traffick, not only to his Dominions, a Privilege allowed no other Nation, but through them to other Countries; and he was incenſed in the higheſt Degree, to ſee in Return his People undermined and cheated in every Artile.

He was upon the Point of expelling the *Engliſh* from his Dominions, and prohibiting all Trade, when the Queen firſt heard the News of the Diſturbances there: for the Merchants, who were ſolely to blame, had not been in Haſte to diſcover their own Faults.

What they never could have effected ſhe attempted for them; ſhe ſent Sir *Thomas Randolph* as Embaſſador, loaded with Preſents. He was received with ſome Reſerve; but he ſoon removed all Uneaſineſs.

He acquainted the Czar, that the Queen of *England* was as much offended as himſelf at the ill Behaviour of her Subjects; and had order'd thoſe who gave the Offence, to be ſent home for Puniſhment: that ſhe would replace them with Perſons of the beſt Judgment, and greateſt Integrity in her Kingdom; and requeſted the Czar not to lay upon a whole People the Fault of a few Perſons.

The Czar was ſatisfied: he ſent an Embaſſador to *England*; and the Company had greater Privileges allow'd them than before.

Thus effectual is the ſovereign Power, when it pleaſes to interfere in Matters of Commerce.

The Ceremonies of the ſucceeding Embaſſy were with ſome Difficulties; the Czar, quite unacquainted with the Policy and Government of *European* Courts, requir'd Things impracticable; and was out of Humour that they were not comply'd with to the Letter.

Some Time was loſt in adjuſting theſe Difficulties; and there was no Way to reconcile the Czar but by a new Embaſſador.

Sir *Thomas Randulph* had acquitted himſelf extreamly well in his Commiſſion, but there was ſtill a great deal unſettled; and which neither he, nor the *Ruſſian* Embaſſador here, could adjuſt.

Jenkinſon, who had been ſo often at the Court of the Czar, was yet alive: he was prevailed upon to undertake the Buſineſs; and in 1571, he arrived in *Ruſſia* in quality of Embaſſador from *England*. He manag'd ſo well, that all was ſoon after accommodated, and the *Engliſh* again fully favour'd in *Ruſſia*.

CHAP. XLV.

A Conflict with ſome Daniſh *Pirates.*

THE Trade to *Ruſſia* increaſed ſo faſt under the new Protection given it by the Czar, that the ſucceeding Year no leſs than thirteen Ships were ſent thither by the Company.

The Coſſack Plunderers had led the Way to *European* Piracies. Nations leſs ſucceſsful in the Articles of Commerce, look'd upon *England* with Eyes of Envy, and this Year the *Danes* fitted out ſeveral Veſſels to intercept the *Engliſh* Ships in the *Ruſſian* Commerce.

The Company had Notice of this, and they furniſh'd this large Number they diſpatch'd with ſufficient Men and Arms to defend the Trade.

Captain *Burrough* had the chief Command, and he found Occaſion to uſe his Strength. He ſaw off the Iſland *Tuttee* ſix of theſe *Daniſh* Pirate Veſſels: he knew what they were, and he gave chaſe to them.

He took the Admiral Ship, and four of the others. Sent the Men Priſoners to the Czar, as taken in his Dominions; and with them the Papers found in the Ship, which ſhew'd the Purpoſe of their Voyage.

Theſe Priſoners were received favourably, and the *Danes* made an ill Figure in *Ruſſia* long after.

The Queen was not leſs ſolicitous to confirm the old Articles of Commerce of her Subjects than to eſtabliſh new. The Trade of the Coaſt of *Guinea* was of very conſiderable Importance: the Traffick had been on Foot twenty Years, and the Commodity was of all others the moſt precious, Gold.

The *Portugueſe* who claim'd the Merit of haveing diſcover'd that Country, always diſputed the *Engliſh* Right of Traffick; and there were frequent Diſturbances on this Head between the two Kingdoms.

Queen *Elizabeth* propoſed the Terms of an Accommodation: ſhe let the *Portugueſe* underſtand, that ſhe would never give up her Subjects Right of Trade thither, and that ſhe was always able to ſupport it by her Arms; but, that if any reaſonable Terms of Accommodation could be propoſed, ſhe would prefer them to Hoſtilities.

The *Portugueſe* liſten'd to this rational Propoſal; and in this diſtinguiſh'd Year 1572, a Treaty between the two Crowns ſettled that Matter finally.

Spain was alſo upon Terms of Quietneſs with us, if not of willing Peace: Queen *Elizabeth* had by an Exceſs of Politeneſs, convoy'd *Ann* of *Auſtria*, Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian*, from *Zeland* to *Spain*, with a large Fleet: and a League was this Year concluded at *Blois* between *France* and *England*.

The Queen had long ſupported the *French Hugonots*; but this Year was mark'd for their Deſtruction.

The Pretence of a Marriage between the King of *Navarre* and *Margaret*, the *French* King's Siſter, drew together all the Chiefs of that Perſwaſion to *Paris*, where they were maſſacred.

Three Thouſand fell according to the leaſt Accounts, and there are thoſe who make the Number ten Thouſand. The *French* gloried in the bloody Maſſacre, and Medals were ſtruck to commemorate it.

The Treaty of *France* ſeem'd calculated only to lull *England* into Security, but *Elizabeth* was not to be ſo deceived.

The Maſſacre of the *Hugonots*, and the Naval Preparations of that Kingdom, put her upon her Guard. She communicated her Thoughts to her People, and with their Approbation ſhe increaſed her Navy, and built new Fortifications at her Yards.

CHAP. XLVI.

Captain Drake *diſtinguiſhes himſelf.*

THE Reader will remember that in the Liſt of the Commanders who embark'd in the Expedition of Captain *Hawkins* in 1567, we gave the Name of *Francis Drake.* This was the unfortunate Voyage in which the *Spaniards* deſtroy'd the *Engliſh* Veſſels, and murther'd almoſt all the People.

Captain *Drake* was one of the few who eſcap'd: he had embark'd in that fatal Expedition all his little Fortune, acquired before by his Induſtry; and he had in vain ſollicited Reſtitution.

He had repreſented to the Court of *Spain* by his private Application, the Injuſtice of that Tranſaction; and had demanded in his own Name, according to the Laws of Nations, Satisfaction for his Loſs by that Robbery perform'd by *Spaniſh* Subjects.

When the weak Voice of a private Man could not be heard, he addreſs'd the Queen; and *Elizabeth* never above hearing a rational Complaint, or interfering in the moſt private Cauſe where there was Juſtice, demanded Reſtitution of the Effects of her Subjects, and in particular of Captain *Francis Drake*; as vainly.

Drake, ſtung at once with his Country's Diſhonour, and with the Loſs of his private Fortune, breathed ſuch a Spirit of Revenge, as became a *Briton* injured by a Stranger. He devoted his future Life to the reſtoring his Affairs by Repriſals; and vindicating ſo far as could lie in a private Arm, the Honour of his Country by a juſt Revenge.

This Adventurer came of a very honourable, tho' not noble Family; diſtinguiſh'd much better than by Birth and Genealogies, by Virtue and by Piety.

His Father was driven from his Reſidence in *Devonſhire*, by thoſe Devaſtations made among the Proteſtants there juſt after the Reformation: he preſer'd the Purity of the new Religion to the Advantages of Life, and would have done ſo, had he been brought to the Trial, to Life itſelf.

It happened that he was not one of thoſe devoted to be Martyrs: but reduced to little better than Beggary by his Adherence to Religion, he became the Parent of a Man, who by his ſingle Virtue burſt from that Obſcurity, a Star from the low Miſts, and roſe to one of the moſt diſtinguiſh'd Sea Commanders, *England*, we need not ſay the World, ever boaſted; an Example to all ſucceeding Adventurers.

Spain from the Reſentment of one Man, found how dangerous it was to offend the *Engliſh*; and his own Country became his everlaſting Debtor.

His Hiſtory was this. The Father after many miſerable Years, became at length ſo diſtinguiſh'd by his good Senſe, his Probity, and Zeal for the reform'd Religion, that he obtain'd Orders, and ſerved firſt as Chaplain at large among the Sea Men; and afterwards was made Vicar of *Upnore*, a Town upon the *Medway.*

The numerous Family Providence had given him, could ſo ill be ſupported by the Profits of his Employment, that his Sons were early taught the Leſſons of virtuous Induſtry.

Francis, the Subject of our preſent Enquiry, afterwards the great Sir *Francis Drake*; having ſhewn a particular Attachment to a Sea Life, was very young placed Apprentice to the Maſter of a trading Bark.

The Diligence, Attention, Senſe, and Honeſty of the Boy, converted the Maſter to another Father. He treated him as a Son, not in his Life only, but at his Death; leaving him by Will the Veſſel.

Thus was Mr. *Drake* ſet out in the great World; and from this Beginning did he make that Figure which made him the Envy, or the Admiration of his Cotemporaries.

'Twas eaſy for him to continue the Trade in which the Veſſel had been employ'd, for he had manag'd it almoſt entirely. He recommended himſelf to the Merchants, as he had done to his Maſter, by a punctual Diligence, and ſtrict Integrity; and he ſtruck out new Advantages in the ſame Way of Traffick.

He became in a few Years able to aſſiſt his Family; which he did largely: and in 1567 hearing the intended Voyage of Captain *Hawkins*, he embark'd in the Expedition with all his little Fortune.

He ſold his Veſſel, collected his Effects, of which he made Money in the beſt Manner he could; and after giving a very handſome Portion of it among his diſtreſs'd Relations, he embark'd the reſt there. His Experience and Character obtain'd him the Command of the *Judith* in that Expedition; and there he loſt all by the *Spaniſh* Treachery.

This placed him again in the Rank of Servant to others: but in whatever Sphere he acted, his Genius diſcloſed itſelf.

In ſeveral ſucceeding Voyages on the Account of the *Engliſh* Merchants, he amaſs'd another little Fortune; and this he devoted as the Purchaſe of his Revenge for the Loſs of the other.

He provided himſelf in 1573 with two Ships, himſelf commanded in the one, and he gave the Conduct of the other to *John Drake* his Brother. His own was a Veſſel of only ſeventy Tons, the *Dragon*; his Brother's but of five and twenty. A poor Force with which to ſet out in an Expedition againſt a Nation the moſt powerful, at leaſt next to the *Engliſh*, then on the Sea.

This was an Expedition in which the Heart and Soul of the Man were engaged, as well as his Fortune: he knew what could be of Advantage on every Occaſion, and all he knew he executed. He framed three Pinnaces to lie in little Compaſs, but eaſy to be put together on any Occaſion: and determining for no ſhort Excurſion, he laid in Proviſion for a Year.

He ſelected his Men from among thoſe who had ſerved under him, and with him on preceding Occaſions; and with theſe, to the Number of ſeventy-three Perſons, with ſufficient Arms and Ammunition, he ſailed from *Plymouth* on the Fourth of *May*, for the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*.

CHAP. XLVII.

Captain Drake's *firſt Expedition.*

THE Captain acquainted no one with his Purpoſe till upon the Sea. There he called all his People together, and thus harangued them: "Friends and Fellow Sailors, you ſhall now "know the Nature of your Expedition. You "ſee we carry no Merchandize, and I aſſure you "no Money: theſe Veſſels and your Service are "all my Fortune. If you are *Britons*, you muſt "feel the Inſults theſe *Spaniards* have committed "againſt your Countrymen. I go to revenge "them: to make myſelf Amends for the Fortune of which they plunder'd me; and to "make all yours. If there be a Man among "you who want Spirits for this Expedition, he "ſhall be ſet on Shore. I would not have any "one on board my Veſſels who does not fear the "*Spaniards*, as little, or hate them as much as "I do."

No Man entertain'd ſo mean a Thought as to forſake him: an univerſal Huzza was the Anſwer to his Speech: every one had his Eye on the Arms, or his Hand upon his Cutlaſs, and they all vow'd to live and die with him.

Never was an Attempt that appeared more deſperate. A private Man, with a Couple of ſmall Veſſels, without Support or Authority from the Government, failed to revenge his own Wrongs, upon a powerful Kingdom. Every Thing that could ſupport ſuch an Undertaking did however conſpire to favour this: the Skill and Courage of the Commander, the Fidelity of the Men, and the *Engliſh* Virtue.

Drake knew his Courſe ſo well, and had ſo ſucceſsful a Voyage, that in a Month from the Day of their leaving *Plymouth*, he had Sight of *Guadaloupe*, one of the *Weſt-India* Iſlands.

Thence ſailing toward the Continent, they directed their Courſe for a Bay which Mr. *Drake* had diſcovered in a former Voyage; and which he deſtin'd for the firſt Scene of Action in this Expedition.

They enter'd the Bay in great Spirits, moor'd their Ships; and went to work in fitting out their Pinnaces.

While they were on this Employment, a larger Veſſel and two ſmaller came into the Port. It was with Aſtoniſhment the People of *Drake* perceived the larger Veſſel to be *Engliſh*, 'twas from the *Iſle of Wight*, the Commander *James Rowſe*; and the ſmall Veſſels were two he had taken from the *Spaniards*.

The Meeting of theſe Countrymen was very joyful in ſo remote a Place; but when the Sailors of *Rowſe* heard it was *Francis Drake* that commanded the other Veſſels, they were ready to fall down and worſhip him.

He acquainted them with the Intent of his Expedition; and the Sailors, who had moſt of them ſerv'd under him, preſs'd their Commander to join in it.

Drake anſwer'd to the Propoſal, that his was a Deſign in which he had never Thought of Partnerſhip; but that if his Men approv'd, he would not be averſe upon juſt Conditions.

The generous Sailors let in their Countrymen to their Share in the propoſed Advantage; and, after drawing proper Articles, *Rowſe* was admitted into a Part of the Enterprize.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The Attack of Nombre de Dios.

THE Pinnaces were ready by the Twentieth of *July*; and Mr. *Drake* embarking in the firſt, led his joint Company toward the Iſland of *Pinos*. They reach'd this the third Day, and they ſaw off the Iſland two ſmall Veſſels loaded with Timber. Theſe were his firſt Prize: he queſtion'd the Negroes who were on board concerning

ing the Condition of the Town from whence they came; and then ſet them on Shore upon the Continent.

"If you have the Love of Liberty, ſaid he, "you have it: if you chuſe you may return by "Land to the Town: but I muſt not put it in "your Power to be there before me, and ſay "who queſtion'd you."

The Adventurer left the Care of the Ships to Captain *Rowſe*, himſelf commanding in the Pinnaces; and on the Twenty-eighth they landed at *Cattivas*.

Here he unpack'd the Stores, and gave his Men their Arms: and after ſettling the Method of the Attack in every Article, they ſet ſail again that Day, and toward Evening reached *Rio Franciſco*.

Secrecy was now the great Concern. There was a Watch-houſe, from which it was not eaſy to prevent their being ſeen; but *Drake*, a Maſter of every Article in his Undertaking, kept unobſerv'd though cloſe to Shore, till Midnight.

He did not wait the Morning for the Attack; but taking Advantage of the Riſing of the Moon, gave Order for Landing.

The Word was ſcarce given, when he perceived a Ship's Boat rowing with all Haſte for the Town. He ſtop'd the Landing of his Men, row'd for the Boat, and though he did not come up with it, he drove it back; and getting between that and the Town, cut off all Intelligence.

It was the Boat of a Ship of *Spain* which had juſt arrived loaded with Wines. The Captain had ſent it to give Notice to the Town of the Preparation he ſaw upon the Shore.

This Intelligence cut off, the Adventurer landed his Men, and, placing himſelf at their Head, took Poſſeſſion of a Battery planted on the Shore for the Defence of the Town. The Gunner eſcaped and he alarm'd the Inhabitants. Bells rung, Lights appeared in every Quarter, and Numbers of People were ſeen running about the Streets.

The People who attended *Drake* were terrified: they declared it an impracticable Enterprize; and beg'd he would go back. He told them, No! he had brought them to the Treaſure-houſe of *Spain*; the richeſt Prize that ever offer'd itſelf to private Adventurers: that every Man would in half an Hour be Maſter of Thouſands, and that there requir'd only Courage.

He told them, "What they ſaw were frighted "Women; and that the beſt *Spaniard* oppoſed "againſt an *Engliſhman* was but a Woman."

His Courage revived theirs, they ſet up a Shout, defying Secreſy now they found they were diſcovered; and *Drake* dividing them into two Bodies, gave the larger to the Command of his Brother and *John Oxenham*; and placing himſelf at the Head of the leſs, directed the Courſe of both.

The Party with his Brother enter'd at the Eaſt, and himſelf at the ſame Moment came into the great Street that faced that part. They beat their Drums, ſounded their Trumpets, and fired their Muſkets on both Sides; and the Effect was as the Adventurer intended: the People of the Town thought an Army had taken Poſſeſſion.

The only Appearance of Reſiſtance was from a Body of Soldiers join'd by ſome of the Towns Men, alſo arm'd in the South Eaſt Corner of the Market Place. *Drake* knew how important it was to quell all Oppoſition on the Inſtant, and he led his People up to them.

The *Spaniards* fired on them as they advanced, and *Drake* received a Muſket Bullet in his Thigh.

He knew that all depended upon him; and he concealed the Danger. He ran in upon the *Spaniards*, bleeding, but not perceived to bleed; and his People following his Example, they fled. He drove them to the Gate of the Town, puſhed them through, and ſhut the Barrier upon them.

Thus was all Reſiſtance conquer'd; and the *Engliſh* Adventurer with his few *Engliſh*, Maſter of the Town of *Nombre de Dios*.

All this Time his Wound bled, but he would not look upon it. He found the Bone was unhurt by his walking; and he was too determin'd in his Purpoſe to interrupt, or diſhearten his Men by dreſſing it.

Some of the *Spaniards* were killed in the Engagement at the Market Place, and ſome were taken Priſoners.

Theſe *Drake* commanded to lead him to the King's Treaſure-houſe, they obey'd: the Doors were thrown open, and by the Lights they diſcover'd the Treaſure brought from *Panama*, a Pile of Bars of Silver, many hundred Tuns in Quantity; and ſeveral Iron Cheſts of Gold.

The Adventurer commiſſion'd his Brother with his Party, to carry off the Treaſure to their Pinnaces, while he kept Guard upon the Market Place to prevent Surprize.

His People had all along been frighted with the Boldneſs of the Undertaking: even their Succeſs had not diſpelled their Fears; only his Courage: they were now reaping the Reward, but their Leader fell. He drop'd as he attempted to move for his Poſt: Nature could not bear what his Reſolution would have ſupported longer: the Blood he had loſt had quite exhauſted him; and he ſunk in a Swoon.

The golden Load was laid down from every Shoulder, the Silver Bars were thrown into their Place, and all crowded about their dying Chief. No Thought remain'd but of his Safety; and the *Spaniſh* King owed to a random Ball the Preſervation of his Treaſures.

The Wound was ſoon diſcover'd, and they tied it up with his Saſh. They carried him lamenting to the Pinnace; and curſed the Name of the Place where ſo fatal an Accident had befallen them.

All the Time they bore him he remain'd as dead. They laid him in his Veſſel, and he was at Sea before he revived.

At Day-break he found himſelf, inſtead of Maſter of *Nombre de Dios*, and of all the *Panama* Treaſure, far at Sea; with a Booty indeed very conſiderable, for his own Party had not come empty handed; but not the thouſandth Part of what he had won by the Sword, and poſſeſs'd in full Triumph.

He could not well upbraid his Men for a Fault of which their Tenderneſs to him, was the

Cauſe; but he lamented for their Sakes, as well as his own, that they had quitted the greateſt Advantage that ever was obtain'd, or would be, by private Perſons.

CHAP. XLIX.

Captain Drake's *Succeſs againſt the* Spaniards *on the Sea.*

'TWAS not only in this bold Attempt on Shore that *Drake* was ſucceſsful. He purſued his Plan of making himſelf Recompence for his Loſſes; and promiſed his Men their full Share of his Fortune.

On numbering their People they found they had loſt but one in the Action: this was their Trumpeter, killed by the firſt Diſcharge of the *Spaniſh* Muſkets: but beſide the Captain there were ſeveral wounded.

Due Care was taken of theſe, for he had not forgot a Surgeon upon ſuch an Expedition; and he then told them, What they had miſs'd by his Misfortune on Shore, they muſt make up at Sea.

He pointed to the Veſſel laded with Wine, which had juſt come in, and had attempted to give Intelligence; and he told his Men they owed their Attack there upon a double Score, Profit and Revenge.

They made up to the Aſſault, and the *Spaniard* man'd his Deck to receive them.

Captain *Drake*, though unable to ſtand, order'd himſelf to be ſeated foremoſt in the Pinnace that led the Attack, and in this Poſture fired his Muſket with the reſt.

The *Spaniard* found with how deſperate an Enemy he had to deal; and after one Volley, which was too remote to do any Miſchief, he ſtruck.

They took the Veſſel to the Iſle of *Baſtimentes*, and refreſh'd themſelves there two Days with the Wine and Proviſions they found on board; and then ſailed for their little Fleet off *Pinos*.

Here Captain *Rowſe* found the Perſon who join'd *Drake* muſt ſhare his Courage. He perceiv'd himſelf below that Height of Valour, and he deſired to be diſmiſs'd.

Drake told him 'twas at his Requeſt he admitted him; and he ſhould not make any Difficulty of breaking the Contract at his Deſire. He tore the Article, and *Rowſe* return'd to *England*.

Captain *Drake* called his People together; animated them by a bold Harangue, and by the Expectations of prodigious Advantage; and on the ſeventh of *Auguſt* ſailed for *Carthagena*. Himſelf and his Men were recover'd of their Hurts; and all well refreſh'd, and in Spirits for an Enterprize.

On the thirteenth he arrived: he found two Veſſels there of conſiderable Size and Force, but he imagin'd alſo they were of conſiderable Value. He deſired his Men to ſignalize the Day of their Arrival by ſome Exploit worthy their Preparation; and he attacked and took both Ships: he took out all that was valuable, and portable from theſe; and the next Day he took two more.

On board theſe as of the former, he found Treaſures that lay in a ſmall Compaſs; and he now began to perceive that one of his two Veſſels would hold enough, and both that and his Pinnaces would be better man'd when he had not the other.

He burnt the *Swan*, and took all on board his own Ship: his Courage, and their Succeſſes now join'd to animate the Men, and there was nothing he propoſed they fear'd to execute.

CHAP. L.

The ſucceeding Enterprizes of Captain Drake.

THE *Spaniards*, naturally timorous, only fell into Danger when they had no Notice of it. The Name of *Drake* was now ſpread abroad; and no Veſſel would venture out. That Commander knew his Succeſs would depend upon his Secrecy; and he therefore ſailed in ſearch of ſome Place of hiding, in the Sound of *Darien*.

He found one on the twenty-firſt of *Auguſt*, and he concealed himſelf there more than a Fortnight.

The *Spaniards* having in that Time no Notice of him from any Quarter, ſuppoſed he had left the Coaſt, and again ventured out. He met them, and he took as many as he met: and when he had thus cleared the Seas, he propoſed more Enterprizes on Shore.

With what Aſtoniſhment muſt the *Engliſh* Reader of this Time travel from Paſſage to Paſſage of this immortal Story. A private Man dared to undertake what muſt aſtoniſh all that read of it; and he ſucceeded.

He learned from ſome who fell into his Hands, that there was at this Time a very large Quantity of Gold and Silver coming from *Panama* on Mules, well guarded.

The laſt Article weigh'd nothing with him. He inform'd his Men of the Booty that offer'd, and taking theſe People for his Guides, march'd to meet them. There were three Companies with their Mules coming on this Expedition; and he took two of them.

Here though the Booty was maſſy Gold and Silver, his Men were oblig'd to leave a great deal of it behind them. *Drake* took out all his Men upon the Expedition, and every one carry'd back to the Pinnaces as much as his Shoulders could bear: the reſt they bury'd in the Sand; and they ſailed off.

Another would have now thought of home; but while his Veſſels would hold more, *Drake* entertain'd no Thought of returning. He went up the *Chagre*, and there fell upon a very rich Houſe of Merchandize.

Gold, Silver and Jewels were the Things he ſought; he was too richly loaded already to admit any of leſs Value. Of theſe he found nothing conſiderable there; ſo that ſetting Fire to the Houſe, he contented himſelf with his Revenge.

There are thoſe who record this Action with falſe Circumſtances: they think it is to his Honour to add, that he cut the Throats of a few Merchants whom he found there: but more authentick Relations ſay he gave them Leave to retire in Safety.

Eight or ten People could not oppoſe his Force; and it was not a Part of *Drake*'s Character to kill the unreſiſting. His Vengeance was not againſt a few particular *Spaniards*, but againſt *Spain*. His Burning the Storehouſe was of a Piece with his Conduct; and might ſpring from that Motive; but not his murthering the People.

We read with Wonder of his Exploits even as they are told moſt ſlightly: but there were Circumſtances attending them, that add vaſtly to his Reputation, and will encreaſe our Admiration of his Courage.

Loaded as they came from the Booty taken at Land from the Mule Company, they ſaw where they had left their Pinnaces, *Spaniſh* Shallops. It was natural to ſuppoſe theſe had over-power'd the People they left with thoſe Veſſels; and nothing remain'd but to ſeek the Ships, before the *Spaniards* could ſeize upon them.

He ſought them upon a Raft of three or four Trees, with a Biſcuit Bag by way of Sail.

Drake himſelf ventur'd on this Expedition. He found his Pinnaces, whoſe People the *Spaniards* had only frighted from the Shore: and he took them to receive his Company and his Treaſures.

'Twas in this Land Expedition alſo he firſt entertain'd the Thought of his great Voyage to the South Seas. His Way to intercept the Mules was over Mountains; and from the Top of one of theſe he diſcover'd the great *South Sea*. Aſtoniſh'd and animated, with new Spirit at the Sight, he fell upon his Knees on the bare Mountain, and addreſſing himſelf moſt devoutly to Heaven, pray'd he might ſucceed in an Enterprize upon thoſe Seas, which he then vowed ſome Time to make.

Full of this Thought; and loaded with Wealth, as well as ſated with Revenge, he ſail'd for *England*; and on the Ninth of *Auguſt* he arrived at *Plymouth* with his Booty.

Thus ended the firſt Expedition of Mr. *Francis Drake*, bold beyond all Things that had been attempted, but as ſucceſsful as daring: a Source of Wealth to himſelf, and an Example to his Country.

CHAP. LI.

The Siege of Rochel.

THE Troubles of *France* were not extinguiſh'd by the Maſſacre of 1572; the next Year the Duke of *Anjou* beſieged *Rochel*, and the brave Defence of the Inhabitants inſpired their Friends in *England* in their Favour.

The Earl of *Montgomery* fitted out ſome Veſſels; the *French* Refugees join'd heartily in the Enterpriſe, and the Succeſs was to the utmoſt of their Expectations: they ſupply'd the Beſieg'd with Proviſions; and they aſſiſted them ſo vigorouſly and ſo happily, that after the Loſs of twelve thouſand Men before the Town, after nine unſucceſsful Aſſaults, the blowing up of ſixty Mines, and firing more than thirty thouſand Cannon-ſhot againſt it, the Siege was raiſed without Advantage.

France complain'd that *England*, at Peace with her, aſſiſted them. The Queen told the *French* Embaſſador, ſhe had neither fitted out the Fleet, nor countenanced the Expedition: and he could get no better Anſwer.

The famous and unfortunate Earl of *Eſſex*, this Year alſo diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, he made an Expedition into *Ireland* at his own Expence, and he grew into Favour.

Powerful as the *Engliſh* were upon the Seas at this Time, there came to the Court toward the Cloſe of this important Year, Complaints of Merchants ſuffering near our own Coaſt by Piracies. The Queen, rouſed at once at the Indignity and the Offence, fitted out Veſſels to ſearch out the Cruizers.

The Conduct of this Expedition was given to Captain *Holſtock*; and he had not been out four Days, when he came up with a little Squadron of theſe Cruiſers, with ſeveral of their Prizes. He retook the *Engliſh* Veſſels; and all the Cruizers did not eſcape, though all attempted it by Flight.

He found them arm'd Veſſels, mann'd by *French* Proteſtants. The Succeſs before *Rochel* had raiſed the Spirit of theſe People, and they had fitted out theſe Veſſels to cruiſe upon the *French*; but they ungratefully had fallen alſo upon the *Engliſh*. 'Tis no new Thing in Naval Hiſtory to ſee a Privateer exceed his Commiſſion.

Captain *Holſtock* brought in theſe to *England*: the Terror of their Capture put all the reſt out of Commiſſion, and the Seas were cleared from this Annoyance.

CHAP. LII.

The State of the Engliſh *Navy in* 1573.

WE have occaſionally obſerv'd that the Queen, whenever Danger threaten'd, though ever ſo remotely, ſtrengthen'd her Navy. Theſe repeated Additions raiſed it in the whole to a very conſiderable Force; and we find upon uncontroulable Authority, that it at this Time amounted to no leſs than a hundred and forty-ſix Ships. Of theſe fifty-nine were, according to the Computation of thoſe Days, of the Line of Battle; and the principal Ship carried a hundred Guns.

Theſe were the Strength of her Country: theſe ſhe let her Enemies know ſhe always kept in Readineſs for her Defence; and her Friends for their Aſſiſtance.

By this right Policy ſhe continued at quiet from *France* and *Spain*, who equally hated her: even while ſhe was aſſiſting the *Hugonots* againſt one; and while *Drake*, her Subject, was in an unheard of Manner, plundering the other in the *Weſt Indies*; which they called their World.

We have ſhewn in a preceding Chapter how the Queen ſtop'd the *Spaniſh* Treaſure, which the Duke of *Alva* had propoſed to ſeize, but which an Accident had drove into her Deminions.

The Duke in return ſeized the Effects of the *Engliſh* Merchants in the *Low Countries*; and the Queen inſtead of giving up the Money on this, ſeized the Property of the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries here.

This amounted to a much larger Value than the Effects of her Subjects there; and with this Depoſit in her Hands, ſhe demanded their Reſtitution.

The Duke refuſed; and the Queen diſtinguiſhed on the Occaſion her Juſtice, Wiſdom, and Spirit in a very eminent Manner.

She order'd all the Effects that had been ſeized to be ſold in the moſt fair Manner. She paid her Subjects the juſt Value of their Goods detain'd in the *Low Countries*, out of the Sum raiſed by this Sale; and ſhe then remitted the Surplus, with a fair Account to the Duke of *Alva*.

Europe admired the Conduct of a Woman in this Article: and the *Spaniard* fear'd her.

CHAP. LIII.

An Engliſhman *in* 1574 *viſits the* South Sea.

DRAKE, of whoſe Courage and Succeſs we have given his Countrymen ſome Account in a preceding Chapter, did not propoſe to live in Quietneſs upon the Fortune he had made in that Expedition. His determin'd Purpoſe was to make a Voyage to the *South Sea*, to which he had bound himſelf by Vow, and for the Succeſs of which he had pray'd to Heaven.

He knew what were the Preparations neceſſary for ſuch an Expedition; and he was now buſy in making them: he ſuited the Care to the Importance of the Action; and in his prudent Mind weigh'd every poſſible Advantage.

While he was thus employ'd, another undertook the ſame Voyage. This was *John Oxenham*, a Man we have named as in truſt with *Drake*, in the firſt Expedition.

He had been with him on the Mountain where he made the Vow; and he had been taught by ſo long ſerving him, what Men might undertake; and what they might accompliſh.

Captain *Drake* had propoſed to take this Perſon with him in that Voyage, and to have the ſame Sailors: but *Oxenham* thought there was no Occaſion to be ſecond where he might be principal, and he flatter'd and tempted many of the Crew to join with him.

Drake ſmiled at this Anticipation: he knew how much was requir'd for the perfecting ſuch an Undertaking, and how little theſe People poſſeſs'd of the beſt Qualities for the Enterprize.

He ſaw them deſert him without Concern; for it was on himſelf he depended; and having in a friendly Manner warn'd them of the Raſhneſs of their Undertaking, gave himſelf no more Concern about them.

John Oxenham and his Company, with the Money they had got under Captain *Drake*, fitted out a Veſſel of a Hundred and forty Tuns; and taking ſeventy Men on board, ſailed for the ſame Place in 1575.

He arrived without any Accident; and he copied as well as he was able, the Conduct of his late Commander.

He ſecreted his Veſſel under a cover'd Shore, and march'd all his Men with their ſmall Arms, and a Couple of little Field Pieces, twelve Leagues over the Mountains, to a River which diſcharges itſelf into the *South Sea*.

Here they felled Timber, and built a large Pinnace, and went in it to the Bay of *Panama*.

Hitherto all was well conducted: boldly, and wiſely. *Oxenham* knew the Courſe of the Plate Ships, from *Peru* thither: he knew this was the certain Time of their coming; and he went over to the Pearl Iſlands, twenty-five Leagues from *Panama*, the beſt Station for placing himſelf to intercept them.

He had not lain there a Fortnight when a ſmall Bark appear'd. He attacked, and took it. He found that it was bound from *Quito* to *Panama*; and beſide Proviſions, which were very acceptable to him and to his People, he found on board ſixty Thouſand Pieces of Gold.

He detain'd his Prize with him, and he kept his Station. In about a Week they ſaw another Bark: this they attack'd, and took. It was from *Lima*, and had on board a hundred Thouſand Pieces of Silver.

From this Place he now went to the Pearl Iſland; and after making ſome Advantage there, he ſailed for the River down which he had came. Hitherto he kept his two Prizes with him; but when he arrived at the Mouth of the River, he diſmiſſed them.

We find in this Inſtance that the Neceſſity of Prudence in ſuch Expeditions, ſtands on an equal Footing with that of Valour. *Oxenham* had ſucceeded greatly: he had Plunder enough, and he had Time to carry it off, before the *Spaniards* diſcover'd him. This Time ſo precious to himſelf in every Senſe, he fooliſhly threw away in Queſt of Pearls; and in a much worſe Employment Diſputes and Wranglings with his Men.

Nothing could be ſo raſh, or ſo unguarded, as his diſmiſſing the *Spaniards* in his Prizes, to ſpread the News of his plundering them; and waiting, as if infatuated, the Conſequences.

The Negroes of the Pearl Iſlands gave Intelligence at *Panama*; and *John de Ortega*, a Commander of diſtinguiſh'd Courage, was diſpatch'd immediately in Search of the *Engliſh*. The People in the Prizes directed *Ortega*'s Courſe up the River. He ſoon traced them to the Place of their Retreat by the Feathers of ſome wild Fowl on which they had been Feeding; and which, with their uſual Careleſneſs, they had ſuffer'd to ſwim down the River.

The *Spaniard* follow'd this Direction, and came up with the *Engliſh* Pinnace: ſhe was on the Sand, and only ſix of the People left with her. Five of theſe were happy enough to eſcape, but the ſixth was a Sacrifice, and the Pinnace fell into their Hands.

This ſlight Succeſs encouraged the *Spaniards*, but did not ſatisfy them. They knew that ſmall Company could not have done all the Miſchief; nor that Veſſel have brought thoſe who did it. Their Leader depended on finding the reſt up the Country; and leaving twenty of his People to guard the Veſſels, he marched with the Remainder, amounting to Eighty, into the Mountains.

A few Miles brought them to the Place where *Oxenham* had laid up his Booty: it was a Hut built of Wood, and cover'd with Boughs of Trees. The *Spaniards* took Poſſeſſion without Diſpute or Slaughter, for they found none there: and they not only recover'd the whole Plunder of their Country; but every Thing valuable the *Engliſh* had of their own.

Ortega, though he was not afraid of fighting, yet was very glad to reap the Conſequences of a Victory without the Diſpute. He loaded his Men with the Plunder; and giving Orders to make the beſt of their Way with it to the Ships; he gave himſelf no farther Trouble about the Enemy.

Oxenham had been Witneſs from a diſtant Hill to the Ravaging his Stores. He collected near two hundred Negroes, engaging ſome by Force, and ſome by Promiſes, and followed the Enemy, who no longer purſued him.

Ortega ſaw the *Engliſh* and their new Allies advancing; and he found it impoſſible to eſcape with the Booty. He could not ſubmit to think of leaving it behind him; and therefore no Courſe offer'd but to ſtand and fight the Enemy againſt the Diſadvantage of their Numbers. He knew his People were better diſciplin'd; and he knew how to deſpiſe the Negroe Aſſociates. He led his Troops into a Piece of high Ground, well defended by Wood. He directed them to lay down their Baggage behind, and to plant themſelves ſo that the Trunks of the Trees made their Shelter.

In this Diſpoſition he waited the Attack.

Oxenham, who did not want Courage, was now influenced by Rage and Deſpair; he led up his People boldly, and repeated his Aſſault three ſeveral Times, but he was not able to force the *Spaniards*. They fought from behind their Shelter, and loſt very few of their People, while they deſtroyed ſeveral of the *Engliſh*, and more of the Negroes.

Oxenham now gave all up for loſt; and indeed it was wonderful he had not fallen himſelf in the Action; for he ſhun'd no Danger. He called together the Remnant of his Men; and making up all Diſputes with them, retreated for his Veſſel.

Ortega knew his Buſineſs was done, and he courted no new Hazards. He carried back his Plunder; and cauſed Notice to be ſent to all the neighbouring Country, that an *Engliſh* Pirate was in a diſtreſs'd Condition upon thoſe Seas.

The People of *Nombre de Dios* fitted out four Veſſels in Search of him; and though they did not find *Oxenham*, for he had not yet got to his Ship, they found that, and carry'd it to their Port.

CHAP. LIV.

The End of Oxenham's *Expedition.*

EVERY Miſconduct that could tend to ruin an Enterprize, was practiſed by this ill ſtar'd Adventurer.

When *Oxenham* return'd from the Detachment under *Ortega*, every one ſuppoſed he would have made the beſt of his Way to his Veſſel. But an Infatuation hung over him. He thought it had fallen into the Hands of the Enemy; and while he loiter'd about in that Fear, what he preſag'd happened.

There was now but one Courſe to be followed. He took his Men to a woody Part of the Country, not far from the Shore, when he propoſed to them to make ſome Canoes, and putting to Sea in them, to ſeize ſome Veſſel of the *Spaniards*, in which they might plunder firſt, and afterwards return to *England*.

The *Spaniards* were too wiſe for ſuch a poor Project. They knew that having ſeiz'd the empty Ship, the People muſt be on Shore; and Application being made to the Governor of *Peru*, he ſent out an hundred and fifty Men, well arm'd, and under a reſolute Commander, to ſeek them.

The Party had Intelligence where the *Engliſh* were, and how employ'd. They fell upon them; and deſtroying ſome, made the greater Part of the reſt Priſoners: a few eſcaped by Flight, but theſe were ſoon betray'd by the Negroes; and all fell into their Hands; *Oxenham* among the reſt.

They were brought Priſoners to *Panama*, and there examin'd upon the Nature of their Undertaking.

Oxenham was queſtion'd, whether there was War between *England* and *Spain?* or whether he had his Queen's Commiſſion for his Proceedings? To this he was able to give no Anſwer but a Confeſſion that it was a private Adventure, under no Sanction of Authority from the Government.

The Governor told him, this was confeſſing Piracy; the Puniſhment of which was, by the Laws of all Nations, *Death:* and he ſentenced him and his whole Crew to be hang'd.

They were all executed except three Boys: the greater Part at *Panama*, and *Oxenham* with his Maſter and Pilot at *Lima*.

CHAP. LV.

The Confederates of the Low Countries *fly to* Elizabeth *for Protection.*

WHILE this raſh Adventurer, and the Men who had as raſhly followed him, were taking the Reward of their Folly in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, *England*, conſiderable by her Navy, and more ſo by the Spirit and the Wiſdom of her Queen, became as it were the Protectreſs of *Europe*.

The Confederate States of the *Low Countries*, in Conjunction with the Prince of *Orange*, finding themſelves oppreſs'd beyond Meaſure by the Avarice and Cruelty of *Spain*, offer'd to throw themſelves not only under the Protection, but into the Poſſeſſion of the Queen of *England*.

They claim'd her as their Sovereign by Inheritance, tracing, from old and ill underſtood Genealogies, her Birth from the Princes of *Holland*, by *Philippina* Queen of *Edward* the Third, and Daughter of *William* the Third of *Bavaria*, Earl of *Hainault* and *Holland*, by whoſe other Siſter the Title of thoſe Provinces deſcended to the *Spaniard*.

Elizabeth did not want Ambition, but ſhe had Prudence that check'd in the firſt Riſe every irregular Sally it would have made. She behaved in this, as well as in all preceding Occaſions, with a Prudence and Dignity of Sentiment, that gain'd her the Admiration of all *Europe*.

She declined their Offer: but at the ſame Time that ſhe refuſed herſelf the Glory, ſhe promiſed them all the Advantages of their Propoſal. She told them ſhe was not ſatisfied that ſhe could with Honour and Juſtice take thoſe Provinces which were offer'd to her, and that ſhe eſteem'd her Honour more than Kingdoms: but that ſhe would in Earneſt apply to the *Spaniard* to gain them an honourable and a laſting Peace.

This Tranſaction marks the Year 1575 greatly to the *Engliſh* Glory.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVI.

A Voyage to the Bay of Honduras.

THE Succeſs of Captain *Drake*, which had ſpirited up *Oxenham* and his devoted Crew to their miſerable Expedition, raiſed in the ſame Manner many more Adventurers.

They did not conſider, that to ſhare the Succeſs of that great Man, it was neceſſary they ſhould firſt learn his Talents. Courage was doubtleſs one; but it was the leaſt: yet to the common Eye it appeared all.

While he was preparing for another Expedition, theſe ſet out upon the ſame Plan without Preparation: and they imagined that they ſhould be able to raiſe the Superſtructure, who knew nothing of the Foundation.

Oxenham's miſerable End was not yet known. It was no Secret among the Sea-faring People, that he was gone upon ſuch another Expedition as that of *Drake*; and they made no Doubt of his returning with the ſame Succeſs.

Among the Number whom this vain Imagination raiſed to Schemes of a like Enterprize, was Mr. *Andrew Barker*; a Man acquainted with the Sea, and of a hardy Courage.

In the Month of *November* 1574, he freighted a Ship, the *Speedwell*, for the *Canaries*, where he had himſelf ſome Time reſided, with Cloth, and other ſuch Commodities.

He did not embark in this ſlight Expedition himſelf; for his Thoughts were intent upon the greater Enterprize he had deſigned.

He committed the Care of the Freight to a Factor, who returned the Veſſel with Wines; and kept his Goods for a favourable Market.

The Spring following, Mr. *Barker* ſent another Ship, the *Chriſtopher*. The Captain of this, was on his Arrival at *Teneriffe*, thrown into a Priſon, and the Effects of Mr. *Barker* (of which he had the Care) were ſeiz'd.

The *Spaniards* whoſe Rapine and Injuſtice alone led them to this, gave as a Reaſon, that the Proprietor of the Veſſel, *Barker*, was accuſed before the Tribunal of the Inquiſition. They confiſcated the Effects; and after ſome Weeks Impriſonment, releas'd the Commander of the Veſſel, and ſuffered him upon his Remonſtrances, to go back with the empty Ship.

Here was the Quarrel of Mr. *Barker*, and a very juſt one.

He grew inſpired with the ſame Fury, and from the ſame Principles with that of the celebrated *Drake*; and declared his Reſolution of revenging the Inſult upon the *Spaniſh* Nation; and ſeizing their Effects to his full Indemnification.

His Friends applauded him; he had a conſiderable Fortune to ſupport his Deſign; and in 1576 he fitted out two Veſſels.

He called them the *Ragged-Staff* and *Bear*, and he gave the Command of the *Bear* to Captain *Cox*; himſelf embarking in the *Ragged-Staff*, in that Command.

Theſe Veſſels well mann'd and arm'd, ſet ſail in the beginning of *June* from *Plymouth*.

The Iſland of *Mayo* was the firſt Scene of their Reſentment, not by an intended, but provoked Severity.

They had one of their Company murthered on Shore; and not being able to diſcover the Criminals, they burnt two little Towns.

After this Sacrifice to the Manes of their Companion; *Barker*, with his two Veſſels, ſailed directly for the *Weſt-Indies*, and landed after a ſucceſsful Voyage in the Iſland of *Trinidade*.

Drake taught all theſe Adventurers the Requiſites for their Expeditions.

The Captain carried on board his own Veſſel, the Parts of a Pinnace fram'd, ready for putting together with Eaſe, when wanted; and as ſoon as they made this Iſland, they ſet about that needful Buſineſs, and traded in it with the *Indians* for Proviſions.

Well ſtor'd with all they wanted, and in full Spirits for Enterprize, they ſailed hence after a Week for *Margarita*; and there firſt ſaw a *Spaniſh* Veſſel. They took her, and found her Lading Wine.

Some Tuns of this they brought on Board; but there was nothing elſe there, worth their keeping.

Hence they went to *Curacoa*, and from thence, to the Continent ſouthwards; and thence to *Cape de la Vela*.

We have obſerved, that *Drake* inſpired theſe Adventurers with his Courage, and was their Example in the Manner of fitting out their Veſſels; but his conſummate Diſcretion, of more Uſe to him, than all his other Qualities, he could not communicate to them: a Gift of Heaven to himſelf, and not to be taught others.

Mr. *Barker* here began to ſhew his Want of it; a conſiderable Number of his People were wounded in a Scuffle on the Iſle of *Curacoa*, brought on by their own Raſhneſs; and at *Cape de la Vela*, he, who ſhould have had no Thought, but the Dangers of his Situation, and the Methods of Security and Advantage; entered into an idle Quarrel, with *Roche*, whom he had appointed Maſter of the Veſſel, about their Skill in Navigation. This raiſed ill Blood amongſt them, and produced bad Conſequences.

Fortune was not remiſs in Favour of this Expedition.

The Bay of *Tulu* was their next Rendezvous; and there they took a Veſſel of the *Spaniards*, loaded with Bars and Ingots of Gold and Silver; a great deal of coin'd Silver and Emeralds.

This gave a good Preſage; they took all out of the Veſſels, and diſpoſed it carefully in their own, to make Room for more, and ſailed to the Mouth of the Chagre.

Between Chagre and Uragua, another Prize fell into their Mouths; a Frigate full of Arms, and a very conſiderable Cargo of Gold.

This good Fortune could not reconcile the People among themſelves. The old Diſpute at de la Vela was renewed, and Barker fought the Maſter of his Veſſel; and received ſome Hurt.

They found now that the Spaniſh Frigate was a much better Veſſel than their own principal, the Ragged Staff; and after removing every Thing into that Ship, they ſunk their own.

The Bay of Honduras was their next Expedition, and here they were as fortunate as before: ſo ill guarded were the Spaniards, and ſo rich upon thoſe Seas.

They here took a Bark loaded with coin'd Silver: and on Board was a principal Officer of the King of Spain's in the Weſt Indies, whoſe Liberty they ſold at a high Ranſom.

With this Treaſure which might have ſatisfied People of moderate Expectations, they ſailed for the Iſland of St. Franciſco: and here began fatal Diſputes among them.

Barker, tho' a brave, was alſo a rough Commander; he had made himſelf diſagreeable to more of his People, beſide the Maſter; and they form'd a Conſpiracy againſt him.

They had engaged in the Mutiny, *Cox*, who commanded the other Veſſel, and coming upon him without Notice, as they lay off this Iſland, they took from him Poſſeſſion of the Ships and Treaſure; and ſet him on Shore with about a Dozen of the People, who had been moſt averſe to their Project.

Even with theſe he ſo ill agreed, that a Duel was fought between him and one of them, in which he was again hurt, as well as his Antagoniſt.

This may ſhew how ill *Barker* was qualified for ſuch an Expedition; and how many good Qualities are requiſite to ſuch Enterprizes, beſide perſonal Courage.

We have ſeen a *Hawkins* engaged in theſe Diſputes, but not fighting Duels with his People; and we can eaſily conceive how different a Conduct a *Drake* would have held on ſuch an Occaſion.

The firſt Step to *Oxenham*'s Deſtruction, was a Quarrel with his People; and what better was to be expected here.

'Tis not eaſy to ſay, what would have been the Event: moſt probably, they would have left him, and the devoted People there to periſh; but his Fate was nearer.

Thirty of the Men were on Shore by Daybreak two Days after; and they ſaw a Body of *Spaniards* marching up to them, twice equal to their Number.

The Courage of *Barker* had never been diſputed; and now it was wanted. The frighted Company requeſted him to place himſelf at their Head, and promiſed Obedience to him the reſt of the Voyage.

Barker ſeiz'd the Opportunity, and inſtead of waiting the Approach of the *Spaniards*, led them to meet them.

He aſſaulted them furiouſly, and twice broke and drove them back; but they rallied, and in the third Onſet he fell.

The *Engliſh* diſheartened at this, fled; but few of them eſcaped the Enemy.

The Death of Captain *Barker*, naturally gave the Command to *Cox*, and he took on Board the Remainder of the People, and ſailed for an Iſland near St *Franciſco*.

CHAP. LVII.

The Conduct of Captain Cox, *and Concluſion of this Voyage.*

COX called the People together, and courted them in the moſt perſuaſive Manner, to give the Conduct of the Remainder of the Voyage to him, without Murmurs or Reluctance.

He diſtributed Rewards among them; and he promiſed them a great Share in all the Captures. He concluded, with ſaying, he would not reflect upon the Memory of the Dead, but whatever in the former Commander's Behaviour had diſguſted them, or broken in upon their Succeſs of the Enterprizes ſhould be avoided in his.

The People were very well pleaſed with him; and he took the ſole Command.

This Adventurer plac'd by Accident at the Head of the Enterprize; determined to ſignalize himſelf early by ſome Exploit.

He propoſed to the People, the ſurprizing the Town of *Truxilli*, in the Bay of *Honduras*; and he laid the Plan ſo well, that they were perſuaded to attempt it; and were ſucceſsful.

He led them without Suſpicion to the Gates in the Night, and they were Maſters of the Place without Reſiſtance.

Of the Treaſures they expected to have ſeized there, they found nothing: Either there were none, or they were too well concealed. Wine and Oil they had in abundance, and every Kind of Proviſion.

Cox had taken the People for this Enterprize in a Pinnace, and a Couple of Skiffs; and had left his two Ships with a Number of his Men to guard them.

It proved that this Guard was by no Means ſufficient for the Purpoſe.

Two *Spaniſh* Men of War diſcovered and gave them Chace, and their Hurry to get away, left eight in a Skiff to the Mercy of the Enemy. Their Fate may be conjectured, but it was never certainly known.

The two Veſſels eſcaped; and the Senſe of their Danger in thoſe Seas, where they were diſcover'd, and where there was a ſuperior Force, together with the Conſideration of the great Booty they had made, determin'd them to return for *England.*

They had indeed on board the Frigate Treaſure to a prodigious Amount: but the Expedition was ill deſtin'd. They carried too much Sail, and they overſet the Veſſel. The Treaſure which was in her was loſt, and moſt of the Men.

Cox was on board, but he and a few more were taken up by the other Veſſel.

They arrived in this at the Iſles of *Scilly*; and thence, after a pretty fair Diſtribution of the Treaſure which was on board that ſmaller Veſſel, they came to *Plymouth.*

Here the Relations of Mr. *Barker*, having heard from the Sailors many Circumſtances relating to the Diſputes of the Company with him, apprehended the principal Perſons as Acceſſaries to his Death.

The Matter was heard by Commiſſion from the Privy Council; and it appear'd plainly, upon the Teſtimony of the Evidence, that they had betray'd him to the Enemy when they ſet him by Force on ſhore: however, as there appear'd no Deſign of Murther, they eſcaped with Fines and long Impriſonment.

No one reaped any Advantage worth Notice from an Expedition which every Thing favour'd but their own Conduct; and by which under better Management they would all have been vaſtly enriched.

CHAP. LVIII.

Forbiſher *attempts a North-weſt Paſſage.*

NO Diſaſters could quell in the Breaſts of our ſeafaring People the reigning Spirit of Enterprize; nor could any thing be propoſed for the Advantage of the *Engliſh* Commerce, which there was not at this Time ſome one deſperate enough to undertake.

Captain *Drake* was all this Time preparing for his great Expedition; and neither the Miſcarriages of that under *Barker*, nor the utter Loſs of *Oxenham* and his Men, mov'd him in the leaſt. He knew they were ſlight inconſiderate Perſons who had undertaken them, and he meaſur'd the Expectation of Succeſs from his own former Fortune, not from their Miſconduct.

While the Spirit of Enterprize was thus ſtrong in him; that of Diſcovery reign'd as powerfully among the *London* Merchants.

They had entertain'd the Notion of a North-weſt Paſſage to *Tartary* and *Cathay*, nearer than that by the *Cape of Good Hope*; and they declar'd their Purpoſe of furniſhing Veſſels for the Expedition, if any one would undertake the Conduct of it.

Mr. *Martin Forbiſher* offer'd his Service. They fitted out two Veſſels and a Pinnace of ten Tons; and the Adventurer, collecting his Men from ſuch as he knew to be of natural Courage and patient in Hardſhips, ſet ſail from *Graveſend* on the Seventeenth of *June* 1576.

They ſail'd about the North of *Scotland*; and on the Twenty-eighth of the ſucceeding Month ſaw Land, the *Terra de Labrador*; ſurrounded with Rocks of accumulated Ice, moving as the Currents, or the Tides directed; cruſhing one another with horrible Shocks, or daſhing with a dreadful Fury on the Shore.

He could not anchor here. He found an hundred Fathom Depth within a Cable's Length of the Shore; and following the Coaſt to the Eaſt North Eaſt, he was kept by theſe dreadful floating Mountains many Leagues from the Shoar. The Sight, though terrible, was full of a great rude Beauty.

The Forms of theſe vaſt Maſſes often affected the Eye with a ſtrange Pleaſure, mimicking the thick white Clouds that ſometimes roll about a clear Sky in Summer: at Times the Sun Beams piercing through them in part, and glancing over them at various Angles in others, gave by Refraction and Reflection vaſt Beams of colour'd Light, more beautiful than the Rainbow. Some apppear'd Hills of frozen Snow uniting with the Clouds, and others Maſſes of the pureſt Water, congeal'd, according to the old Philoſophy, to Cryſtal.

Theſe the Adventurer now view'd Day after Day from a Diſtance; and coaſting thus till the Tenth of *Auguſt*, he then made Land.

He found himſelf upon an Iſland; and ſaw it Deſart. The Continent was at a Mile's Diſtance; and nothing tempted him to ſtay with barren Rocks and naked Sands.

The next Day, purſuing his deſtin'd Courſe, he found himſelf at the Mouth of a Streight, which he enter'd, and to which he gave his Name. Our Maps diſtinguiſh it to this Day by the Title of the Streight of *Forbiſher*.

On the Twelfth, courſing an unknown World, he came up with *St. Gabriel's* Iſland, and anchor'd in a Bay then unknown, but to which he gave the Name of *Prior's* Sound.

After this paſſing by *Williams's* Iſland, they came to *Butchers* Iſland, and there anchor'd.

The Voyage had not been without its ill Succeſs. The Pinnace had been loſt in a hard Gale, and the People in the other Ship which attended him terrify'd and mutinous, had returned for *England.*

Forbiſher alone, in the Ship *Gabriel*, touched this Iſland; and he encouraged his People by every Art, to keep up with him in Reſolution.

The Streight he had enter'd he repreſented to them as the Thing they were ſeeking; and told them he doubted not but they had found the Paſſage they were ſent out to diſcover between *America* and *Aſia*.

After four Days Stay with them on *Butchers* Iſland, he ſail'd forward again; and having run up ſomething more than ſixty Leagues, he then made the Shore.

Here he found a People, unlike all that had been ſeen: ſwarthy, ill faced, but with long black Hair. The Men were greas'd to make their Skins ſhine, and the Women painted with a ſtrange blue Colour.

Theſe were a ſavage People, with whom *Forbiſher* in vain attempted to cultivate a Correſpondence.

They ſeiz'd five of his Men who went on ſhore, who were never ſeen or heard of afterwards; and he in Return took one of their People, whom he brought to *England*.

Of the Country he took Poſſeſſion in the Name of the Queen of *England*, and order'd every Man of the Ship's Company to take up ſomething to bring home from thence, in Token of Poſſeſſion. They pick'd up Pebbles, Sticks, or whatever lay near them: every Man brought ſomething.

When *Forbiſher* had remain'd as long here as was needful to take in Water and Refreſhments, prepared to ſail forward; but the Ice prevented him.

He was a Man of Senſe as well as Courage. He knew this Difficulty, which begun ſo early in the Seaſon, muſt every Day increaſe againſt him, and he did not pretend to conquer it: he ſet ſail for *England*, where he arriv'd in *October*, anchoring at *Harwich*.

His Owners were very well ſatisfy'd with the Expedition, which he told them promiſed all Succeſs, and which he was ready to proſecute farther at their Pleaſure. He inform'd them he had diſcover'd what he believ'd would prove the Paſſage he was ſent to ſeek; that he had ſail'd up it more than ſixty Leagues, and that only being too late in the Seaſon, prevented his penetrating farther.

The Savage he had brought over died in *England* the ſame Winter: but there was an Object that much more excited the Attention of the publick than his flat Noſe, or ſeal-ſkin Cloathing. A Stone one of the Sailors had taken up proved, as it was ſaid, to be an Ore of Gold; and promiſed under the Refiners Hand to be a very rich one.

An Account was taken with the utmoſt Accuracy of the Place where it was found; and thus cloſed the preſent Expedition.

CHAP. LIX.

The ſecond Voyage of Forbiſher.

WHILE the Probability of a North-weſt Paſſage raiſed the Spirits of the Merchants, the Mine of Gold excited the Attention of the Publick.

The Queen paid equal Regard to both; for her prudent Policy inform'd her, that the Succeſs of her Merchants Endeavours would be a Mine of Gold to her as well as the other.

She talk'd with *Forbiſher* in Perſon; and ſhe join'd the Enterpriſe of the ſucceeding Year.

The Merchants fitted out the *Gabriel* and *Michael* again for the Expedition; to theſe the Queen added a third, the AID.

With theſe he ſet ſail the ſucceeding Year, near a Month earlier than in the former; and he went out well furniſhed, and upon a very honourable Footing.

He embark'd on board the *Aid* in Quality of Commander in Chief, and Conductor of the Expedition; and, upon Account of her Majeſty, there were on board the ſame Ship a compleat Series of Officers, ſeveral Gentlemen, a Party of Soldiers, and a due Number of ſelected Sailors.

The other Veſſels were equipp'd in the ſame compleat Manner; and they ſail'd from *Harwich*, which was the firſt Rendezvous, to the *Orkneys*; theſe Iſlands he ſaw on the Seventh of *June*; and on the Fourth of *July* he arrived at *Frieſland*.

On the Eleventh of the ſame Month he arrived at the Streight, to which he had the preceding Year given his Name. This was almoſt a Month earlier than in the former Voyage; but he found ſo much Ice in it, that it was by no Means adviſeable to enter with his Ship.

He put himſelf on board a Pinnace, and ordering another to follow him, went up, made the Shore; and took on board one of the Savages.

On the Nineteenth of *July* they anchor'd in a Bay, which he called *Jackman*'s Sound; and on the Fourth of *Auguſt* they arrived at another Iſland and a Sound, to which they gave the Name of the *Counteſs of Warwick*.

In the Cabbin of the *Gabriel* was drawn, by the rude Hand of one of the Sailors in the laſt Expedition, a Figure of the Savage they had taken on the ſame Shore; and this had been colour'd by ſome Painter of no better Skill: but ſuch was the Effect of this miſerable Portrait on the other, who had never ſeen a Picture before, that he ſuppoſed it the real Perſon: went up to it; talk'd to it; and was aſtoniſh'd that it did not anſwer.

The Chaſtity of theſe People was found alſo to be equal to their Ignorance. Some Days after a Woman was taken on a remote Part of the ſame Shore, and brought into the ſame Cabbin with the Man. They were rejoiced at meeting, tho' unknown; and talked together familiarly; but the whole Company of the Ship, were at once aſtoniſhed, and charm'd with the decent Reſerve of their Deportment.

Theſe were the Obſervations which amuſed the Time, while our Adventurer puſhed his Way farther and farther up the Streight; which he ſuppoſed communicated with the great Ocean.

The Winter's Approach again ſtop'd their Progreſs. Thoſe Writers err, who ſuppoſe he penetrated no farther this Voyage than the laſt; but the Advance was of no great Conſequence; for he was ſtop'd, as he had been before.

Thus compelled to return, he made to the Shore; whence they had before brought the Ore of Gold.

They found the Place, and brought Home a Loading of ſuch Stones as they had then taken up ſingly.

There was alſo abundance of a fine ſhining Duſt, part black, part yellow, heavy, glittering, and gloſſy. This they alſo gathered up in a vaſt Quantity, and loaded themſelves for home.

The Sand was of that glittering, uſeleſs Kind, which the Naturaliſts call Talc; of no Value: And as to the Stones, whether it were that they did not find the ſame, or that the Refiner, who try'd the others, had impoſed upon them, or deceived himſelf in the Operation, no Gold was found in them now.

Thus ended the ſecond Voyage of *Martin Forbiſher*, happily with very little Loſs, tho' with much Diſappointment; for they loſt but two Men all the Time; and one of thoſe by an Accident.

The Government's Expectation of a Gold Mine was at an End; and the Merchants Hopes for a Diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage ſomewhat fainted. However, as he had penetrated farther up the Streight, and met with no other Obſtruction than the Ice. They did not quit the Cauſe, nor did he deſire to decline its Proſecution.

CHAP. LX.

The firſt Diſputes with the Spaniards *concerning the Flag.*

IN the Year 1578, *Forbiſher* undertook a third Voyage upon the ſame Plan of Diſcovery. Of this we ſhall give an Account in a ſucceeding Chapter; for there intervenes in Point of Time, a Diſpute between our People and the *Spaniards*; which tho' eaſily for that Time accommodated, is of too important a Nature to be paſſed lightly over. *Towerſon*, an experienced Commnnder, in the Service of the Merchants, embarked at the End of *January* 1577, on board a large Ship, called the *Minion*; and with two others ſailed from *Plymouth*, to the Coaſt of *Guinea*.

The *Engliſh* were at this Time on ſo ill Terms with *France*, that our Adventurers thought all *French* Property they could diſcover on the Seas, fair Prize.

Towerſon had been out but a few Days, when he met two *Dantzick* Veſſels; which he ſuſpected, and upon Enquiry, found to be full of *French* Merchandize.

This he confiſcated, and diſmiſſing the Veſſels, purſued his Courſe for the *Canaries*.

While he lay there with his three Veſſels, nineteen Sail from the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies* arrived there, the Fleet of that Nation.

The *Spaniards* here claim'd the Sovereignty of the Seas, and demanded that Reſpect for their Flag; which the World pays to us at preſent.

Our Pretenſions to this Superiority, were much earlier than the preſent Incident, and *Towerſon* knew them.

Tho' ſo inferior a Number; he knew he had a great Force, and he not only refuſed that Homage to the *Spaniſh* Flag; but demanded it for the *Engliſh*.

The *Spaniards* were obſtinate to him at firſt, but when they ſaw him reſolute, they grew more humble. They were too rich to fight; and they yielded the Point to the *Engliſh*, much to the Glory of this Commander.

From the *Canaries*, *Towerſon* proceeded to the Coaſt of *Africa*, where they traded many Weeks.

In the Courſe of this Time, came thither five *Portugueze* Veſſels. Theſe claimed the ſole Right of trading to *Africa*; and the Compromiſe made ſo lately between the two Courts, did not bind this Fleet, who ſaw themſelves almoſt two to one in Number; and much more than double in Power to the *Engliſh*.

They fell upon them; and Captain *Towerſon* received them gallantly. He placed himſelf where the Fight was hotteſt, and he maintained it till Night with ſo much Spirit, and ſo little to the Satisfaction of the *Portugueze*, that they were not to be ſeen next Morning.

Four Days after this, they came in Sight of three Veſſels riding at Anchor. Thoſe they ſaw were *French*, and *Towerſon* promiſed his Men a large Share of the Plunder, if they would attack them.

The *Engliſh* were eager: but the *French* were leſs in a fighting Humour than the *Portugueze* had been.

They weighed Anchor and ſet ſail: the *Engliſh* followed them, and overtook the hindmoſt; which they took without Reſiſtance, and found in her a very valuable Cargo, principally of Gold; and with this, and a very good Return in the Way of their own Commerce; they ſet ſail in *October* for *England*, and arrived without any ill Accident at the *Iſle of Wight*.

Towerſon received great Honour at his Return, for having ſupported the Dignity of the *Britiſh* Flag; and had much Advantage and Reſpect from the Conduct of the Voyage.

CHAP. LXI.

Forbiſher's *third Voyage in ſearch of a North-weſt Paſſage.*

WE have ſaid that in 1578, the Commander in the two former Voyages of Diſcovery for a North-weſt Paſſage, undertook a third; his own firm Opinion of ſuch a Paſſage, gave Spirit to the Merchants: and the ill Succeſs of the ſuppoſed golden Diſcovery, did not diſcourage all from ſtill thinking there was ſuch a Treaſure.

Thirteen Ships were fitted out for this Expedition; and the Command in Chief given to *Forbiſher*.

They carried with them a Fort of Wood, framed ſo, that it could be erected on the Spot; and they took a hundred Perſons, who had agreed to be left there in it.

On the thirty firſt of *May*, he ſet ſail from *Harwich*, and on the twentieth of *June* they made the Coaſt of *Frieſland*; to which, they gave the Name of *Weſt England*.

They landed here, but the Natives fled at their Approach. Theſe they found were not ſuch perfect Savages, as thoſe firſt diſcovered; for they found among the Things they left behind them in their haſty Flight, the Marks of Arts and Manufactures.

Two Days after they ſailed from thence, one of the Ships ſtruck againſt a Whale; the Blow made the Ship reel, and ſtop'd its Courſe for a Moment; and it was fatal to the Whale, for they found his Body two Days after.

On the ſecond of *July*, *Forbiſher* made for the third Time the Streight called after his Name.

They found it as before, choaked up with Ice; but knowing the Seaſon was advancing for its Thaw, they ventured up earlier than they had done before, and determined to make the moſt of the favourable Time.

Forbiſher in his own Veſſel led the Way; and all followed with Readyneſs. They ſhaped their Courſe ſo well, that they would have kept from Day to Day advancing, and been all the Time in Safety, had not an unexpected Storm ſurprized them.

The Danger was from the Mountains of accumulated Ice, wherewith thoſe Shores are crowded; Thoſe now blew in among the Veſſels, and intercepted, ſeparated, and ſurrounded them. The Violence of the Tempeſt, and Weight of the Loads of Ice, left little Proſpect of Eſcape or Safety.

Only one Veſſel was loſt. This was cruſhed between two of the floating Mountains and deſtroyed; but the People ſaving themſelves upon the Ice, were taken off by thoſe of the other Ships, without the Loſs of a ſingle Life.

The only Means of Safety, was to get out of the Streight as faſt they could; ſo that in Search of Sea-room, they loſt all the Advantage they had toil'd ſo heartily to gain, in making their Way early into the Paſſage.

All the Veſſels, except the one loſt, were now out; but they were ſurrounded with thick Fogs, which prevented all Obſervation.

In this Condition they were carried to the Southward, and before they knew where they were, they found themſelves ſeveral Leagues up another Streight.

This could anſwer no Purpoſe; for beſide the Advance that had been made in the firſt, they had a Commiſſion for ſeeking the Gold Mine, on thoſe Shores; for erecting their Fort, and planting their Colony.

This determined them to get out of the new Streight; which they did, and ſought the other.

Mountains of Ice, forced up by the Current, again obſtructed their Paſſage; and they were obliged to wait till thoſe which choaked the Entrance, were removed by the Winds and Tides.

Forbiſher then again led the Way, and with great Difficulty, got into *Warwick* Sound the laſt Day of *July*.

This was the deſired Port: this had been now named *Meta Incognita*, and here they landed.

The Fort was ordered to be brought on Shore, and all Hands directed to be in Readyneſs for aſſiſting to erect it; but they found ſome very eſſential Parts of it were loſt in the Ship which periſhed in the Ice; and all this Time four of their Veſſels which had driven out to Sea, to ſave themſelves from the Danger, were not arrived.

Theſe two Diſappointments prevented their thinking any longer of wintering on the Place; and they bent all their Endeavours to find the right gold Ore again. They had for this Purpoſe now taken Miners with them, Perſons experienced in thoſe Things; and uſed to work on Ores.

Theſe they ſet firſt to ſearch, and afterwards to dig; and the Men aſſured *Forbiſher*, that they had found thoſe Subſtances which generally lie upon the Surface of the Earth, when there is Gold within; as alſo, upon digging, real Ore of Gold.

All were pleaſed with this Account, and having loſt the Seaſon, by Means of the Storm that drove them firſt out of the Streight; they thought of no farther Attempt on the Diſcovery, but depended on the Miners Words, for a good Return of the Voyage.

There was enough of the Ore, and it was heavy and glittering: They loaded their Ships home, and toward the End of the Month of *Auguſt*, thought of returning.

While the Miners were at Work, *Forbiſher* did not ſuffer his People to be all idle. They left behind them Marks of their having been there, and Preparations for their Return.

They diſembarked all the Parts of the Fort they had, and buried them in the Sand; taking Note of what they wanted to compleat it. They ſowed Beans, Peaſe and Corn, to try the Nature of the Soil; and they built a Houſe of Lime and Stone, to ſee what Effect the Weather would have upon it; and how the Savages would treat it.

In the Houſe they left thoſe Sort of Bawbles with which ſuch People are moſt pleaſed.

Thus leaving every Thing in the beſt Condition they could, and having in the mean Time loaded themſelves with the Ore, they ſet ſail at the End of *Auguſt*, and arrived at different Ports in *England* in *October*. Storms ſcatter'd them, but no more periſhed.

Fewer Lives were loſt in this Expedition than could be ſuppoſed in one ſo hazardous. The Fleet brought home its compleat Number within forty Perſons; but this was their beſt Treaſure; for with reſpect to the Ore they found now, as they had done on trying the preceding Return, that all is not Gold which glitters.

C H A P. LXII.

Captain Drake *undertakes his deſtin'd Voyage.*

WE have obſerved that all the Time of theſe haſty Expeditions, *Drake* was preparing for his deſtin'd Purpoſe. Towards the Cloſe of the Year 1577, all was ready for the Execution, and he ſet ſail from *Plymouth* on the Fifteenth of *November*.

His Fleet conſiſted only of five Veſſels; but theſe were furniſhed in a Manner never known before, with every Neceſſary, and every Convenience that a long Voyage could require.

He ſet out with a Reſolution to entertain himſelf and his People in every Manner poſſible on ſuch Occaſions; and wherever he ſhould come to be a Credit to his Country; he equip'd his Veſſels as if they had gone upon ſome pompous Embaſſy, and himſelf as the Repreſentative of a King. Muſicians were a Part of his Sources of Entertainment, and the Furniture of his Table, and many of the Cook Room Utenſils, were of Silver.

He was enrich'd by his late Expedition, and he devoted a very conſiderable Expence to this Article of Pomp in the preſent Undertaking.

He choſe his Commanders for the ſeveral Veſſels from the moſt experienced, the braveſt and the wiſeſt Seamen; and he inculcated among theſe, and among his Men, ſo perfectly his Plan, Purpoſe and intended Conduct, that every one ſuppos'd himſelf honour'd with a Share, and intruſted with the Conduct of the Expedition; and it may be ſaid with Juſtice, no Company of Men ever ſet out with ſo much Reſpect for their Commander, ſo ſtrong a Hope of Succeſs, or ſo perfect Harmony among one another.

He who had ſo laboriouſly contriv'd all this, knew it was neceſſary.

He was ſenſible he embarked on the boldeſt and the greateſt Expedition that ever did honour to a private Man; and he conſider'd that he carried out with him a very honourable Reputation, which muſt be cruſh'd or eſtabliſh'd by this Expedition.

The Number of his Seamen was in all One hundred and ſixty-three; theſe were not too many for his perſonal Acquaintance, and there was not one among them but look'd upon him as a Father.

They all confided in his Prudence as well as Courage, and though he had acquainted them that it was the greateſt, boldeſt and moſt hazardous Voyage Man could undertake, not one of them knew perfectly what it was, or whither they were going.

There was not in that, nor perhaps has been at any time a Man beſide himſelf with whom there would have engaged five Ships Companies on ſuch Conditions; but his eſtabliſh'd Reputation, his Succeſs and Conduct in his preceding Undertaking made this eaſy. *Drake* ſtood in the Eyes of the Sailors as one of thoſe Generals under whom Troops are ſure to conquer; as one who knew perfectly what could and what could not be done, and who therefore never order'd but what was practicable.

Thus they embark'd with him rather as Partners in the Enterprize, than Servants for the Execution of it; and thus he led them on a Courſe by which he never meant they ſhould return: for 'twas his Purpoſe to ſurround the Globe.

If he or his People had been ſuperſtitious, it might have been ſuppos'd Omens with-held their Courſe. The firſt Day a Storm endanger'd the whole Preparation: they were obliged to put into *Falmouth*; and in Spite of their beſt Care and Skill, had ſuffer'd ſo much Damage, that they were three Weeks in refitting. They had put back to *Plymouth* for that Purpoſe; and 'twas on the Thirteenth of *December* they were again ready.

CHAP. LXIII.

Captain Drake *ſails from* Plymouth *for the* South Seas.

ALL being refitted, and in perfect Order, this Day at Day-break the Sailors took their ſecond Leave of *England*, and ſail'd with a more proſperous Courſe.

Five and twenty Days brought them to the Coaſt of *Barbary*; where they ſtation'd themſelves off the Iſland *Magador*, and put together a Pinnace, four of which they had brought fram'd from *England*.

This Country, ſubject to the King of *Fez*, was in Alarm at the Sight of five hoſtile Veſſels, for they ſuppos'd them to be *Portugueſe*, with whom their Sovereign was at War.

They advanc'd in a Body to the Shore; but carried before them a Flag of Truce.

Drake readily receiv'd their Meſſage; and having informed them his were *Engliſh* Veſſels, gave them Preſents as an Inducement to let him obtain from them what he wanted: Hoſtages were then given and received, and many of the People came on board.

They promiſed to bring the next Day freſh Proviſions from the Inland Part of the Country; and the Exchange of Hoſtages being made, which were only given for the Security on either Side of this Meeting, they departed.

Drake wanted the Refreſhments they offer'd, but their Diſtruſt made him cautious. He inſtructed the Men who went on ſhore the next Morning to receive the Proviſions, to be wary; to keep in a Body; and if any thing unfair was attempted, to make a Signal.

They entertain'd none of his Suſpicions: for of all Ranks of Men Sailors have the leaſt Diſguiſe in themſelves, and the leaſt think of it in others.

The Boat went off when the Natives appear'd; and as it came to the Shore, one of the Men leap'd out before the reſt.

They ſeiz'd him; put him on a Horſe, and carried him off.

This was the Purpoſe of their Coming; for no Sheep appear'd, according to their Promiſe. They were too ſwift to be purſued; and the Commander made the Signal for the reſt to come back.

He knew the Strength of the People who had committed this Outrage; and 'twas not his Buſineſs to ſacrifice many more in a fruitleſs Attempt to recover one: he told them he gueſs'd no Harm would happen to the Man; and they ſet ſail without him.

Drake was not miſtaken in his Conjecture. The Sailor was carried to the Court only to be examin'd; and when they found he was an *Engliſhman*, not a *Portugueſe*, and the Veſſels *Engliſh*, which had come with the Intent of honourable Trade, he was ſent home to *England* with many Preſents and Apologies.

This *Drake* knew not till his Return.

CHAP. LXIV.

The Captain's firſt Prizes.

'TWAS on the laſt Day of *December* 1577 they ſailed from this faithleſs Coaſt, as they eſteem'd it: and their Pinnace being ready, they were prepar'd for Enterprize, and ſought all Occaſions.

The firſt that offer'd were a Party of Fiſhing Veſſels. *Drake* was for letting them alone, as beneath his Notice, till he diſcover'd they were *Spaniards*; but then his implacable Hatred to the Nation urg'd him on: he gave them Chace, and took three.

Four Days after he met three Caravels; and found in them a ſomewhat better Booty. The Men he ſpared, and bade them on their Return declare it was an *Engliſhman* they had rob'd in the Bay of *Mexico*, who took this Revenge; and who would take it ſo long as he could lift his Hand againſt them.

On the Seventeenth of *January* they made Cape *Blanco*, and ſtaid there ſome few Days. Here they took one of the beſt of their late Prizes into the Service inſtead of a worſe Veſſel of their own; and the Captain having muſter'd and exercis'd his Men, let them a little farther into his Deſign; and ſailing on the Twenty ſecond, they made their Way for the *Cape Verd* Iſlands. *Mayo*, the pleaſanteſt Spot perhaps in the World, was the Scene of their Rendezvous. They amus'd themſelves there ſome Days, took in Refreſhments; and on the Thirty-firſt ſail'd for *St. Jago*, the principal of thoſe Iſlands.

The Commander knew what he had to truſt, and what to expect from all People; and he conducted himſelf according to that Knowledge. Here very well knowing the Inhabitants would uſe every Art, and every Cruelty againſt him, he kept off at Sea.

Drake laugh'd at Fear, but he was never at War with Diſcretion. He knew 'twas in his Power to ſtand againſt what he thus carefully avoided,

voided, but he reſerved his Men for better Purpoſes.

He cruiſed here ſeveral Days; and he ſaw at length two *Portugueſe* Ships: he gave chace to them, and he took one; the other eſcaped. This prov'd a very good Veſſel, and he added it to his Company.

He ſelected for the Command one of whom he entertain'd a great Opinion, from a long Knowledge of his good Behaviour; and detaining the Maſter to be his Pilot on the Coaſt of *Braſil*, he diſmiſs'd the reſt.

The Cargo of this Veſſel was Wine, and he found a great deal of Proviſion on board. They gave the Crew of the Prize their Pinnace, and with it ſufficient Wine and Proviſions.

After this *Drake* purſued his Voyage, and paſſing the *Fuego* Iſlands, reached the Line.

On his Approach thither, he called his People together, repreſented to them the ineſtimable Value of Health, and recommended to them every Means of preſerving it. He farther explained to them the Advantages of the Voyage on which they were proceeding; and then performing the Office of a Surgeon, bled every Man with his own Hand.

This Precaution, and the temperate Life he had ſo ſtrongly recommended, kept his Men in tolerable Health; and he croſſed the Line on the Thirteenth of *March*. On the Fifth of *April*, after fifty-five Days Sailing without Sight of Land, they made the Coaſt of *Braſil*.

A Storm ſcatter'd them ſoon after, but they collected themſelves again without Damage off a Point of Land, to which the Commander gave, for that Reaſon, the Name Cape *Joy*. After this Coaſting a very fruitful and pleaſant Country, they came on the Twenty-ſixth of *April* to the Mouth of the *Rio del la Plata*, and ſought a convenient Harbour.

CHAP. LXV.

A Deſign upon the Life of Captain Drake.

CAptain *Drake* had fix'd upon the Commander of the Veſſel taken from the Enemy, from his good Behaviour in an inferior Station. He could not read in the Heart the Principles of that new Conduct which appear'd in his new Fortune; but he found him one of thoſe, whom Succeſs and Advancement ruin.

He who in his proper Sphere had been diſtinguiſhed for his good Behaviour, became, now advanced, the contrary of every Thing he had appear'd before: for his Humility he put on Arrogance, which made him hateful to his Men, who had lately been his Equals, though now put under his Command. In the Place of Love and Fidelity to his Commander, he ſhew'd Treachery and deadly Hatred. He join'd the Captive *Portugueſe* in a Deſign of murthering Captain *Drake*, and drew into the League ſeveral of the People.

He aim'd to be greater than his Benefactor, and as nothing but his Deſtruction could give him the Command, he undertook it with the utmoſt Aſſiduity.

They were not many whom he deluded into the ſecret Scheme: no Man more than this Commander, thus devoted to Deſtruction, had ever deſerved the Affection of his People; but where ſhall be found ſo large a Number among whom ſome are not bad.

Drake was at this Time in the Harbour they had found at the Mouth of the River *Plate*, and he ſent his People on Shore for various Occaſions.

The Natives on theſe Landings came up near them, without Miſchief in their Hearts; and without Fear of any.

They were a People of erect and open Countenance, with little Cloathing more than round their Waiſt; where they tied, and not ungracefully, the Skin of ſome Beaſt, their Prey in Hunting.

The *Engliſh* neither wanted any Thing of them, nor ſought their Acquaintance, neither did they offer them any Violence.

The *Portugueſe*, brought hither to be Pilot to the Veſſels, form'd, by Means of theſe People, the Deſign of murdering *Drake*.

He went on ſhore in the Night under the Sanction of his Confederate *Doughty*'s Authority, and he talked with ſome of theſe People, to whom he recommended himſelf by Preſents. He conſpired with them to be the Murtherers; and he promiſed them vaſt Rewards in theſe Bawbles, of which he ſaw them ſo enamour'd.

This was the Scheme *Doughty* had laid, and this was, to take off the Captain, without their being anſwerable for it in *England*; and in Conſequence to give the Command to *Doughty*.

The People of the Country, tempted by the Reward, engaged to commit the Murther; and the next Thing was to lead the Sacrifice on ſhore. This *Doughty* undertook. He went the next Day on ſhore himſelf; and on his Return brought with him two of the People; who upon the *Portugueze*'s Word came freely.

Theſe were to be the Murtherers, and they were now brought, that they might ſee the Perſon of *Drake*.

The Ceremony under which they were introduced, was this; they repreſented Chiefs of the Nation; and they propoſed, being introduced to the Chief in the Expedition, to diſcloſe where there was Abundance of Gold.

Drake admitted them, and they were introduced by *Doughty*.

This great Commander always had his Thoughts about him; and happily this Time weighed every

Circumſtance. He ſaw in *Doughty*, and in them, Looks which created Suſpicion.

He concealed his Thoughts: he heard their Propoſal, as well as it could be underſtood; and when he found that himſelf was to go on ſhore, and be led to the Place, he was confirmed in his Opinion.

Still he ſaid nothing: he agreed to go the next Day; and he gave Orders for the Boat early.

He communicated his Suſpicions to ſome of his moſt favoured People, whom he took with him; and directed them to be upon the Watch, as he would.

The People appointed, went with him at the Hour; the two Natives met him on the Shore; and he diſcovered under the Folds of the Skin, wrapped about one of their Waiſts, an *European* Dagger. He ordered them to ſeize the Perſon, and he went back to the Veſſel.

As ſoon as he was on Board, he called all the Men about him, and he cauſed the Dagger to be taken from the Perſon in their Preſence.

This he laid before him, and he began to ſpeak. He demanded what he had done, that they ſhould ſeek his Life; and he ſpoke ſo pathetically of the Regard he always had for their Welfare; that moſt of them heard him with Tears.

One who had join'd the Conſpiracy was obſerved to be particularly affected; and his violent Emotions created Suſpicion.

The Captain had his Eye upon him; but he took then no Notice. He produced the Dagger again, and ſaid, that I may know whom I ſhould ſuſpect, let it be ſeen whoſe is this Weapon.

It was proved to have belonged to Captain *Doughty*: It was indeed one of the Preſents the *Portugueſe* had by his Direction made the Natives. On this, the Man who had ſhewn ſo many Marks of Guilt was called.

I know, ſaid *Drake* to him, you are in this Secret: If you will confeſs who is the Author of the Contrivance, none but he ſhall ſuffer; if not, there is enough known already to condemn you.

The Man partly in Fright, and partly in Contrition, acknowledged the whole. He declared there were ſome few beſide himſelf concerned, but that they had, like him, been led into it when drunk, by the Author of the Plot, who was Captain *Doughty*.

Drake ordered him into Cuſtody, and immediately gave Orders for ſailing.

Their Courſe was ſouthward, and on the Twentieth of *June* they arrived at Port St. *Julian*. Here the Commander directed an Enquiry to be made into the Cauſe for which *Doughty* was confined; and withdrawing himſelf from all Share or Part in the Proſecution, he ordered a Jury of forty two choſen at the Nomination of the Priſoner, (only excluding ſuch as the other confeſs'd to be in the Conſpiracy) to hear the Evidence, and paſs Sentence according to their Conſcience.

This was a very artful Method of getting at the reſt of the Conſpirators: but at the ſame Time that he thus inform'd himſelf who they were, that he might be upon his Guard, he promiſed them he would make no Enquiry farther into the Matter. He declared his Opinion, that *Doughty* had brought them by indirect Means into the Plot; and he deſired them, by their future Behaviour, to give no Cauſe of Suſpicion.

All applauded the Conduct of the Commander; and hated the Ingratitude of *Doughty*. He was brought to his Trial; and he was proved Guilty upon the joint Teſtimony of all thoſe whom he had deluded into the ſame Error: He at length confeſſed the whole; and his Sentence was Death.

After the Sentence, *Drake* addreſs'd himſelf to him in an handſome Speech: he declared his Concern for this miſerable Incident: and told him, though his Sentence was Death, there remain'd ſomething in his own Power. That he now gave him choice of three Things, to be ſet on Shore and left there to his Fortune; to be ſent back to *England*, there to take his Trial; or to ſubmit to his Sentence which had been pronounced.

Real Humanity, and Greatneſs of Mind, were the Source of Captain *Drake*'s Offer; but *Doughty* incapable of ſuch Sentiments in himſelf, would not believe they could be in another.

He ſuppoſed they were afraid to execute the Sentence, by this Offer; and having deſired the Commander to repeat his Propoſal before the principal Perſons in the Fleet, and engage himſelf to ſtand to it, he choſe the latter; to be executed according to his Sentence there; if they thought proper to put that Sentence into Execution.

Captain *Drake* ſaw his Meaning, and try'd to convince him of his Error. He aſſured him, they had Authority to execute him: but the other continued obſtinate.

The Hour was fixed as well as the Day; and both at his own Appointment: He choſe an Afternoon.

When the Day came, he received the Sacrament in the Morning, in Company with *Drake*; and the chief of the Commanders: at Noon he dined with them; and ſtill kept up his Spirit and his Obſtinacy, by an Opinion, that they dar'd not execute him.

All this Time *Drake* uſed his beſt Rhetorick; but the unhappy Man was only the more hardened. He dined with the Commander and chief Perſons, with an Air of Unconcern; and after a Glaſs of Parting, as if he had been taking his Leave from a Viſit, he aſcended the Scaffold, and was beheaded.

This is an Account of the Crime and Behaviour of Mr. *Doughty*, founded on authentick Papers; and it at once does Honour to the Name of *Drake*, and ſhews how little Information they had of the Fact, who ſuppoſed him a Sacrifice to Envy in the Fleet, or to Cabals at Home.

The Place of this Execution, was once before ſtained with *European* Blood, from a like Cauſe. 'Twas here *Magellan*, of whoſe great Exploits, we have before given an Account, try'd and executed his mutinous Seamen. The Gibbet erected for that Purpoſe, yet remained upon the Place.

Drake ſpoke with great Concern upon the Subject, and by his Funeral Harangue on *Doughty*, more than by any Thing before, confirmed the Reſpect of his People.

CHAP. LXVI.

Drake *enters the* South-Sea.

ON the Seventeenth of *Auguſt*, he ſet ſail from *Port St. Julian*, lamenting the Loſs of an obſtinate, as well as wicked Man.

He examined the State of his Veſſels, before he proceeded farther, and finding the three larger would be ſufficient for the Expedition; and would be better manned, by diſcarding the other two; he took every Thing of Value out of them, and turn'd them a-drift.

In four Days he ſaw the Streight named from *Magellan*, the great Adventurer of a former Period. It was on the Twentieth he entered this Streight, and after a difficult, but well managed Paſſage, he ſaw the *South-Sea* on the Sixth of *September*.

Here was the Scene of Action; and thus far the Adventurer had ſucceeded. But he ſet out unfortunately, on this great Ocean: a Storm ſcattered his little Fleet; and one of the Veſſels periſhed.

This was the firſt Voyager who had connected with the hardy Talents, requiſite to form that Character; the polite Knowledge of the Sciences.

He ſaw a new Heaven open to his View, now he had come ſo near the South-Pole; and he obſerved it with a curious Eye.

Fewer Stars he perceived glittered in this ſouthern Canopy, than in the Sky ſeen from our northern Countries; and of theſe but a very ſmall Account of ſuch as were conſiderable: only three of the firſt and ſecond Magnitude, which never riſe in *England*.

Here alſo he diſcovered two of thoſe nebulous Stars, which have ſo long perplexed Aſtronomers; they appeared as two ſmall Fleeces; white, lucid, and of a regular Figure.

The Men called them Clouds, and named them from the Perſon who had before left his Name to the Streight, *Magellan*.

Drake ſaw them higher in the Region than Clouds can come; and always conſtant to their Places. He conjectured that there were in theſe Spots, Numbers of Stars; too remote and therefore apparently too ſmall to become the Objects of the Eye ſeparately; but that together, their blended Rays gave this Brightneſs. 'Tis a Conjecture, our beſt Aſtronomers have not been able to diſprove, or to replace in a better.

Near the Fifty-ſeventh Degree South Latitude, they ſaw a Bay, which promiſed them Security, and Advantages; and they made their beſt Sail into it.

The Storm which had deſtroyed one of the Veſſels, diſheartened the Crews of the others: it had carried them back a hundred Leagues to the Weſt-ward; and they had began to deſpair of their Fortune.

In this Bay, their Commander called them together; he condoled with them, the Loſs of ſo conſiderable a Part of the Company; but he encouraged them by every Conſideration, to rouſe their Spirit now, and puſh their Fortune.

The Dangers he told them were over. They had paſſed the Streight; and they were in the eaſy Road to the full Enjoyment of their promiſed Succeſſes.

They never refuſed their Attention to this favourite Chief; but they never heard him with leſs Regard than now.

They found about the Bay ſeveral Iſlands; the miſerable Inhabitants of which were naked; and were obliged to croſs from one to another, of thoſe barren Spots for Neceſſaries: no Appearance yet of a rich or peopled Coaſt; no Sight of any Veſſel that ſhould fall into their Hands.

They left the Bay with very unſatiſfied Hearts: and they were ſcarce out, when another Storm overtook them. This ſeparated the two Ships, of which the Fleet now conſiſted; and that commanded by Captain *Winter*, was driven towards the Streights Mouth again. He took the Advantage; and putting in, returned to *England*; where he arrived in the *June* following. The firſt who had come that Way back.

Drake who could only drive before the Wind, was carried to Fifty-five Degrees South Latitude; and with the utmoſt Difficulty got up again to the Height of the Streight.

He gueſſed what was become of the other Veſſel, but he did not ſpeak his Opinion: He told his Men, the Paſſage that Way thro' *Magellan*'s Streights was utterly impracticable; and by that Means alone, could he have prevented their mutinying againſt him, and forcing him back.

CHAP. LXVII.

Drake *takes a rich Prize.*

THE Sailors had now no Reſource, but their Confidence in the Skill of their Commander. He cheered them, by telling them, the Coaſt of *Chili* was not very diſtant, and that he would ſail for it. He followed that Courſe which according to the beſt Account then extant, would carry them to it moſt ſecurely; but he found the Maps had all laid down the Country wrong, and that it ran North-Eaſt and Eaſt, inſtead of North-Weſt, as thoſe Geographers deſcribed it.

On the Twentieth of *November*, in Thirty eight Degrees and a half, they fell in with the Iſland of *Mocha*. They caſt Anchor: and *Drake* ordering out the Boat, was the firſt Man to enter it, to make Diſcoveries on the Shore. He took with him ten of his People and landed well armed upon the unknown Shore. The Natives came about them, at firſt, with hoſtile Looks; but afterwards in a more friendly Manner.

The *Spaniards* had driven theſe People from the Continent, by their abominable Cruelties; and they had here ſettled themſelves.

They thought our People *Spaniards* at firſt Sight, but they diſcovered ſoon that it was otherwiſe; and they had no Hatred to the Innocent.

They underſtood that theſe were Enemies to their Enemies, and came to puniſh them: and from that Thought they treated them as Friends.

They brought them Proviſions and other Conveniences; Sheep and Fowls; Potatoes and Bread; and whatever elſe they ſuppoſed would be agreeable to them.

Drake was pleaſed with their Generoſity, and he made them an ample Return.

The next Day they appeared again, in the ſame friendly Manner; but the Folly of ſome of his People, had nearly brought on the Deſtruction of them all.

Drake was on Shore with thoſe who went for Water; and the foremoſt of theſe idly gave Offence to the People.

They were arm'd, and they reſented an Injury offer'd by thoſe to whom they had been ſo friendly; and they ſeiz'd the two Perſons who committed the Violence.

Drake call'd the reſt together, to conſider what ſhould be done; but there was no Time for Conſultation, a Flight of Arrows were diſcharg'd from the People, and the Captain was wounded in the Face.

They were too many to be attack'd; and all the Commander could do was, to make a careful Retreat to his Boat. The Men kept in a Body, but they could not get off before they had received two more Vollies from the Enemy. *Drake* was hurt a ſecond Time in the Head; and not a Man eſcaped without ſome Wound. There was no Surgeon on board this Veſſel; but the Commander ſupply'd the Place of one: he dreſs'd every Man's Hurt with Tenderneſs and Care; and laſt of all his own.

When they had finiſhed this they ſailed.

A ſmall Fiſhing Veſſel fell in their Way; and *Drake* check'd the Ardour of his People. He told them this was nothing as a Prize; but that it might prove in the higheſt Degree uſeful for Intelligence.

He hail'd the Bark in *Spaniſh*; and after ſome trifling Queſtions, enquir'd what other Veſſels there were in thoſe Seas. The Fiſherman, little imagining he was betraying his Country's Treaſure to its moſt inveterate Enemy, informed him, that at *Valparizo* there lay a Ship richly loaded from *Peru*.

This was the Intelligence *Drake* wanted; and he now diſcloſed himſelf; he took the Man on board to be his Pilot, who had given him the Intelligence, and he ſoon brought them in Sight.

The Veſſel was very rich, and none was ever worſe guarded: there were not twelve Perſons in it. Theſe having no Idea of an *Engliſhman* in their Seas, received the hoſtile Ship with all Marks of Joy.

Drake was the firſt that boarded them; he order'd his Men to lock all the People under Hatches; but one leaped overboard and ſwam to Shore.

The Ship was richly loaded; Gold and Silver were the Freight; and if the Sailors could have forgot the Loſs of their Companions, they had here alone ſufficient Recompence for all their other Sufferings.

They were contented, but not their Leader; he ſaw a little Town upon the Shore, and he reſolved to pillage it. He led his Men to the Place, and they were too numerous for the weak Inhabitants of a Village to reſiſt. He ſaw there was no Oppoſition, and he commanded that no Blood ſhould be ſhed.

This great Adventurer happily diſtinguiſhed between the Nation and particular Perſons. His Reſentment was againſt the Whole, and he would have conſidered himſelf in killing any one Perſon unneedfully, as a Murtherer.

The *Spaniards* who could not reſiſt, ſtood Witneſſes of the plundering their Town: and they were aſtoniſhed at the Moderation which the *Engliſh* ſhewed in their Succeſs.

They ſtripped the Church, and a Place of publick Treaſure, on the King's Account; and without injuring any private Man in Property, any more than Perſon, retired to their Ships.

The Booty was not great, but *Drake* was pleaſed with the Glory of the Atchievement; and he every where left Note of who he was, and under what Provocation he acted.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVIII.

A Diſpute with the Spaniards.

WHEN the Plunder of the Town was brought on board, the Sailors in ſtowing it among the Treaſure from the Prize, found an Addition to their firſt Account of the Value of that Capture; this was a large Crucifix ſet with Emeralds; all picked Stones, and of conſiderable Size and Value.

On the Eighth of *December* Captain *Drake*, ſetting the People of the *Spaniſh* Veſſel on ſhore, ſail'd for *Lima*.

In the Way he anchored at *Coquimbo* to get Water, and what other Refreſhments might be had there.

He was not aware how conſiderable a Force the *Spaniards* had in this Place. The People were no ſooner ſet on ſhore to the Number of fourteen, than a little Army appear'd, and drew up againſt them. Two hundred Foot came on in Front, ſupported by an hundred Horſe; and prepared as if for a regular Attack.

Such miſerable Soldiers were theſe, that, happily for our People, they had not thought of getting between them and their Boat; and ſo ſlow were they in their Motions, that our Men made a very happy Retreat. They loſt one and no more, in a Circumſtance, where it muſt appear, to thoſe who do not know the *Spaniards*, miraculous that one eſcaped.

Drake ſail'd from thence; and, in about four Days, found another Harbour; a very ſafe and good one.

Here he refitted his Ship; put the *Spaniſh* Prize into the beſt Condition of Service for his Purpoſe, and built a Pinnace. This took up near five Weeks: but it was in a pleaſant Country, where they had good Refreſhments and Proviſions, and it was an Amuſement, not a Fatigue to his Men.

All being now ready again for Service, they ſail'd, and toward the End of *January* landed at *Tarapaxa*.

Here the firſt Sight that offer'd was very promiſing: it was a Pile of thirteen Bars of Silver, guarded by a ſingle *Spaniard*; and he aſleep.

Drake diſpatched thirteen of his Sailors; and every Man took up his Load. This could not be done without diſturbing the *Spaniard*; but he, not thinking it prudent to interrupt thoſe he could not reſiſt, pretended to ſleep on. The Sailors thought it real; and were heartily entertain'd with the getting ſo eaſily the Value of ſo many thouſand Ducats.

Drake told them, where there was ſo much, there was doubtleſs more; and he ſent out a large Party to ſearch.

They found no more in this Condition: but they were ſoon ſtop'd in their Journey by a Drove of eight Creatures loaded with Silver. They were the common Beaſts of Burthen of the Country, an Animal partly reſembling a Sheep, and partly a Camel. There were no more People with theſe than one *Spaniard* and one *Indian*: to theſe they offer'd no Violence, but they took the Booty, amounting to eight hundred Weight of Silver.

This, as the former, they carried ſafely to their Ship; and their Commander, who knew it was not his Buſineſs to ſtay too long in a Place, ſet ſail for the Port of *Arica*, at eighteen Degrees Latitude.

CHAP. LXIX.

Fortune continues to favour Drake.

THE Commander diſcover'd, as he approached *Arica*, three *Spaniſh* Veſſels. He call'd together his People, ſhew'd them the Prizes, for ſo he call'd them already; but reminded them, that no Advantage was obtain'd without ſome Hazard. Probably, he told them, theſe three Veſſels were as poorly man'd as the firſt; but that it might be otherwiſe, he prepared them for the worſt; and then made into the Port. He found the Veſſels empty of Men, but ſtored with an immenſe Treaſure. This they ſeiz'd, and took on board their Veſſel.

There was a Town cloſe upon the Shore from which the *Spaniards* looked on, but attempted no Interruption. As they did not meddle in the Matter, neither did *Drake* attack them. He was too rich for hazardous Enterprizes, in which little was to be expected of Advantage, and there might be a great deal of Danger. He told his Men, it would not be difficult to take and plunder that Town; but that he held their Lives too valuable to be hazarded upon an Enterprize that promiſed ſo little.

He ſet ſail with this Booty: and directing his Courſe ſtill for *Lima*, in his Way met a ſingle ſmall Veſſel: he took her, but found no Treaſure of the Kind he wanted. Her Freight was Linnen, of which he took as much as his People wanted, and then let her go.

The Captain, as they approach'd the deſtin'd Place of their great Enterprize, call'd them according to his Cuſtom together: he told them what they had done would ſeem to others very ſucceſsful, but that to them it was no more than an Earneſt of their Fortune; the little Pickings by the Way, the Gleanings of an Harveſt; the whole of which was ſtored up there, where they were now going. He ſpirited them up to Courage by the Repreſentation of the Booty they would make, and promiſing them he would expect no Service from 'em that he refuſed himſelf, he led them to the Port now in their full View.

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CHAP. LXX.

Drake *arrives at* Lima.

ON the thirteenth of *February* 1578, *Drake* with his *Engliſh* arrived at *Callao*, the Port of *Lima*, the Capital of *Peru*.

Here lay twelve large Ships loaded with Silver, and other the moſt valuable Products of the Country.

How much or how little Reſiſtance they ſhould meet with, none could foreſee; but the Captain telling his People this was the Inſtant of their Fortune, bore down upon them.

They were a Prize as eaſy as the laſt, for in the ſame Manner they were loaded, but without Men; there was not found one Perſon on board.

Theſe they ſtrip'd, and turn'd adrift: the Treaſure was immenſe; but they got Intelligence of a *Caracca* Ship failed a few Days before for *Panama*. This was more rich than all, her Name the *Cacoſogo*, and her Lading principally Gold.

Drake took all Precautions for intercepting her, and making his beſt ſail, promiſed a Gold Chain as a Reward to the Perſon who ſhould firſt diſcover her.

When they had ſailed a few Hours they met a Brigantine; and the Men, eager for the great Prize, would have let her eſcape; but *Drake* gave Chace to her. He told them, they ſhould ſee how little Time would be loſt, in adding a rich Cargo to their Treaſure. He judg'd rightly: they preſently came up with the Veſſel, and they took out of her eighty Pounds Weight of Gold; and a Crucifix ſet richly with Emeralds.

This ſhort Interruption over, they purſued their deſtin'd Courſe with the ſame Speed; and about three in the Afternoon next Day the *Cacoſogo* was ſeen from the Maſt Head.

All Sail was crowded; and at Six in the Evening *Drake* came up with her. He knew here would be Reſiſtance, and he began with Fury. His firſt Broadſide cut down their Maſt by the board, and upon this he grappled and boarded her.

The *Spaniard* made no more Reſiſtance. The Ship was *Drake*'s; and the Treaſure prodigious: beſide Gold and Silver, they found on board a very large Quantity of Pearls and Emeralds, with other precious Stones; and every thing moſt valuable in the Country.

The whole Treaſure they took to their own Veſſel, and then let the Ship and her People go.

This added to the former Plunder, raiſed the whole of what *Drake* had taken to a Value ſcarce to be credited.

Any one but he would have been aſtoniſh'd, and contented; but he was affected neither of theſe Ways: he had foreſeen what vaſt Reſources there were here for Plunder; and he knew there yet remained more. 'Twas not a Voyage to be made a ſecond Time, he told his Men, therefore they muſt make the moſt of it now; and he encourag'd them to farther Undertakings, by repreſenting the Eaſe of theſe; and adding, that as this was a World the *Spaniards* call'd their own; and where they thought of no Enemy, they were prepar'd for no Reſiſtance.

His Men anſwer'd with an *Engliſh* Huzza; and he ſet ſail Weſtward, that being the Courſe where was moſt Expectation of meeting with farther Plunder.

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CHAP. LXXI.

Drake *takes more Prizes, and attacks* Aquapulco.

THEY ſail'd in their intended Courſe to the Thirteenth of *March*; and then firſt ſaw from the Maſt a Veſſel. It appear'd a large one; and they promiſed themſelves a farther Booty: they ſhun'd no Danger; and thus deſerv'd their Fortune.

They came up with this Ship after a few Hours Chace; and found it laden with Porcelain, and China Silk. In the Cabin there ſtood a Falcon of Gold, more remarkable for the maſſy Solidity than the Sculpture; and in its Breaſt an Emerald of a vaſt Size. This *Drake* order'd on board his own Ship, but he had no Room for Silks or China Ware: he took the Pilot from them, telling him he ſhould uſe him; and then giving his Men the Choice of what they pleaſed on board the Capture, he ſaw them load themſelves, and let the Veſſel go.

Drake now bending his Courſe to the Northward coaſted the Shore of *Mexico*.

On the Fifteenth of *April* he ſaw *Aquapulco*: there was an Appearance of Plunder, and he landed, ſacked the Town, and brought off ſome Treaſure.

The Veſſel which contained all their Treaſures, had been ſo long at Sea, that ſhe now wanted refitting. He drew her up on ſhore; and keeping an exact Diſcipline among his Men, took out the Plunder, ſtowed it ſafely under a good Guard, and with as much Deliberation as if in an *Engliſh* Port, repaired his Ship.

Another in this Situation, out of Order, and repairing in an Enemy's Country, would have thought of nothing beſide his Safety; but it was otherwiſe with *Drake*: even in this Condition he made Prizes.

A Ship bound for the *Philippine* Iſlands, and carrying a *Spaniſh* Governor thither, came in Sight. They had no Suſpicion of an Enemy in their own Seas, and there was no Difficulty in ſpeaking with them. The Commander of the *Engliſh* Enterprize ſpoke *Spaniſh*: he artfully got them within Reach, and took the Veſſel.

He paid all Reſpect to the Governor, but he took the Treaſure from on board the Ship; and this with what he had before, was the utmoſt it was poſſible for him to carry home.

Thus was the Enterprize compleated; and the Sailors had the Joy to hear him ſay, they had nothing now to do but to return.

CHAP. LXXII.

Drake *ſails for* England.

SOmething there hung however by that Word Return, of which they had yet no Notion.

If to go homeward was to return, their Commander meant what he ſaid to them; but he had no Thought of meaſuring back the ſame Courſe they had taken thither. His Purpoſe at ſetting out was to ſurround the Globe; and he now gently open'd it to them.

Every Man trembled at the Propoſal.

They requeſted him to go back the Way he came; but that he told them was impoſſible. The Streight of *Magellan* he had before informed them, could not be paſſed back again: and he repeated that Doctrine.

He told them withal, that if they could have returned that Way, the *Spaniards* would intercept them. That they knew ſufficiently of his being in thoſe Seas; that they would doubtleſs ſend Veſſels of Force thither, to intercept him in his Return; and that by ſuch an Attempt, they would viſit not *England*, with this glorious Reward of their Labour, but ſome *Spaniſh* Dungeon.

He ſet before their Eyes, laſt, the Fate of *Oxenham*; the reſt was Conjecture, and 'tis not certain that it would have prevailed; but this they alſo knew. This worked with them: the Fear of Hanging, got the better of that of Drowning; and they ſubmitted to attempt their Return ſome other Way: but not by the *Cape of Good Hope*, as he propoſed; for the *Portugueſe* had repreſented that to all the World, as worſe than the Streights of *Magellan*, ſubject to everlaſting Tempeſts, and form'd of barren and moſt deſtructive Rocks.

They demanded of him whether there might not be ſome other Way found; and he anſwer'd them, that no other was known but by the *Cape of Good Hope*, or the Streights of *Magellan*; however, that though none were known, 'twas not impoſſible there ſhould be a Paſſage; and that ſince they choſe it, he would try by the Way of *North America*. He told them this would have Hazard, but that 'twas not impoſſible in Conjecture, and ſhould it ſucceed, would be a new Source of Glory.

They agreed to the Propoſal; and *Drake*, now perhaps the richeſt Sailor in the World, ventur'd himſelf on all the Hazards that attend Diſcovery.

They puſhed this Attempt as far as the Latitude of forty-three, and found no Appearance of a Paſſage. Here they met Winter in the Month of *June*; and Snows and Storms beat them from their Purpoſe.

Their Captain told them now they had tried that Way in vain, he would lead them by the Courſe he firſt propoſed, in which he ſaw no Danger; and by which he doubted not but he ſhould ſhew them the *Portugueſe* had purpoſely miſrepreſented the *Cape*, to keep, by deterring others, the Navigation to themſelves.

Drake gueſs'd rightly in both Caſes; the *Spaniards* ſent a large Force by the Way of the *Magellanic* Streight, to intercept him; and he found the *Portugueſe* had repreſented the *Cape* unfairly.

The Sailors encourag'd by the Words of their Leader, and as much diſcouraged at what they ſaw before them, now gave themſelves wholly to his Conduct: he ſail'd back to the Latitude of Eight and thirty, and ſought a Port before he proceeded on his new Voyage.

On the North of *California* he found a good Harbour; where he anchor'd, and ſent on ſhore for ſuch Neceſſaries as he wanted for the ſucceeding Voyage.

He found the *Indians* friendly: they were a wild but a well-meaning People, unacquainted with Wealth; but rich in Content: they were Dancing and Feaſting when the *Engliſh* came among them; and they invited them to partake.

Drake made them Preſents, and took every Method of ingratiating himſelf with them. They were aſtoniſh'd at his Appearance; and they ſuppoſed him ſomething more than their own Species, they would have offered Sacrifice to him; but when, with all the Fervour of the Apoſtle, he ran in upon them, and would not ſuffer it, they made him King. Their Chief, whoſe Crown was of various painted Feathers, took it from his Head, and with all Marks of a profound Reſpect placed it upon the *Engliſh* Commander.

Drake knew the Value of the Submiſſion, tho' himſelf was to make no Uſe of it. He wore the Crown a Moment; then putting it again upon the Head of the antient Chief, who had reſign'd it to him, conſtituted him and his Succeſſors Viceroys under *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*.

This was a Country on which no *Spaniard* had ſet foot: ſo much might be known from the Hoſpitality and friendly Behaviour of the *Indians*; for wherever *Spain* had claim'd her Sovereignty, an *European* ſeem'd a Monſter. There was farther Certainty of their never having been there; for they never touched Land, by their own Accounts, within many Degrees of this Place.

Here the *Britiſh* Spirit was warm in the Commander: he had not taken, but much more, he had received, a Kingdom for his Country. They had a Right of bringing their Ships into thoſe Seas, hitherto claimed only by the *Spaniard*: and after many more Preſents to the Natives, he with their Approbation erected a tall and maſſy Column. On this he inſcrib'd in Roman Characters the Name and Titles of Queen *Elizabeth*, as Sovereign of the Country; the Conceſſion of the *Indian* Sovereign, with the Approbation of the principal Inhabitants, their Names, the Date of the Event; and laſt his own.

The *Indians* danced round the Trophy, and cover'd it with Garlands of their Flowers. They aſſur'd him there were Ores of Gold and Silver in the Country, and brought him what they underſtood to be ſuch in Evidence; and to him they appear'd to be ſo: but there had been ſo many Errors on this Subject, he did not depend upon the Appearance, nor build on it any great Expectation.

After every Civility that could paſs between the *Engliſh* and theſe friendly *Indians*, *Drake* departed, ſhaping his Courſe according to the now deſtin'd Way.

CHAP. LXXIII.

Captain Drake *arrives at the* Moluccas.

THE *Engliſh* Commander having thus taken his Leave of his new Subjects, gave to this Country the Name of NEW ALBION, and departed.

On the Thirteenth of *October* they came to a Number of Iſlands, in about eight Degrees of Latitude: Iſlands till that Time unknown to *Europe*, but inhabited by a People ſtrange in their Manners, yet not uncivilized. He found them buſy in a private Traffick: it extended no farther than from one of the Iſlands to another; but they were employ'd as Bees in Summer. Their Barks were a kind of Canoes, form'd of one Piece, hollow'd very artfully, and poliſh'd on the Outſide like Horn.

The People were of a very ſingular Aſpect; they had vaſt Ears hung full of fooliſh Ornaments, and 'twas their Pride to have their Teeth of a perfect black. They had the Art of giving them this Colour, and they japan'd them as they did their Canoes. Their Nails were never cut: they uſed them as Inſtruments for various Purpoſes, and they ſeemed well fitted for Weapons.

The Loading of their Canoes was principally the Fruits of the ſeveral Iſlands, and the other natural Products.

The *Engliſh* had been now a little accuſtomed to theſe Kind of People, and underſtood their Manners. They accoſted them with friendly Signs, and theſe were anſwered in the ſame friendly Manner: what our People wanted was readily granted them here. They took in Water, Fruits, and other Proviſions, and ſail'd onward on their deſtin'd Courſe.

On the Eighteenth of *October* they fell in with a ſecond Cluſter of Iſlands; inhabited, and probably, by the ſame Kind of People, but this they did not ſtop to enquire, for they had ſufficient Refreſhments.

'Twas in the Beginning of *November* they loſt Sight of Land; and ſailing to the Weſt, they arrived on the Fourteenth at the *Moluccas*.

They ſtop'd at *Ternate*, the principal of thoſe Iſlands, where the Commander was met with geeat Reſpect by the King. After receiving *Drake* with the utmoſt Power on ſhore, he did him the Honour to viſit him on board his Veſſel, where every Thing was calculated for Splendor.

Here, as on the preceding Occaſions, the Propriety of what the Commander had done with Regard to the Magnificence of his Appearance, was ſeen.

The King of theſe Iſlands, aſtoniſh'd at ſuch Grandeur in a Subject of any Crown, entertain'd the higheſt Notions of his Sovereign: he talked with him often upon the Sources of her Power and Splendor, and became at length ſo charm'd with what he heard, that he offer'd voluntarily the titular Honour of calling her his Sovereign.

Drake received this as it was intended, a Mark of his high Reſpect, and after every mutual Teſtimony of Friendſhip, took his Leave.

He had now a very dangerous Sea to navigate, full of Rocks, and overſpread with Shoals. And he had no Guide among the Dangers; his own general Knowledge kept the Veſſel from Damage ſeveral Days; but on the Ninth of *January*, an Hour after Midnight they ſtruck upon a Rock.

All was now Deſpair. The Treaſures of a ravaged People, the Price of ſo many Dangers ſeemed devoted to the Sea.

All Hands were buſy, but little could be done; there was no Anchor-hold near; all the Proſpect of Relief was lightening the Veſſel.

Their Freight was heavy, but they could not think of ſacrificing that; they threw over eight of their Guns, and ſome other heavy Articles, reſerving ſtill their Treaſure; and ſeeing a Gale riſe, they ſet their Sprit-ſail.

This took Effect; and the Gale took her in the Quarter, and heav'd her off.

They ſailed without farther Damage, and on the eighth of *February* fell in with *Baratene*, a fruitful Iſland, about ſeven Degrees South of the Line.

The People here they found friendly and ſociable, as in the other Places, and the Country rich in every Thing reſpecting human Life.

They took in what Refreſhments they at that Time wanted; and ſailing, touched on the Tenth at *Java Major*. Here they were ſupplyed with ſome more freſh Proviſions; and they had Intelligence of four large Ships lying not far off. It anſwered no Purpoſe to Captain *Drake* to ſeek them: if Prizes, he could carry home no more than he had; and he muſt have been diſtracted, to have now ſought for Enemies to combat. He continued his Courſe hence for the *Cape of Good Hope*, where he arrived toward the Middle of *June*.

On the Eighteenth the Sailors paſſed the Cape, and they then found, what their Commander had ſuppoſed was true: that all the Terror of this Place, lay in the Repreſentations of the *Portugueſe*.

They ſaw no Dangers there; and 'twas with unſpeakable Joy, when they had doubled it, they found themſelves in Safety, in a more known Sea; and in a fair Way to their native Country. A Bleſſing moſt among them had deſpaired to find.

CHAP. LXXIV.

The Return of Captain Drake *to* England.

'TWAS needful they ſhould once more ſtop for Water: This they did at *Rio Grande*, where they arrived in *July*; and after a ſhort Stay, ſet ſail for *England*; no ill Fortune purſued them farther.

Their Courſe was proſperous, and on the Third Day of *November*, the Veſſel arrived ſafe at *Plymouth*; whence it had ſet out almoſt three Years before.

Thus *Drake*, the firſt of our Country, and excepting *Magellan*, who was loſt upon his Paſſage, the firſt Attempter of the great Enterprize, ſurrounded the Globe of the Earth.

The Treaſures he brought, were the Admiration, and the Voyage itſelf, the Wonder of the Kingdom; and the Adventurer was reſpected as the moſt diſtinguiſhed of Men.

We have before obſerved that *Drake* underſtood the Sciences; and he found at his Return, an Incident which nothing but their Knowledge could explain.

He had kept an exact Journal; but he had loſt a Day.

Aſtronomy explains this, by the Differences of Meridians; but to the Sailors it ſeemed miraculous. Had he ſet out the other Way, and returned by the Streights of *Magellan*, his Journals would have been one Day forward.

CHAP. LXXV.

The Reſpect ſhewn to Captain Drake *at his Return.*

THE Honours *Drake* received, were not only from the common People; Envy moved ſome at Court to call him Pirate; but the Queen thought otherwiſe. She admitted him firſt to a private Audience, and afterwards dined with him on board the Veſſel; which was drawn up to *Deptford*, and there as it were conſecrated to the Succeſs of Navigation.

Each Time ſhe heard from him the Particulars of his long Expedition with an attentive Mind; the Dangers and the Succeſſes; the Riches he had procured for himſelf, and the Kingdom he had acquired for her.

When ſhe honoured him on board his Veſſel, ſhe confered upon him that Title by which he is now, and will, I truſt, be known in all ſucceeding Ages, Sir Francis Drake.

Spain was at that Time, as now, on Terms of Peace, if not of hearty Friendſhip with our Country. There was an Ambaſſador here, *Mendoza*, and him the People, who envy'd Sir *Francis*, ſtir'd up to attempt his Ruin. They repreſented him as a Robber, and his Actions as ſo many Inſults on his Country.

Mendoza heard them, and the *Spaniſh* Pride was rouſed in him. He demanded Reſtitution: but the Queen anſwer'd, "This was the Action of "a private Man, who had been plunder'd moſt "unfairly there, who had ſollicited by himſelf, and demanded by her Authority, Reſtitution in vain; and who had now done himſelf, "upon the Subjects of *Spain*, that Juſtice he had "not been able to obtain from their King."

This ſhe told him was all the Account it became her to give of a Proceeding, which as ſhe had not authorized, ſo neither could ſhe condemn.

That if he enquired farther by what Right an *Engliſh* Subject traded to thoſe Seas, and viſited Countries to which his Maſter claim'd a Right, She ſhould anſwer, that the Sea was the Property of all Men, unlimited and unlimitable: and with Reſpect to thoſe Countries, ſhe knew no Title the King of *Spain* had to them, but by the Donation of the Biſhop of *Rome*, whoſe Authority *England* diſavowed. That thoſe Seas, always open to her Subjects, were now their proper Courſe to a Part of her Dominions, the Province of *New Albion*, which this gallant Adventurer, whom Envy called a Pirate, had poſſeſſed and annexed for ever to the *Britiſh* Throne.

This led the *Spaniard* farther than his Inſtructions reach'd. He ſpoke of a private Subject who had plunder'd his Maſter's Veſſels; but he had no Suſpicion of Provinces annex'd, and Coaſts, of what were called the *Spaniſh* Seas, poſſeſs'd by *Britain*.

The Matter reſted here for the preſent; and afterwards there was ſome Kind of Compromiſe.

Thus paſſed Sir *Francis Drake* round the World, enrich'd from his Adventure, and honour'd by his Country.

CHAP. LXXVI.

The Condition of England *at this Period.*

THE Hiſtory of our Country under the Reign of *Elizabeth*, is read equally in the greateſt and the leaſt Things: every Article ſhews and confirms, that we were fear'd rather than belov'd by our Neighbours; but Fear ſerv'd our Purpoſe.

The Anſwer of *Elizabeth* was very peremptory: it ſpoke a perfect Unconcern at the Reſentment of the Court of *Spain*; and this, and all her Actions at the ſame Period, ſhew'd, that ſhe wiſh'd to keep Peace upon honourable Terms, but was not afraid of War.

Spain and the Court of *Rome* were both incenſed at her Proceedings; and they join'd in 1580 in an Attack on *Ireland*.

Grey was Lord Deputy at that Time; and the firſt Notice he received of the Invaſion was, that ſeven hundred *Spaniards* and *Italians* were upon the Iſland.

They had landed where they had Friends to receive, not Enemies to oppoſe them; and they built a Fort.

The Command in this Expedition was given to an *Italian*, *San Joſeppo*; and ſo good a Correſpondence had been carried on between the Invaders and the People of thoſe and ſome other Parts, that the firſt Intelligence gain'd by the Priſoners, who were taken ſtraggling, was, that though the *Italian* and *Spaniards* were but ſeven Hundred, they had Arms for ſix Thouſand: that they had People there engag'd to wield them; and that the Purpoſe was to drive the *Engliſh* from the Iſland.

The Earl of *Ormond* commanded the *Engliſh* Forces then in *Ireland*: he got together what he could upon the ſudden Alarm, and he marched forward: but this Intelligence ſtop'd him on the Way. He was no Match for ſuch a Number; and he was enough a General to know the Conſequences of an unſucceſsful Action.

He ſent to the Lord Deputy for Succours; and he then inveſted the Fort at a Diſtance: he found there were a Number of *Iriſh* already with them, and he took this Precaution (and with his ſmall Force it was a bold one) to prevent their gathering more Strength.

The Lord Deputy was expeditious; and when the Earl of *Ormond* was aſſur'd his Force was on the March to join him, he beſieged the Fort: five Days it held out, but then fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*; who, being determin'd by one Act of Severity to ſtop all ſuch Diſorders for ſucceeding Time, put the Foreigners to the Sword; and hang'd the *Iriſh* who had join'd them.

Elizabeth ſaw by this Attempt how little good Will ſhe had to expect from *Spain*. There was at this Time an Offer of Friendſhip of a very firm Kind with *France*, the Conditions of which ſhe could by no Means like, yet which ſhe knew not how to reject, without adding this powerful Neighbour to her Enemies.

The Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to the King of *France*, and in ſome Proſpect of that Crown, for *Henry* had no Son, offered himſelf to her in Marriage. There were a thouſand Reaſons why ſhe ſhould not comply; yet there was Danger in an abſolute Refuſal. She uſed all her Art, and ſhe amuſed that Prince, whom ſhe never intended to eſpouſe.

Elizabeth on this Occaſion, ſpread the Veil of Diſſimulation ſo thick over her Conduct, that no Eye pierced through it. After her favourably liſtening to the Propoſal, admitting the Mediation of *France*, and ſuffering the Addreſſes of the Duke, Articles of Marriage were propoſed.

France was at the Bottom of this: *Henry* knew how improbable it was ſhe ſhould conſent in earneſt; he knew how good a Miſtreſs ſhe was of Diſſimulation; and he ſuſpected ſhe but trifled with them; tho' it was impoſſible to be ſure of it.

To fix the Contract, he propoſed theſe Articles; ond they were ſo fair, that if ſhe were in earneſt, he knew ſhe could not object to them.

Elizabeth ſaw the Snare; and with a Boldneſs that became ſuch Policy, ſhe ſign'd and ſealed the Writing.

In 1581, the Duke arrived in *England*; where he was received as became the intended Huſband of the Queen. *Elizabeth* herſelf received him ſo; determined ſhe would give no Colour to Suſpicion, till ſhe threw off the Maſk entirely.

The Anniverſary of her Coronation approached, and the Duke was invited with all Pomp to the Solemnity. He ſtood next the Queen, when ſhe received the Compliments of her People on this Occaſion; and ſhe took Opportunity in their Sight, to converſe with him familiarly, and with an Air of Serioufneſs: as ſhe continued ſpeaking, ſhe took a Ring from her Finger, and put it upon the Duke of *Anjou*'s; and ſhe at that Time broke off the Diſcourſe with all the Appearance of a perfect Satisfaction.

This took the Effect the Queen intended: It was ſuppoſed a ſolemn Promiſe made on that publick Occaſion; and confirmed by the Ring. Her own People, nay, her neareſt Favourites believed it: News went to the *Low Countries*, and a ſpecial Meſſenger diſpatched with the Intelligence to the *French* Court.

The Duke of *Anjou* doubted nothing of it; and if he had, he would have been ſoon confirmed in the Opinion.

A Poet more bold than wiſe, wrote an indecent Satire on the Marriage: The Queen was offended at the Manner in which her Name was treated in it, and ſhe devoted the Author to Puniſhment.

She had the Addreſs, to throw the true Cauſe of her Reſentment from herſelf upon the Marriage. The Author loſt his Hand; and all ſuppoſed the Queen's Reſentment proceeded, from her being fixed upon the Match.

One great Point at which *France* aimed in this Alliance, was, the Support of the fainting *Roman Catholick* Religion; and they doubted not, to reſtore it wholly in *England*.

The ſigning the Marriage Articles, brought over Legions of *Romiſh* Prieſts, to whom the Duke of *Anjou*, unwiſely, gave an open Protection.

The Puniſhment of the Satyriſt, made many more who had lurked unknown in *England*, diſcloſe themſelves. The *Roman Catholicks* in general became bold; and threatened what ſhould be in a few Years the Condition of their Enemies.

Elizabeth rejoiced at this; ſhe never thought of keeping the Articles ſhe had ſign'd; and the fooliſh and forward Zeal of theſe People, gave her a noble Cauſe for breaking them.

This, which was her deſtin'd Purpoſe, ſhe put in Execution artfully. She made it the Act of the Duke of *Anjou* to break off; and ſhe even contrived, that her People, not herſelf, ſhould give him the Occaſion.

She repreſented to her Miniſters, the threatning Aſpect Things wore at preſent to the Proteſtant Religion: The Number of *Papiſts* newly come into the Kingdom; and, the greater Number of conceal'd ones, who had diſcloſed themſelves: She repreſented the Duke of *Anjou*, whom ſhe declared her Conſcience made her hate for it, as the Patron of the *Roman Catholicks* in *England*; and ſhe gave them her own Caution; ſhe inſtructed them to take Care of their Country and their Religion; and not to level what they ſhould find proper to do againſt any particular Perſon.

They found with Joy, ſhe was averſe to the Marriage; and they now underſtood all her Conduct. A Parliament aſſembled in 1582, in which the firſt Regard was ſhewn to Religion; and there were Laws more ſevere than any of a preceding Date paſſed againſt the *Roman Catholicks*.

This rouſed the Duke of *Anjou*; and he had ſoon Cauſe to be more alarmed.

The Miniſters of the Queen declared their Diſapprobation of the Marriage; and the principal Ladies of the Court entreated her with Tears, to think no more of it.

All theſe were Springs moved by her own Will: ſhe had directed all ſhe ſeemed to ſuffer ſo unwillingly; and at length, wearied out with the Sollicitations ſhe had ordered to be made, ſhe had a private Audience with her propoſed Huſband.

What paſſed at this Interview, can only be known by the Conſequences. The Duke, as ſoon as ſhe was gone, threw away the Ring ſhe had put upon his Finger; and exclaimed againſt the Inconſtancy of Women.

Elizabeth had her Spies to inform her of what paſſed; and ſhe knew how to make her Uſe of every Thing.

She cauſed thoſe ſhe could truſt to repreſent to the Duke, how ill a Life he and his Followers would lead in *England*, when theſe Laws againſt the *Roman Catholicks* were paſſed; and at the ſame Time ſhe excus'd herſelf the beſt ſhe could.

She wearied him thus into a thorough Inclination to be gone; and ſhe then parted with him handſomely.

She continued to the laſt, the Farce of liking a Man ſhe deſpiſed, and hated: ſhe ſpoke with a ſeeming Concern of the Obſtinacy of her People; and ſhe diſmiſſed him with a large Sum of Money to ſupport his Cauſe, where he was going.

CHAP. LXXVII.

The Naval Exploits of the Engliſh *at this Period.*

WHILE the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Ormond*, were cruſhing the Enemies of their Country at Land, in that Attempt we have mentioned as made upon *Ireland* by the Pope and the King of *Spain*; the Sea was not without its Glory from the Enterprize.

Three *Spaniſh* Veſſels had brought over the Troops; and hearing of no *Engliſh* Ships in thoſe Seas, they rode at Anchor at St. *Mary Ulrick* in *Kerry*; braving the Coaſt.

In one Reſpect their Intelligence had failed them, for there lay at ſome little Diſtance, an *Engliſh* Frigate of no great Force indeed; but under the Conduct of one, whoſe Name deſerves for this Service, Immortality.

'Twas *Courtney*. He ſaw the Veſſels in which he lay, ſmall, and not well provided, he thought 'twas poſſible he might ſucceed in an Attack upon the Enemy's three Ships; and what was poſſible to effect, he dar'd to attempt.

He knew Surprize muſt give him the Succeſs; for that if they had Time for Preparation, 'twas impracticable.

He told his People the Deſign, and he ſet ſail at Sun-ſet.

He never doubted but 'twas to ſhore they would run, upon Notice of an Enemy; and he was reſolved to give them only Sea-room, where he could follow them.

He got within their neareſt Ship, and before the People on board could well gueſs what was doing; the *Engliſh* were upon their Deck, with this Leader, Sword in Hand at their Head.

Some were puſhed overboard, and ſome fell by the Cutlaſhes of the *Engliſh* Sailors. But as ſoon as Reſiſtance ceaſed, there was End of Bloodſhed; the Remainder of the People were locked under Hatches; a few of the *Engliſh* were left to guard the Prize; and their gallant Leader boarded with the Remainder the ſecond Veſſel.

The Conflict in the firſt could not have paſſed unobſerved by thoſe of the next Veſſel. The Deck of this was manned, and the Boarding diſputed boldly.

On the firſt Attempt, the *Engliſh* were driven back, and *Courtney* received a Wound in the Shoulder; but he deſpiſing Pain or Danger, led them to a ſecond Onſet; in which he carried his Point.

The third Ship of the Enemy, ſurrendered at Diſcretion.

Courtney diſtributed the Men among them, and Day now breaking, carried them all off.

It happened the *Spaniards* had no Opportunity of retreating; but if they had been more fortunate in that Reſpect, there were now no Veſſels to carry them back.

Courtney was honoured by the Queen, who never failed to diſtinguiſh Merit, or to reward it: And from him have deſcended a Race of Soldiers, not extinct at this Time.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

Of the Improvements of the Engliſh *Commerce.*

THE Merchants of *England*, a Body of Men rich and enterprizing, now conſulted every Means of extending the Trade and Commerce of their Country.

The *Turks* were a People, among whom a very advantageous Traffick was carried on by other *European* Nations; but our People were Strangers there.

The *Venetians* firſt, and afterwards the *French*, had obtained Permiſſion to Traffick; and 'twas with an Eye of Envy, our People ſaw them in Poſſeſſion of an Advantage, which only Chance, or an earlier Application had given them.

They went in a Body to the Queen, and ſhe received them honourably.

They repreſented to her, that many of the Products of the *Turkiſh* Dominions were in familiar Uſe in *England*; and that her Subjects wanting the Advantage of that Trade, paid for them after an exorbitant Rate; being obliged to purchaſe them at the ſecond Hand, from the *French* or *Venetians*.

The Queen gave them her immediate Protection; and they choſe a Perſon of Knowledge and Addreſs, from among their Body, Mr. *William Harbourn*, to negotiate the Buſineſs.

He entered on the Matter under the Royal Authority, and by Commiſſion from the principal of the *Engliſh* Merchants; and he ſucceeded very happily; he found nothing had been denyed the *Engliſh*, for that they had aſked nothing.

Muſtapha Beg, a Baſhaw in Confidence with the Emperor *Amurath*, repreſented the Propoſal favourably to him; laid before him the Preſents of the Merchants, and diſplaying in juſt Colours, the *Engliſh* Skill in Commerce, and their Wealth and Strength; he obtained for them the full Privilege of Trade enjoyed by others.

The Merchants who had attended the Queen on this Occaſion, and thoſe concerned with them, immediately formed themſelves under the Royal

Sanction, into a Body, for carrying on this Trade.

Thus roſe the *Engliſh Turkey* Company; trading to *Conſtantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Aleppo*, *Scio*, *Angori*, *Petrazzo*, *Alexandria*, *Ægypt* and *Cyprus*.

The ſame Year, 1579, the Fiſhing on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, was undertaken by a private Perſon; ſingly upon his own Foundation. His Name was *Cotton*, a Merchant of *Southampton*.

What he had heard; what he had read; and what he had known; for earlier in Life, himſelf had been upon the Scheme of Enterprize; perſuaded him of the Advantage that muſt attend ſuch a Branch of Commerce.

He fitted out a Veſſel at his own Expence; gave the Command of her to Captain *Whitburn*, and offered ſo good Encouragement to the Men that there was ſoon the Complement.

They ſail'd too late. The Cold appeared to his People inſupportable; and he was obliged by their mutinous Remonſtrances to put into *Trinity* Harbour.

There was nothing the Commander in this Expedition could have undertaken, that he would not have attempted, but he could not get over the unconquerable Unwillingneſs of his Men.

Having put into this Harbour, and involuntarily given up the firſt Intent of the Voyage; the next Thought was to make the beſt of it ſome other Way.

In this he was indefatigable: he kept his People conſtantly to Fiſhing and Hunting there; and he contrived to make no very bad Return to his Owner: Carrying home ſome Fiſh; and a great Quantity of valuable Furs.

Thus failed the purpoſed Expedition on the Bank; and this very unlucky Effect there followed from the Scheme, thus prevented of its Execution, that others were deterred from undertaking it.

CHAP. LXXIX.

The firſt Attempts to find a North-Eaſt *Paſſage.*

THREE expenſive and unſucceſsful Attempts, in which ſo good a Sailor had engaged himſelf as *Forbiſher*, had quenched all Expectation of a *North-Weſt* Paſſage; but ſtill there remained the Poſſibility of one by the *North-Eaſt*; and this the *Ruſſia* Company determined, in the Year 1580 to attempt.

They fitted out two Veſſels for the Expedition, and gave Command of them to two experienced Seamen, their Names *Jackman* and *Pet*.

Their Inſtructions were to ſeek a North-Eaſt Paſſage to *China*; and the particular Directions they received concerning their Conduct, were to ſeek it beyond *Weygatz*, through the Northern Sea.

The two Veſſels allotted for the Enterprize, were the *George* of forty Tuns, given to the Command of Captain *Pet*; and the *William* of twenty, to Captain *Jackman*.

The Company in each was ſmall, for they had neither Arms nor Merchandize to manage; their whole Buſineſs being Diſcovery: but the few there were, were picked and ſelected Men; and they had every Conveniency and Advantage for the Voyage, that they could deſire.

On the Thirtieth of *May* 1580, they ſet ſail from *Harwich*; and in two and Twenty Days made the North Cape of *Norway*.

Next Day they came to *Wardhouſe*; and there according to their Inſtructions, took in freſh Proviſions, and ſtaid till the firſt Day of *July*.

Their next Deſtination was the Bay of *Pechora*; but they did not proceed far together. *Jackman* found his Veſſel foul and faulty, and leaving Captain *Pet*, to purſue that Courſe alone, he ſought ſome proper Harbour to refit.

Toward the Middle of *July*, *Pet* made the Coaſt of *Nova Zembla*, which even at that Seaſon he found buried with Snow, and walled with Ice.

He had been told, what he was to expect here, by thoſe whom the Company had engaged to draw the Plan of the Voyage; and by their Inſtructions, and his own Knowledge and good Conduct, he made his Way among Mountains of frozen Snow, and floating Rocks of Ice, without going too far from the Shore.

By this Conduct and Perſeverance, he arrived at length at the Streight of *Weygats*, the Scene of his great Enterprize.

He drew as cloſe in, as he could ſafely bring the Veſſel, and got to two Fathom and a half of Water.

The Ship being able to go no further with Safety, he diſpatched his Boat with Orders to ſound.

The Return of this Party, brought an abſolute Contradiction to all further Undertaking there. They found there was not Water enough for the Boat.

They were obliged to return the ſame Way they had gone.

On the twenty-ſecond of *July*, want of Water drove them to an unknown Iſland. They landed, and found both that and Wood; with many other Conveniencies in great Abundance.

The Captain who was firſt on Shore on this Occaſion, was aſtoniſhed at the Sight of a Croſs of Stone, erected in a moſt conſpicuous Part of the Iſland. How, what, or whom, none could conjecture; for there was no Inſcription.

Inhabitants they ſaw none; but if they had 'twas not to be ſuppoſed they were Chriſtians: It was a Proof only that ſome *European* Veſſel had touched there before them.

Enquiring farther, they diſcovered the Bones of one there buried. The Croſs was ſet up at his

Feet, the Mark of the Skeleton had belonged to a Chriſtian.

Captain *Pet*, whoſe Uneaſineſs was very great on Account of the Loſs of the other Veſſel, thinking it might touch there, carved upon the Stone his Name, and the Day when he arrived, and thus left the Iſland.

The Precaution was unneceſſary, for two Days after they had again Sight of the *William*. All were rejoiced that they ſhould meet the Partners of their Voyage, but 'twas yet no more than a Sight they had of them, for Ice in Iſlands parted them. 'Twas not till the next Day they could get together, and the Captain then found it had not been without Cauſe his Companion in the Service left him to refit. It was now ſcarce poſſible the Ship he commanded ſhould live upon the Sea.

Captain *Pet* gave them all the Aſſiſtance in his Power, and having mended what was worſt about her, they on the twenty-ſixth ſet ſail again, ſteering their Courſe Northward, and the Wind at Weſt North-weſt, endeavouring to find that Way ſome clear Paſſage for the Eaſtward.

They were not without ſome faint Hope of this when they ſet ſail; but it ſoon vaniſhed. The farther they advanced, the more impracticable they found the Voyage; Ice piled on Ice obſtructed them: after great Endeavours they deſpair'd of Succeſs, and determin'd to give up the Enterpriſe, and to return to *Weygatz*.

Ice in vaſt Piles, and Hills obſtructed now their Paſſage back; they labour'd, but to little Purpoſe: they could make very ſlow Way; and they almoſt deſpair'd.

At length, on the Sixteenth of *Auguſt*, they found they were near *Weygatz*, and ſaw themſelves between the Ice and the Shore.

Bent to endeavour their utmoſt to accompliſh the Purpoſe of their Voyage, they now made a further Attempt to find a Paſſage; but which ever Way they would have proceeded, Ice obſtructed their Paſſage.

They ſaw themſelves able to make ſcarce any Way now; and threaten'd every Hour by Mountains of Ice enough to overwhelm them: the Seaſon approach'd for more deſperate, not more favourable Weather, and they at laſt determin'd there was no farther Hope this Voyage; and that their whole Care ſhould be to ſave the Veſſels and the Men by a ſpeedy Return.

This was not now to be done without Difficulty: the Ships were both endanger'd by the Ice, and more than once aground; but they by good Conduct got off again.

Toward the End of *Auguſt* the ſmaller Veſſel again ſeparated from Captain *Pet*, who purſuing his Courſe homeward with his beſt Diligence, doubled on the Firſt of *September* the Cape of *Norway*; and after much Danger afterward by Storms, arrived on *Chriſtmas-Day* at the Mouth of the *Thames*.

The *William*, having repaired as well as might be done her Damages, winter'd in *Norway*; and the next Spring ſet ſail with a *Daniſh* Veſſel for *Ireland*.

She was too much ſhatter'd now to bear the Sea; and ſhe founder'd in her Paſſage. The Captain and every Creature on board periſhed.

Thus finiſh'd this unfortunate Voyage of Diſcovery: the People who had commiſſion'd the Veſſels ſtill entertain'd the Hope of Succeſs; but they for many Years found none deſperate enough to expoſe themſelves to ſuch accumulated Dangers.

The great Attention of the mercantile People was now upon the *Turkey* Company: they manag'd ſo well by their Application at home, and by their Agents in the Eaſt, that they obtain'd very advantageous Terms from the Porte, and a very extenſive Authority from their Sovereign.

On this Foundation many Ships were fitted out for the *Levant*; and many ſucceſsful Voyages made the two ſucceeding Years.

The Advantages of theſe encouraged the Proprietors the third to double the Number of the Ships they ſent; and they ſo well underſtood the Commerce of that Part of the World, that thoſe Nations who had before poſſeſſed the Trade alone, look'd on them with Envy.

CHAP. LXXX.

An Expedition under the Royal Authority.

SIR *Francis Drake* had opened the Way to the *Engliſh* into the *South Sea*; and ſhew'd the Advantages of the Expedition: there did not appear however any private Perſon who had Courage enough to undertake ſuch another Voyage. The Government became intereſted in the Cauſe: the Queen had Reaſon to be diſſatisfied with *Spain*; and ſhe had learn'd from *Drake* how eaſy and how profitable a Revenge might be taken on that Side of the Globe.

She communicated her Provocations to the Council, and with them her Deſigns of Revenge: they approved every Thing ſhe propoſed upon the Occaſion; and with their perfect Concurrence ſhe ſent two Ships of Force, deſtin'd, as was given out for *China*; but truly intended to annoy the *Spaniards* there.

Two other Ships were added to the Squadron ſome little Time after; and Mr. *Edward Fenton* was appointed Admiral.

He had his private Inſtructions; not private becauſe thoſe who gave them were aſham'd they ſhould be known, but becauſe it was not prudent the Enemy ſhould know them; and he ſet ſail from *England* in the Month of *May* 1582, with a large Complement of Men; and thoſe full of that Spirit, which has its Birth from Hope and Courage.

The Admiral Ship was the *Leiceſter*, a Galleon of four hundred Tons. The Vice Admiral was the *Edward Bonaventure*, commanded by Captain *Ward*: of the two Ships joined to them, the *Elizabeth* of fifty Ton, was commanded by Captain *Skevington*; and *John Drake*, Brother to the great Sir *Francis*, followed in a Veſſel of forty, nam'd in honour of his Brother the *Francis*.

Before *Fenton* ſail'd, he receiv'd Inſtructions from the Lords of the Council, which for their Spirit, deſerved to be a Pattern to all ſucceeding Expeditions.

The Number of Men he was order'd to take in the whole was two Hundred, including all Capacities; and among theſe were eight Perſons of Experience and Knowledge, to whom, as to a Council, he was to communicate all his Purpoſes, and whoſe Advice he was directed to regard.

Strict Orders of good Management were laid down at large in his Inſtructions, and they were equally expreſs againſt idly waſting the publick Stock, and againſt all illicit Trading to the Prejudice of the Expedition.

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CHAP. LXXXI.

The Courſe and Deſtination of the Voyage.

THE little Fleet went out well ſupply'd, and under ſo good Regulation, that nothing happen'd amiſs in their Courſe to *Africa*; where they arrived on the Tenth of *Auguſt*, anchoring off *Sierra Leona*.

The *Portugueſe* ſhew'd a Reluctance to enter upon any Intercourſe with them; but 'twas eſſential to the *Engliſh* that they ſhould. The Commander in Chief found it would be very needful to lay in Proviſions; and he propoſed purchaſing ſuch there as the Country afforded.

The *Portugueſe* ſaw the Neceſſity of the *Engliſh*, and made all Advantage of it: they talk'd of Rice: which yet they ſaid they could very ill ſpare; and when Captain *Fenton* preſs'd it, they refuſed all Purchaſe, except he would give one of the Veſſels.

This was an unexpected Stroke! The Proviſions were neceſſary; the very Being of their Expedition depended upon them; for in Spite of all the Care taken in *England*, the Flour they had brought from thence had prov'd bad, and was now quite decay'd.

The Commander took the Opinion of his Council; and came to a Reſolution of parting with their weak Ship, which was the *Elizabeth*.

The Quantity of Rice the *Portugueſe* propoſed to ſupply was very conſiderable, but not at all equivalent to the Value of the Veſſel.

The Affair was ſet upon an equitable Footing; the Ship was fairly eſtimated with all her Tackle; the *Portugueſe* agreed to the Value, and they furniſhed ſixteen hundred Buſhels of Rice, and made up the Amount of the Sum in Ivory, and ſome freſh Proviſions, and other Articles which the *Engliſh* wanted.

The Fleet thus reduced to three Ships, remained upon the Coaſt of *Africa* two Months, trading for what could be there obtained of Value, and now they were in leſs Neceſſity, upon better Terms: about the Middle of *October* they ſailed for the Coaſt of *Brazil*.

On the Firſt of *December*, after a very ſucceſsful Voyage, they ſaw the Country of their Deſtination; and anchored in twenty-eight Degrees Latitude, in a fine Bay.

The Shore was uninhabited, and they ſought in vain for Springs or Rivers. Their Induſtry was ſet to work to ſupply what they did not find above Ground; and while a Number were ſinking Wells, more employ'd themſelves in Fiſhing, and found very great Succeſs.

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CHAP. LXXXII.

The Reſolution of the Engliſh *againſt all Diſadvantages.*

THE *Spaniards* had at this Time ſo ſuſpicious an Opinion of the *Engliſh*, that the Deſtination of no Fleet eſcaped them: nor this ſmall Squadron could be diſpatched without their Knowledge; nor did the Pretence of a Voyage to *China* deceive them.

However they got their Intelligence, they had it. They knew the real Purpoſe was to the *South Sea*; and as they knew the Force, they diſpatched a greater to prevent them.

They had failed in way-laying Sir *Francis Drake* at his Return, becauſe he took another Courſe; but they had now Intelligence and Strength, and they commiſſioned a Squadron under Don *Diego Flores de Valdes* to the Streights of *Magellan*, to wait the *Engliſh*, with Orders to treat them as Pirates, to deſtroy or take the Ships, and to ſpare none of the People; thoſe who eſcaped the Sword, were deſtin'd to the Halter.

England received the News of this, and wiſh'd, though in vain, to communicate it to the little Fleet thus deſtin'd a Sacrifice. No Opportunity of that Advantage could be expected; and they were ſuppoſed devoted to Deſtruction.

While all Hearts were ſad for them at Home, they were thus employ'd in Hunting, Fiſhing, and other needful Buſineſſes on the Coaſt of *Braſil*: and when they had lain there about a Week, they diſcover'd a Sail bearing to the Southwards.

Drake, in the *Francis*, was ordered to give her Chace; and he took her at a few Leagues Diſtance.

The Prize was of little Value: Ginger and Sugar were her Freight; but her principal Buſineſs was the carrying Paſſengers. Among theſe one was an *Engliſhman*, his Name *Richard Carter*: he had been four and twenty Years in *Braſil*, and was then ſettled at the Town *Aſcenſion*, three hundred Leagues up the River *Plate*; to which Place the Veſſel was bound.

Intelligence was what they wanted; and this they obtain'd partly by the Confeſſion of the People, and partly by what they found on board the Ship. They learn'd the Force and Purpoſe of *De Valdes*'s Squadron: it was about twice the Strength of their own, and they found out where it lay.

Fenton upon the full Intelligence talked with his People: he laid all fairly before them; and addreſſing himſelf firſt to Captain *John Drake*; now Sir, ſaid he, What do you think your Brother would have done? — He would have kept his Courſe, and fought them, anſwer'd *Drake*. — Sir, reply'd Captain *Fenton*, you ſpeak like his Brother: without Offence to his honourable Name, what he dar'd to have done, I dare: and I hope there is not an *Engliſhman* here but will agree with me.

To the Honour of the *Engliſh* Name, not one was backward. Here was no Regard ſhewn to great Superiority: the *Engliſh* knew their Duty, and they deſpiſed all Danger that might attend it. Oh *Britain!* —— but we will not now look into later Times.

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CHAP. LXXXIII.

Fenton *purſues his Voyage.*

THE Force of the *Spaniards* the *Engliſh* now knew: their Purpoſe was diſclos'd, and their Place of Deſtination. It was ſeven Weeks ſince they had left *Rio de Janeiro*; and 'twas ſuppoſed they were now at the Streights.

The *Engliſh* ſailed for the Place, determined to water, and to paſs.

They departed on the Twelfth of *December* from the Coaſt of *Braſil*; and for about a Week purſued their Courſe: but at the End of that Time, one of the Council grew uneaſy; whether Prudence operated with him, or whether it were Fear, is not eaſy to ſay; but he communicated his Opinion to the reſt.

The Captain was under Orders to pay a Regard to their Opinions; and by the Intereſt of one Man, the Voice of the whole was ſo far ſway'd, that the Courſe on the Twentieth of *December* was alter'd. Inſtead of proceeding to the Streight, they went to the Coaſt again to victual, and the Choice was of two Places, the River *Plate* or *St. Vincent*.

The long exil'd *Engliſhman*, whom they had taken on board, could beſt inform them of the State of the River, and the adjacent Country; and he anſwer'd to their Queſtions with the moſt perfect Integrity.

Proviſions he told them were abundant, but they would at this Seaſon find no Wine there; he added, that the River was ſhallow and dangerous; and the Road ſeven Leagues from any Town.

Theſe Conſiderations made them reſolve againſt the River *Plate*, and they determined upon *St. Vincent* as the Place of ſupplying their Stores: this they did more readily, becauſe it was inhabited not by *Spaniards* but *Portugueſe*.

The Sailors were diſſatisfy'd with this Conduct; of which they did not accuſe their Commander, but his Council: and *Drake*, the Brother in all Senſes of his renowned Patron, underſtanding his Commiſſion, ventur'd to break his Orders: he ſailed for the River *Plate*, reſolved to do what his Sovereign intended, tho' againſt the Cabals of the Council.

The River *Plate* was his firſt Deſtination; and as ill Fortune would have it, the End of his Expedition: he had not believed the Dangers the *Engliſhman* told him there were there from Shoals, and he loſt his Veſſel.

Not a Man of his Crew periſh'd in the Wreck. He provided ſo well for their getting to ſhore, that they all reach'd it; and eſcaping the Danger of the Sea, they found themſelves upon a Coaſt where there were only Savages.

The Place where they had loſt the Veſſel was very remote from any of the *Spaniſh* Settlements; and all Things appeared as in the State of Nature.

Drake, who partook of his Brother's Prudence as well as Courage, made himſelf acquainted with theſe People; and fell into ſuch an Intercourſe and Friendſhip with them, as might beſt alleviate the diſmal Apprehenſions that were before his People.

The two other Veſſels purſued their now intended Courſe, and on the Seventeenth of *January* (for the Year 1583 began upon them far at Sea) arrived upon the Coaſt of an unknown Iſland.

A Falcon was purſuing ſome large Bird of the Country as they made to Land; and from this Incident they nam'd it *Falcon* Iſland.

They landed, but they found nothing of what they wanted. 'Twas deſart: covered with impenetrable Foreſts, and without the Footſteps of Inhabitants, or the Appearance of any Refreſhment.

They left this fruitleſs Country, and in four Days more made *Citron* Iſle.

Here they were rejoic'd with Water; and while they were furniſhing themſelves with it, vaſt Flights of wild Fowl paſſed over their Heads. The People were ſoon employ'd in killing theſe, and the Plenty was ſo great, and the Kind ſo excellent, that 'twas a full and moſt valuable Refreſhment.

After paſſing two Days on this Spot, they went for *Saint Vincent*; and arrived there on the Twenty-ſecond in the Morning. The Day was pleaſant, and the Proſpect moſt agreeable. The Commander order'd his Pinnace on ſhore; and as they went forward, three large Parties of *Portugueſe* and *Indians* appeared in ſmall Veſſels.

Captain *Fenton* knew of how much Importance the firſt Tranſaction was in this Place; and he did not chuſe to truſt any Body's Prudence but his own. He order'd back the Pinnace, and ſtood to ſee what the *Portugueſe* meant.

They immediately put up a Flag of Truce; and upon the Commander's Deſire, approach'd his Veſſel. He commiſſion'd them with a Letter to the Governor of *St. Vincent*, telling him who they were, what brought them thither, and deſiring to be received as Friends: he requeſted Liberty of Trading, and a Pilot to bring in the Veſſel.

The Governor anſwer'd in every Thing as they could have wiſhed: he took them to Anchor within the Bar; and offered them all they wanted.

But though the Subſtance of what he wrote was good, the Form did not give Satisfaction. The *Portugueſe* were reſerved; and the *Engliſh* were ſuſpicious. Theſe were Tempers, in which it was not eaſy to fall into a perfect Accommodation; and for four Days they hung uncertain, not perfect Friends with all their Profeſſions, nor Enemies notwithſtanding their Fears and Doubts of one another.

In the Night of the Seven and twentieth, a Stranger demanded an Audience of the Commander of the *Engliſh* Veſſels: he had ſwam to the Ship by Moon-light; and wet as he ſtood, deſired without Delay to be admitted.

Captain *Fenton*, who was full of Suſpicion, ſuppoſed this an Aſſaſſin. He order'd ten of his People arm'd into the Cabin, and then gave the Stranger hearing.

As ſoon as he enter'd he fell upon his Knees, and with Tears of Concern, Hurry and Diſturbance, burſt forth: I am an *Engliſhman!* — he pauſed: but the Words pronounced in the Language of the Country he claim'd, without foreign Accent, declar'd for him. They took him up: the Captain was eas'd of his Suſpicions, and he proceeded — I have come to you, at the Hazard of my Life, and I muſt never return: — the Governor is treacherous — he is fortifying the Place, and the *Portugueſe* are ſending their Wives and Children away: — you have no Time. Either get off, or attack the Town this Night, before they are more prepar'd for their Defence.

Captain *Fenton* thank'd the Man; and told him, the Queen of *England* would alſo thank him. He order'd Care to be taken of him; and calling together his Council, of whom there never was more Need, repreſented to them the Intelligence he had obtained, told them how well it agreed with his own Opinions and Suſpicions; and demanded what they thought beſt to be done.

Theſe were cold Councellors; they had not the Wiſdom or the Spirit of the *Engliſh* Sailor, who adviſed them to be gone at once, or elſe to attack the Place, palpably reſolved to deſtroy them. Their Opinion was, to ſtand prepar'd againſt all Accidents, and in that Condition to wait the Event; at leaſt to wait a better Proof of what they had too readily believ'd upon the Credit of a ſingle Teſtimony.

The Commander conſented: the Veſſels were put in Order, and a good Watch kept.

That Night nothing appear'd; nor the ſucceeding Morning: and the Account they had received loſt now ſome Credit.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

An Engagement with ſome Spaniſh *Veſſels.*

IN the Afternoon of the Twenty-ſeventh, the Man in the Maſt-head of the Admiral's Ship diſcover'd firſt two, and ſoon after a third Sail. He gave his Notice; and as they approach'd, 'twas found they were *Spaniſh*; Ships of Force, and bearing down directly to the Bar.

Captain *Fenton* fear'd he was betray'd to the *Spaniards*; and that theſe Veſſels were ſent to deſtroy him. He got all ready, and he kept his Station.

The *Spaniards*, when they came, anchor'd at the Bar, and made ready for an Engagement. Boats went between Ship and Ship every Moment; the Guns were got in Order, the Men muſter'd on the Decks, and every Preparation made for a concerted Attack.

Fenton encouraged his Sailors, and bade them be as diligent as the Enemy; he knew, he told them, that they were more brave. He reminded them of their voluntary Offer, nay their Deſire, to fight the Squadron of *De Valdez*, double their own in Force as well as Number: and he told them, theſe were perhaps no more than equal;

three to two, but ſcarce ſuperior in real Strength, and far below them in Courage.

The Men ſhouted their Applauſe; and terrified the *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards* both. They were eager to engage; but the Commander told them they would have great Advantage in letting the Enemy begin the Attack. He order'd a careful Watch, and thus waited their Motions.

At Evening, the *Spaniards* placed their Watch with Muſick, and a Diſcharge of a ſingle Cannon. *Fenton* ſet his, and gave a whole Broadſide. The Shore eccho'd and the Enemy's People on each Part trembled.

Thus ſtood the two Parties at Evening.

The Moon ſupply'd the Place of Day-light, and the Sea was moderately calm. Every Thing was ſtill Midnight; when the Enemy, ſlipping their Cables, came down upon our People with their Boats full of Men, determined upon boarding us.

Captain *Fenton* himſelf ſtood foremoſt on the Deck of the Admiral Ship, when all was in perfect Readineſs for the Engagement; and, as they advanced, he hail'd them.

The *Spaniards*, deſperate and determin'd in their Purpoſe, return'd no Anſwer, but came on with their beſt Haſte. The Admiral diſcharged a full Volley at them, and doubtleſs deſtroy'd many: but this, no more than his Words, diſconcerted them: they came on as if nothing had happen'd; and Captain *Fenton*, to take an Advantage, ſlip'd a Cable, and avoided them.

They did not follow him, but kept on their Courſe to the other Veſſel, commanded by Captain *Ward*: the Vice-Admiral driving athwart his Hawſer, he ſlip'd an Anchor to avoid the Galleon.

The *Spaniards* thought the *Engliſh* fled, when they took this Advantage; but they ſoon ſaw their Error: they put themſelves in the beſt Poſture, and the Fire from their Cannon and ſmall Arms was inceſſant.

There has not been an Account of any Engagement in which the *Spaniards* behav'd with more Courage. They ſo early began to fight us with our own People: an *Iriſhman* was ſecond in Command in this Expedition.

Thus laſted the Fire three Hours; the Moon, calm Spectatreſs, affording her full Beams to light them to Deſtruction. At Four in the Morning Clouds appear'd, the Sky was darken'd, and Rain fell in Torrents.

Darkneſs parted the Combatants; and the firſt Sight Day-light diſcover'd was the ſecond Ship of the Enemy, the Vice-Admiral, who had been cloſe engag'd all Night with Captain *Ward*, ſinking. The few Men who had eſcaped, hung upon the Shrouds, and they were taken in by the other Veſſels. It was yet equal with them againſt the *Engliſh*; and they renewed the Action.

The Fire was deſperate from Day-light till Two in the Afternoon, when after a great Loſs on both Sides, our People finding themſelves ſhatter'd, and a great Part of their Men loſt, ſtood out to Sea.

The *Spaniards*, tho' left Maſters of the Place, were too much hurt to follow: they ſaw our Veſſels out, and then went up the River.

Captain *Fenton*, when he was out of Shot, call'd in Captain *Ward*, and taking the Advice of his Council, gave Orders for Repairing, in the beſt Manner that could be done, the two Veſſels.

"They ſhall not, ſaid he, have the Glory to
"boaſt they drove us away Fugitive: their
"Loſs is as much greater than ours, as is their
"Force; and tho' I do not think it adviſeable
"to attack them again, here they ſhall find us,
"if they chuſe it, to Morrow."

The Day and Night were ſpent in this needful Buſineſs; and in the Morning the two *Spaniſh* Veſſels, far from any Preparation to renew the Attack, were ſeen far up the River. The Engagement had been a very bloody one; and 'twas not the Choice of either Part to come in Reach again.

Captain *Fenton* was however determin'd not to avoid it; nor ſuffer any Diſadvantage from the Fear of them. He ſent at Noon his Boats and Pinnaces up the River, to weigh the Anchors and Cables they had ſlip'd, and ſtood prepar'd, if the Enemy attack'd them, to come in with all his Force.

The *Spaniards* were on ſhore burying their Dead far up the River, and they look'd on peaceably at what the *Engliſh* were doing. They recover'd their Anchors, and they got ready for Sailing.

CHAP. LXXXV.

The End of Fenton's *Expedition.*

ILL Accidents and confuſed Advice had deſtin'd this Expedition to be unſucceſsful. Nothing was yet done of all that had been propoſed; and now nothing could be: a Storm which burſt out in the ſucceeding Night, ſeparated the two Ships; and the Admiral was no more heard of: his Veſſel periſh'd.

Captain *Ward*, now left alone, ſhatter'd in his Hull and Rigging, ill repair'd of his worſt Damages, and with but half his proper Complement of Men, could with Prudence think of nothing but returning home.

He arriv'd in *England* on the laſt of *May* 1583, with a miſerable Account of the Loſs of the other Veſſels. He had behav'd well in the Action; but there is ſomething hurts his Credit in the Account of it: he ſaw the People and the Government thoroughly diſſatisfied at ſo bad an

End of ſo promiſing an Expedition; and he attempted to throw too much Blame upon the Dead.

Captain *Fenton* does not appear to have wanted either Courage or Diſcretion: his Misfortune was, to have had others in too much Power about him. The Purpoſe and Deſign of this was right, but who can know the Heart; and tell what Man has, or who has not Courage. It appears to have been Fear that inſpir'd the Oppoſition to his Purpoſe of ſailing at once for the Streights of *Magellan*; and it in this Caſe took an Effect which follows it not uncommonly; betraying thoſe who had been influenced by it into a Danger much greater than that they ſhun'd.

The Reader will not be content to loſe a Brother of the great *Drake*, without ſome farther Enquiry: the *Engliſh* Authors give no more Account of him; except ſuch as had read the *Portugueſe*; and theſe imperfectly.

Eighteen of his Men made the Shore with him when they were caſt away upon the Rocks in the *Plate* River: of theſe the greater Part periſh'd among the Savage People of the Place, which was what we now call *Seal* Iſland.

Drake with three others, after fifteen Months remaining there, croſs'd the River in a Canoe, and came among the *Spaniards*, preferring the worſt that could happen from a Chriſtian People, to the miſerable Condition they were there reduced to, herding with Savages, and hopeleſs of Eſcape.

The firſt who met them gave them Food; and interfering no farther, directed them to the Captain or Commandant of the Place. The Name of *Drake* ſtruck the *Spaniard* with Reverence: he treated the reſt kindly, but him with Honour, making him eat at his own Table.

It was the Deſire of *Drake* to be ſent into *Europe*, and the *Spaniard* readily conſented to it: a Priſoner to *Spain* was the only Condition in which he could expect to go; but he made no Doubt his Brother's Intereſt would procure his Liberty.

Probably this would have been the Event: but while the Matter was tranſacting, the Viceroy of *Peru* heard of the Priſoners, and ſent for them. His Order could not be reſiſted.

Drake found in him a Temper very different from what he had experienced in the other: he upbraided and inſulted him; and order'd him a Slave into the Mines, whence he never return'd to Day-light.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

The firſt Deſign of an Eſtabliſhment on Newfoundland.

THE Spirit of Enterprize was too much alive in the *Engliſh* at this Period, for one ill Chance to damp it.

The Queen, who declar'd herſelf Patron of Commerce, and who though a Queen was all ſhe declar'd herſelf on theſe Occaſions, was eaſy of Acceſs to all who ſought to promote its Intereſt and extend its Compaſs.

Among thoſe who petition'd her on this Head, in the Year of which we now write 1582, was a Seaman of great Eminence, a Man of Family and Fortune, Sir *Humphry Gilbert*.

Cabot had near a hundred Years before diſcover'd *Newfoundland*. The Fiſhery upon its great Bank was a Thing of which all ſpoke, and which, as we have ſhewn in a preceding Chapter, had not been left unattempted.

Sir *Humphry* propoſed the bringing of it to Perfection by firſt peopling the Country. He laid before the Queen his Deſign of ſettling a Colony in that Part of *America*; and he received her Patent in very expreſs and very advantageous Terms for the accompliſhing it.

This Authority obtained from the Crown, Sir *Humphry* openly diſcloſed his Purpoſe, and laid before the Publick the Advantages naturally to be expected from it. He invited all who had Spirit, and who ſought their Country's Intereſt, to join him.

Many offer'd, indeed too many; for what we have ſeen in the Conduct of the late Voyage, deſtroy'd even the ſetting out on this.

A very large Number of Veſſels were got ready; but every Proprietor had his own Opinion; and the worſe that was founded, the more obſtinately he maintain'd it.

As many Plans of the Expedition were marked out, as there were Owners of the Veſſels; and the wiſe Sir *Humphry* ſeeing nothing could be done with them, left them, by their own Diſcords to ſtop the ſailing of their Veſſels, which they effectually did: and in the mean Time he prepared a ſecond Expedition, avoiding what had been the Deſtruction of the firſt.

He ſelected a few of his beſt Friends, who had moſt Diſcretion, and with them embark'd on board a ſmaller Fleet, but abundantly ſufficient for the intended Purpoſe.

If Misfortunes could have diſhearten'd the Proprietor in this Enterprize, it doubtleſs would have ſoon drop'd; for this firſt was a very unſucceſsful Voyage: he loſt a large Ship; and buried on the Way one of his beſt Friends, returning without any thing of that Advantage he propoſed to himſelf.

The ill Succeſs of this Expedition brought into all Men's Minds the Diſappointment of thoſe who had engaged in one we have deſcribed to the ſame Coaſt before: but while the Generality gave up the Thought, Sir *Humphry*, who made no other Uſe of Miſcarriages, but to guard againſt their

Occaſions for the future, prepared for another Attempt.

His Courage raiſed the ſame Spirit in many more: they ſaw him engaging his own Fortune to the laſt Shilling in the Cauſe; and their Opinion of his Knowledge, added to this Evidence of his Sincerity, induced them to join him.

Sir *George Peckham* led the Way; a Man of Virtue and of a popular Character; for in thoſe honeſt Times, Virtue would give Men Reputation. Many followed his Example; and Sir *Gilbert* once more found himſelf in a Condition to undertake ſo great an Enterprize in a Manner it deſerved.

Five Ships were fitted out for this Voyage; their Complement amounted to near three hundred Men; and there were among them Maſons, Smiths, Refiners, and People ſelected from all Trades that could be uſeful to the Eſtabliſhment, or to its Proprietors.

Sir *Humphry* embark'd in the principal Veſſel as Admiral, and took Mr. *Winter*, a celebrated Sailor, as his Captain: the *Raleigh* was the ſecond Veſſel, commanded by Captain *Butler*; and the three others were the *Golden Hind*, the *Swallow*, and the *Squirrel*.

The determined Method of the Voyage, ſettled between Sir *Humphry* and the joint Proprietors was this: they were to ſet out Northerly, and to follow the Trade Way to *Newfoundland*: but their Commiſſion now exceeded the firſt intended Limits.

After taking in Neceſſaries at that Part of *America*, they were to proceed Southward; and looking into every Bay and River, to ſeek for the beſt Piece of Land.

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CHAP. LXXXVII.

The Expedition of Sir Humphry Gilbert, *in Conjunction with his Friends.*

ON the Eleventh of *June*, Orders having been delivered to this Purpoſe to every Maſter of the Veſſels, and every Article of the Conduct in the Voyage ſettled, they ſailed from *Plymouth*.

There ſeem'd ill Fate to threaten alſo this Voyage, for within two Days one of their principal Ships left the reſt: it was the *Raleigh*, built at the Expence of Mr. *Walter Raleigh*, and given to the Command of Captain *Butler*.

The People of *Plymouth* were ſurprized at its Return; and the Reaſons alledg'd for it were very unſatisfactory.

A contagious Diſorder among the Men was the Pretence; but to all impartial Eyes it appear'd Deceit, or Cowardice. There were not wanting ſome, who aſſerted this to be a contrived Thing to hurt the Voyage; and the beſt Friends of the Captain attributed it to no more honourable Motive than Fear of Embarking in the Expedition.

Which ever it were, the Conſequence was nothing: the Fear did not extend itſelf among the reſt, nor the Treachery. Sir *Humphry* purſued his Courſe; and, it is ſaid, he attributed it to Cowardice.

He appointed the *Golden Hind* Vice Admiral in its Place; and purſuing the intended Courſe, got Sight of Land in fifty-one Degrees, on the Thirteenth of *July*.

From this Place he followed the Coaſt toward the South in foggy and diſagreeable Weather. In the firſt Day's ſailing they loſt Sight of another of their Veſſels, the *Swallow*. The Men ſuſpected theſe had followed the *Raleigh's* Courſe; but Sir *Humphry* aſſured them he knew the Courage and Fidelity of her Captain better: the Fog, he told them, might eaſily ſeparate them. Captain *Brown*, he added, knew the Courſe they were taking; and the Veſſel, being a ſwift Sailer, probably was now a-head of them in the ſame Direction. In five Days Sail they made the Iſland now called *Baccalaos*.

Here the Men ſaw their Commander had gueſs'd rightly of the *Swallow*. They found that Veſſel at the Iſland before them; and they were ſurpriſed to know the Faces of the Men, but not their Habit.

Sir *Humphry* call'd them on board, and demanded an Account of this: the People were at firſt unwilling to give it; but, on more Enquiry, it appear'd, they had fallen in with a Veſſel returning from Fiſhing; and had taken from the People many Things, and even their Cloaths.

Sir *Humphry* ſpoke ſeverely with the Captain; but it appear'd not only by his Aſſertion, but the Men's Acknowledgment, 'twas done againſt his Deſign. He then talked gravely to them all; told them this was an Act of Piracy, diſgraceful to their honourable Expedition, and dangerous to their Lives.

Having repreſented the Fact in its juſt Colours, and having caution'd them againſt any ſuch Attempt for the future, he ſail'd on ſouthward in the ſame Courſe.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

A Diſpute in St. John'*s Harbour.*

THE *Squirrel*, their ſmalleſt Veſſel, now diſappear'd as the other had done; and there were thoſe who ſuſpected it was for the ſame Purpoſe; but the Commander ſet them right: he told them, the ſame Cauſe had ſeparated the Ship, that was the Fog; but he ſatisfy'd himſelf, there would be no more ſuch Conſequences.

They came that Day to *Saint John*'s Harbour; and they there found the *Squirrel*, a light Sailer that had out-gone them only, riding at Anchor before the Bay. Within appear'd a large Fleet, and the Captain of the *Squirrel* came on board Sir *Humphry*'s Veſſel, to acquaint him that he was deny'd Admittance.

Sir *Humphry* was at once alarm'd and incenſed. He found near forty Veſſels there, all employ'd in Fiſhing, and many of them *Engliſh*. He determin'd to take Poſſeſſion of the Country, the beſt Spot he had yet ſeen; and he ſent in a Meſſage to let thoſe know, who had refuſed one of his Fleet Admittance, that he ſhould treat them all as Enemies, unleſs they acknowledg'd immediately their Error; that his was not a fiſhing Party, but a Squadron of Diſcovery, ſailing under the Authority of the Queen of *England*, and commiſſion'd to poſſeſs for her new Countries.

The Spirit with which Sir *Humphry* behaved, and the Name of the Royal Authority terrify'd them. There were many of the Proprietors of the Veſſels on board, Merchants and conſiderable Traders; and they ſuppoſed their Effects, if not their Perſons, in Danger from a Refuſal.

They returned a moſt ſubmiſſive Anſwer: and the General, this was Sir *Humphry*'s Title, enter'd; and laid a Tax of Proviſions upon them for the Service of his Veſſels.

Next Day he was conducted on ſhore by the Maſters and Owners of the Fiſhing Veſſels; and in their Preſence, the Day after, with great Solemnity, took Poſſeſſion of the Country for *England*.

He ſummon'd all his own, as well as their principal People on ſhore; and when they were aſſembled, he order'd his Commiſſion, under the Great Seal, to be opened. 'Twas read aloud, and explain'd to the Foreigners; and all being acquainted with the Purport of it, the General took Poſſeſſion of the Harbour, and of the Country about it, two hundred Leagues every Way, for her Majeſty.

A Piece of a Branch from a Tree, and a Bit of Turf, as a Repreſentation of the Soil, and its Products were deliver'd to him in Form; and he cloſed the whole by aſſuming Poſſeſſion under her Majeſty's Authority, for himſelf and his Heirs for ever.

The Ceremony ended; he declared himſelf more at large. He order'd all to take Notice, that the Country now belong'd to *England*; and under the Crown of *England* to him; that whoever came thither, whether it were to fiſh, or to remain upon the Country, muſt do it by Permiſſion from *England*; and ſubmit to be governed by Laws, which he was authorized to eſtabliſh; and which ſhould be the ſame with thoſe of *England*, except where neceſſary Circumſtances made a Difference.

The Force Sir *Humphry* had with him aw'd the Foreigners who were fiſhing there, and the Fear of the Government at home, the *Engliſh*.

He executed his Commiſſion with Prudence, and with Spirit. He immediately made and put in Force three Laws, very important and very proper ones.

The firſt, that the Proteſtant Religion ſhould be the Eſtabliſh'd Church there, as in *England*: the ſecond, that if any Thing were attempted againſt her Majeſty's Right of Poſſeſſion in theſe Territories, the Perſon ſhould be try'd and executed as for Treaſon: and the third, that if any ſpoke to the Diſhonour of her Majeſty, he ſhould loſe his Ears; and that his Ship and Goods ſhould be confiſcated.

Theſe Laws eſtabliſh'd and divulg'd, all then preſent were commanded to declare their Concurrence and Obedience to them now and for ever. This they did ſolemnly, and the General civilly diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly to their Employments.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

St. John'*s Harbour regularly annex'd to the Crown of* England.

POſſeſſion being taken of the Country without Oppoſition, and Laws eſtabliſhed by the Authority of an *Engliſh* Commiſſion; and with the Concurrence of thoſe Perſons of different Nations who happen'd then to be preſent, the General ſet up his Memorial of the Poſſeſſion a Pillar of Timber, on which he fix'd the *Engliſh* Arms in Lead, brought thither for that Purpoſe, and having ſpent two Days on ſhore, in this and other needful Employments, he again ſummoned the People.

He told them he took this Country for himſelf under the Crown, but not excluſively, otherwiſe than in Title; that he deſired to grant out the Land in Parcels in Fee-farm to thoſe who choſe to poſſeſs it, reſerving to himſelf an annual Acknowledgment.

Every one deſired his Parcel, and in a few Hours, the General granted out a great Quantity, not only on this Harbour, but each Way by the Sea-ſide, to them; the Covenant ran, that they ſhould make a yearly Acknowledgment to Sir *Humphrey*, and his Aſſigns; and annually by themſelves, or their Aſſigns, maintain Poſſeſſion.

This was a Stroke of great Policy; for it ſecured the Territory in thoſe who were to poſſeſs it under the Crown, and under him: they readily enough accepted it, not knowing but ſome Time or other their Poſſeſſions might become of Value.

Sir *Humphrey* having thus ſettled his Right, ordered his People to go up the Country, and examine its Condition.

Others were at the ſame Time employed in cleaning and refitting the Ships; and the reſt, in gathering the Tax of Proviſions. This Sir *Humphrey* made a very moderate one, that it might be paid in without Murmurs; and thus Property, Right and Subjection, were at once eſtabliſhed.

The Party ſent out to make Diſcovery of the Country, returned with Notice that it was not uninhabited; that the Natives were well diſpoſed and inoffenſive People, and they had formerly lived in the ſouthern Parts, but had abandoned them on their becoming ſo much frequented by the *Europeans*.

A ſecond Party ſent to examine the Soil and its Products, among whom was a Perſon converſant in Mines, came in a Day after, with two Minerals, the one an Ore of Iron, and very rich, the other this Perſon declared to be rich in Silver.

Sir *Humphrey* doubted nothing of what the Miner ſaid; and his Ships being now in Order, he called all inſtantly on Board, and ſet ſail ſouthward.

When they were out at Sea, he ſent for the other Captains, and opened his Purpoſe; that he would now take Poſſeſſion farther ſouth, according to his Patent, and after that return to St. *John*'s Harbour.

That he had haſtened all on board with the Ore, becauſe it was not proper ſo many Foreigners ſhould be acquainted with that Treaſure: but that it now ſhould be aſſayed; and that he knew the Skill of the Perſon who had found it, too well to entertain a Doubt of its Succeſs.

The People admired the Prudence and good Conduct of their Commander, and all for a Time went well.

The Silver Viſion of a Mine operated as ſtrongly in their Thoughts, as his; and every Man promiſed himſelf a conſiderable Share in the Wealth he had aſſiſted to diſcover for his Country.

Theſe were the Sentiments of thoſe who were now ſailing for more Diſcovery; and they were but a ſelect Number, for Difficulties on Difficulties had occurr'd to the Commander on ſhore. When he, for very good Reaſons, haſtened the People on board; many refuſed abſolutely, others trifled, and for ſome few that were ſick, a great Number pretended it.

There were among them, many who prefered Piracy, to the honourable Cauſe in which they had engaged; and theſe once had formed a Deſign to run away with the Veſſels, while Sir *Humphrey* and the chief People were on ſhore.

This had been diſcovered and prevented, but it gave the Commander great Diſtruſt in his People.

They grew more diſſatisfied, as he ſuſpicious; but with that good Conduct, which had diſtinguiſhed the reſt of this Expedition, Sir *Humphrey* had ſeparated at once the ſick from the well: and the bad from the good.

He had left thoſe whoſe Healths or Morals had rendered them unfit for the Service all Neceſſaries for their Return; and with thoſe picked, honeſt, faithful and hearty Fellows, who had rejected their Schemes, he now coaſted ſouthwards.

Sir *Humphrey* had ſet out with a Reſolution not to trifle in his Undertaking. His whole Fortune was embarked in it, and what, to a Man of his Honour, was more important; that of many of his beſt Friends, who at his Inſtigation had engaged.

He ordered Aſſays to be carefully made of the Ore, which he was aſſured anſwered fully the Expectation; and having encouraged his People in their preſent good Diſpoſition, by a fair Repreſentation of the Advantages, he put himſelf on board the *Squirrel*, the leaſt Veſſel in his ſmall Squadron, becauſe the fitteſt to look into Ports and Harbours: this was his principal Concern, and himſelf determined to be always preſent.

CHAP. XC.

The Concluſion of Sir Humphry Gilbert*'s Voyage.*

THE Night after their ſetting ſail from St. *John*'s Harbour, they reached *Cape Race*, and thence coaſted between twenty and thirty Leagues forwards toward *Cape Breton*.

The Wind favoured, but the Currents kept them all this Time from coming near Land.

Sir *Humphrey* made every poſſible Attempt: on the twenty-eighth the Wind favouring, and every Thing having a fair Appearance, the Commander ordered them to bear in.

There were Pilots on board the Veſſels, who declared againſt it, and attempted to perſuade him otherwiſe; but he ſaw the Buſineſs of his Commiſſion in too juſt a Light, to neglect it for an uncertain Danger.

He ordered all poſſible Care to be taken, in Conſequence of what the Pilots had ſaid, but he kept his Purpoſe.

Fogs now intercepted Day-light, and the Veſſels were loſt to one another, tho' near.

The Commander ordered the People to keep continual Soundings; and he had Cauſe; for in a few Hours they were among Flats and Shoals.

Deep Water and ſhallow were found at ſwift Returns, and the Commander immediately gave Orders for the larger Veſſel that was next him, the Admiral Ship, to bear off to Sea.

The Orders came too late: in a few Minutes ſhe ſtruck.

The Sea beat upon her, and before the reſt were aware of the Danger, her hind Quarters were beat to Pieces.

Sir *Humphrey* ordered the others to Sea-ward, and they eſcaped.

In the Admiral Ship periſhed a hundred Perſons, and among them, her Captain.

In their extream Diſtreſs, fourteen of the Sailors leaped into a little Pinnace.

They called to the Captain, but he ſtill entertaining Hope of getting off the Veſſel, refuſed to leave her.

They took in the Maſter, and one Perſon more; and thus there were ſixteen in a miſerable little Veſſel, open to the Waves, and without Proviſion or Water.

They cut the Rope, and bequeathed themſelves to the Mercy of the Sea.

A few Moments ſhewed them the ſmall Veſſel was overloaded. All trembled; and after ſome Moments dreadful Silence, the Propoſal broke forth of caſting Lots, to throw four of the Number over.

The Maſter of the large Veſſel, was the only Perſon excluded from this dreadful Chance: but he diſſuaded them from putting it in Execution.

He told them their Caſe would be deſperate when they had done this; and that it was but deſperate now: he beſeeched them to leave all to Providence; and not call down the Vengeance of Heaven upon them by Murther.

Five Days they drove before the Wind, in this miſerable Condition, with no Suſtenance, but ſome Salt-water Weeds, which floated on the Surface, and which each Man ſnatched as they came near him.

The fifth Day one died with Cold and Hunger; and it ſeemed remarkable to them, that it was the very Perſon, who firſt propoſed the diſmal Deciſion by Lots.

The Evening of the ſame Day one more periſhed; and the Remainder found that their own Urine was preferable to the Sea Water as Drink.

The Sixth Day paſſed as the former Five had done, but on the ſeventh they ſaw Land, and they were driven upon it without further Loſs.

'Twas on the Coaſt of *Newfoundland*, they fell.

The Wind had blown South all their ſeven Days Expoſure, and it was this that threw them upon the Shore.

They had not been on Land above an Hour when it came full North. This, had they been expoſed to it, had utterly deſtroyed them; driving them out to Sea.

Some Hardſhips, tho' not equal to the former, they had to ſtruggle with on Land; but after a little Time, a *French* Ship came in Sight who took them on board, and from *France* they returned to *England*.

The two remaining Veſſels all this Time, beat on a tempeſtuous Sea, Sir *Humphrey* in the ſmalleſt. Winter came on; and every Diſadvantage with it.

The Admiral Ship had carried all their Stores, therefore ſince her Loſs they had wanted every Thing; and now the Seaſon and the Weather adding to the Neceſſities to which they were reduced, Sir *Humphrey* who never puſh'd Reſolution up to Raſhneſs, ſubmitted to his Fortune, and propoſed in Pity to his People to return.

He encouraged thoſe who were uneaſy, with the Expectation of the Silver Mine, and engaged his Honour, on which all knew they could rely, to fit them out nobly the ſucceeding Spring.

The Opinion the reſt entertained of Sir *Humphrey*'s Conduct and Courage, made them at length acquieſce; and on the laſt Day of *Auguſt*, by unanimous Conſent they changed their Courſe, and ſailed for *England*.

On the ſecond of *Seytember* they ſaw *Cape*

Race; and from that Day, for a Week, they were toſſed on a very boiſterous Sea.

Sir *Humphry*, who had all this Time been in the *Squirrel* for the Sake of Diſcovery, remain'd in her.

The People of the larger Veſſel, who lov'd and reverenced him as a Father, entreated him to come on board of that: they told him not only the Conveniences were fitter for him, but that they fear'd his Danger in that ſlight Veſſel: that they had often in the late Day's Storms thought her loſt; and indeed fear'd ſhe would be.

He anſwer'd with the moſt kind and moſt ſincere Acknowledgments; but declin'd it: he told them, he believ'd the Veſſel ſafe in any Sea; but if it were not, he would never expoſe any Part of his Company to a Danger which himſelf ſhun'd.

Next Day the Sea ran higher; and the People in the larger Veſſel repeated their Entreaty: Sir *Humphry* repeated his Acknowledgments, and his Refuſal; and added, "We are as near to Heaven by Sea as Land."

The Day had been ſtormy beyond all the preceding; but the Night was worſe. Toward Midnight the People on the Watch in the larger Veſſel ſet up a general Cry. The Captain roſe, the reſt ran upon Deck, and they were told the Lights in the *Squirrel* diſappear'd at once.

That Moment ſunk the great and good Sir *Humphry Gilbert*: a Man whoſe Virtues might have adorn'd any Age, and given a Luſtre to the higheſt Station.

The larger Veſſel purſued her melancholy Courſe, and thirteen Days after arrived at *Falmouth*.

CHAP. XCI.

Raleigh *appears upon the Subject of Diſcovery.*

MR. *Walter Raleigh*, afterwards the great Sir *Walter*, appeared this Year upon the Theatre of the Marine World, puſhing the Diſcoveries that had been ſpoke of for the Service of his Country.

He had fitted out a Veſſel for this unhappy Expedition of Sir *Gilbert*'s, which Fear or Falſehood, bad Cauſes to produce a good Effect, had in all Appearance ſaved from the Deſtruction of many others in that Adventure. He now revolv'd deeply what had been made out, not in one, but many Voyages, by People ſent on different Purpoſes; and from the whole Conſideration he deduc'd Things none of them had thought upon.

America was the great Scene of his Enquiries. The Excellence of the Country in its beſt Parts, as all deſcrib'd it; and the Riches of the *Spaniards* in the Quarter of it they poſſeſs'd, join'd to animate him in the Purſuit.

He propoſed his Deſign to ſeveral Perſons of Eminence; and the Credit of his Name was ſufficient to lead them to eſpouſe it.

He apply'd to the Queen, who granted him a Patent, and engaging Seamen, who had Courage as well as Diſcretion for ſuch a Purpoſe, he fitted out two Veſſels, and choſe for the Command of them *Philip Amidas* and *Arthur Barlow*, Men who had been bred to the Service, and whom many Voyages of this Kind had taught Experience.

Their Orders they received from Mr. *Raleigh*, and their Commiſſion was to diſcover Lands, in Latitudes where no others had been, and where it appear'd to him, who very well underſtood Geography, the Country was likely to be found moſt healthy, and moſt pleaſant.

On the Twenty-ſeventh of *April* 1584, three Ships ſet ſail. They were ſmall but very good ones, and nothing was omitted in the Conveniences they could want.

On the Tenth of *May* they paſſed the *Canaries*; and a Month after found themſelves among ſome Iſlands on the Coaſt of *America* much to the Southward of their Deſtination.

Sailing from thence according to their Inſtructions, they were till the Second of *July* without Appearance of Land; but on the Evening of this Day, the Ship was fill'd with a moſt raviſhing Fragrance; as they proceeded it grew ſtronger, and they found the Air more richly perfumed.

Captain *Amidas* encouraged his Sailors to hope from this, not only that they were near Land; but that it was ſuch Land as they were ſent to ſearch: a rich, pleaſant, and a fertile Country. He told them, this could be no other than the Scent of Flowers growing on ſome near Coaſt: that Spices were thus ſmelt, at many Leagues Diſtance from whence they grow; and that this Country whatſoever were its Name, muſt be a Garden.

The Soundings ſhew'd them ſoon the Captain had been right in his Conjecture. It was the Coaſt of *Florida*: they ſail'd with Care along a ſhallow Sea; and on the fourth Day ſaw Land.

They purſued their Courſe forty Leagues along the Coaſt; and at that Diſtance came to the Mouth of a large River. There they anchor'd; and the two Captains, with a ſelect Company, going on ſhore, took Poſſeſſion of the Country for the Queen of *England*; and under her Right for the Proprietors of the Voyage, according to the Tenour of their Patent. 'Twas in four and thirty Degrees Latitude they anchor'd; and the Coaſt on which they landed was that of an Iſland on the Coaſt of what we now call *Virginia*, called afterwards *Wokoken*.

When they had taken Poſſeſſion, they went up ſome of the higheſt Hills to obſerve the Aſpect, Produce, and Condition of the Country. They ſaw it was an Iſland, and they could diſcover the other Shore. They perceived the Soil was fruitful; but, as in moſt Countries not inhabited, over-run with Wood: Deer, and other Cattle they found in Abundance; and almoſt at every Step they put up Wild Fowl.

The freſh Proviſions were very valuable to them, and when they had well entertained themſelves, they returned to their Veſſel.

Three Days after they ſaw a few Inhabitants. Chance had led the *Engliſh* to a Part not much frequented by them; but they ſhew'd no Sign of Fear at their Approach, though much of Wonder. The *Spaniards* had render'd *Europeans* fear'd, and hated wherever they had come; but elſe the Natives of *America* ſeem not to have been averſe to Intercourſe with thoſe of our Part of the World. One of the People came on board at the Invitation of Captain *Barlow*, eat with them, and drank with them: he appear'd highly delighted with their Wines; and accepted thankfully a Suit of *European* Cloaths.

When he left the Ship, he took himſelf to his Canoe, in which they had firſt ſeen him, and fiſh'd near them: he ſoon had taken a good Quantity, with which he approached the *Engliſh* again, and dividing them into two Halves, offer'd them to the two Ships Companies.

The People from the Continent on the other Side came as familiarly about them, and offered Furs, and what elſe their Country produced, in Traffick, for ſuch Things as thoſe on board could ſpare: every thing *European* was valued at a vaſt Rate among them: The *Engliſh* obtain'd Pearls for Bawbles.

This Country the Natives called *Wingandacoa*: and what moſt attracted the Eyes of the *Engliſh* in its Produce were the Pearls. Theſe were well colour'd, and many of them very fine. The Natives knew their Value; for they never offer'd any but for the Things they valued moſt; and the *Engliſh* very prudently ſeemed not to regard them greatly, that they might not tempt the People to conceal from whence they had them. This the Natives were not ready to diſcover, and the *Engliſh* obſerved every cautious Conduct not to offend, by preſſing them too far; or give them any Knowledge from their Eagerneſs of the Value they ſet upon them.

They obtained a conſiderable Number of good ones, in Exchange for ſome of their Toys, and after treating the Brother of the King, and his Family on board, and viſiting him ſeveral Times on ſhore, they employed themſelves in ſearching farther about the Country.

They undertook no other Voyage with their Ships, but ſending their Boats up the River, and diſpatching Parties every Way on ſhore, upon this new diſcovered Continent, they found it like the Iſland which they had ſearched at firſt, abundantly ſtor'd with Proviſions of every Kind, fertile, and well water'd, extremely pleaſant, and in every Reſpect agreeing with what the Patron of the Voyage, Mr. *Raleigh*, had expected would be found there.

Having therefore diſcovered, what they were ſent to ſeek, it would have been Raſhneſs and Folly, to have ventured farther.

They obtained from the Natives upon a regular Exchange, the ſeveral Kinds of Furs the Country produced, beſides the Pearls; and taking as a Specimen of the Place, ſomething of all its Products, prepared for their Return.

CHAP. XCII.

The End of Mr. Raleigh's *Expedition.*

ABOUT the Middle of *September* the two Ships ſailed for *England*; after taking their Leave of the Natives with ſome handſome Preſents, and aſſuring them of their Return at a ſucceeding Time.

They came back to *England*, as ſucceſsfully as they had gone out; and they laid before the Proprietors, the Produce of the Voyage, Pearls, Skins, and many other Articles: they gave an Account of the Country, which did great Honour to the Knowledge of Mr. *Raleigh*; as they had found upon the Spot, exactly what he expected would be found in that Latitude, by Calculation in his Cloſet.

The Proprietors of the Voyage, were not the only Perſons affected, by the Account the Sailors gave; they repreſented the Climate ſo temperate, the Air ſo clear, the Soil ſo fruitful, and the Country in every Reſpect ſo rich and pleaſant, that all were in Love with it.

Colonies were offered to the Proprietors, to ſettle in their new diſcovered World; and the Queen charmed with the Accounts, and determined to eſpouſe the Proprietors, honoured it with a Name: this was VIRGINIA.

Elizabeth ſo named the Countrey, partly becauſe it was diſcovered in her Reign, a Virgin Queen, and partly becauſe the Place and People retained, according to the Proprietors Accounts, their Virgin Richneſs and Purity.

Every Thing conſpired to favour this happy Undertaking, and the Proprietors had nothing to conſider, but their next Expedition.

CHAP.

CHAP. XCIII.

A Voyage to Virginia.

AMONG the Perſons of Conſequence, whom Mr. *Raleigh* had engaged in this great Scheme was Sir *Richard Grenville*, diſtinguiſhed by his Underſtanding, and his publick Spirit, more than by his Fortune. He was one of thoſe who had been charm'd with the Account brought by the People of the Fertility and Beauty of the Country; and the Succeſs of the former Voyage conſpiring to tempt him, he reſolved to embark the next Year himſelf in the Expedition.

The Year 1585 open'd with this Project in all the Advantage that could attend ſuch an Undertaking: Numbers were deſirous to contribute, and more than could be received offered their Perſons to ſettle there.

Seven Ships were fitted out, well ſtor'd with Proviſions, Arms and Ammunition; and they took on board as many of thoſe who offer'd as were ſufficient for Eſtabliſhing a Colony.

On the Ninth of *April* all was ready, and Sir *Richard* embarking as chief Commander in the Voyage, they ſet ſail from *Plymouth*.

The Ships were the *Tyger* and *Roebuck*, each of a hundred and forty Tons; and the *Lion*, of an hundred; the *Elizabeth* of fifty; the *Dorothy* a ſmaller; and two yet leſs, for any neceſſary Service.

The principal Commanders of theſe Veſſels were *Lane*, *Cavendiſh*, *Stukely*, *Arundel*, *Bremige*, *Vincent*, *Heryot* and *Clark*, Names to which the Reader is a Stranger yet; but ſome of them he will ſee ſhine hereafter in Actions of the moſt glorious Character; for they were thoſe train'd in theſe Expeditions, who in general diſtinguiſh'd themſelves beſt in the Service of their Country againſt her Enemies.

This is one great Purpoſe of the Merchant Service; and there can be no higher national Advantage.

On the Fourteenth they fell in with the *Canaries*; and on the Seventh of *May* they reached *Dominica* in the *Weſt Indies*, and landed at *Puerto Rico*.

It was here Sir *Richard Grenville* had determined to build his Pinnace for future Expedition; and he landed in Order, and ſet his Men about it. The *Spaniards*, who at firſt attempted to prevent him, involv'd themſelves in needleſs Troubles and Loſſes.

He built a Fort upon the Spot, ſtrengthen'd himſelf, and remained there ſome conſiderable Time much to their Diſadvantage, and to his own Profit, and his Country's Honour.

Among the other Advantages that attended his long Stay in this Place, came in two *Spaniſh* Veſſels both of Force, and both rich, but he found no Difficulty with his brave Company to take and plunder them: he found in one a Number of Paſſengers, whoſe Aſpect ſhewed they were of ſome Conſequence; and determined, as he was, to humble *Spain* every Way, he gave theſe no Chance of Liberty but at a moſt exorbitant Ranſom.

The Will of the Conqueror is Law: they were obliged to ſubmit; and no ſmall Profit this Way accrued to the Party.

All the Advantage being made here that could be expected, they ſailed for the North of *Hiſpaniola*; and, without any croſs Accident, arrived at *Iſabella*.

Here the *Spaniards* were powerful; and the Commander in the Expedition propoſed no Advantage but by Traffick. They hated the *Engliſh*, but they alſo fear'd them; and they had been taught before the Conſequences of a Refuſal to trade. They conſented, and did with a tolerable Grace what they could not avoid: this is a Merit we often ſee in a frighted Enemy.

After what Traffick they found convenient in this Place, they ſailed for *Florida*, the Coaſt of which they ſaw on the Twentieth of *June*; and ſix Days after anchor'd at the Iſland of *Wokoken*, in the Country now nam'd VIRGINIA.

'Twas not without Danger they had made the End of their Voyage. It was the Misfortune of Sir *Richard* to have in the Admiral Ship a Pilot of more Conceit than Knowledge: he ran her into great Hazard at Cape *Fear* in the Way; and here upon a Rock: ſhe ſunk.

The Miſchief could have happen'd no where ſo well, for the Veſſel had performed the material Part of her Buſineſs.

A Colony had been reſolved upon, and the People taken accordingly to ſettle it.

Sir *Richard* was now at the Place where the *Engliſh* had been the preceding Year, and where it was agreed to make the Settlement. He landed now the People who were to make it, a hundred and eight in Number, under the Command of Mr. *Lane*, and with him in the ſecond Rank was left Mr. *Philip Amidas*, his Title that of Admiral, and about twenty Gentlemen, who had their allotted Rank and Office.

The Governor, Mr. *Lane*, began as ſoon as he landed to commit ſome Vegetables to the Ground to try its Fertility: Beans and Peaſe were ſown, and they came up ſome Days before the Time they would have been expected in a like Seaſon in *England*.

Every Man was buſied in the moſt needful Employments; and Sir *Richard*, when he had ſtaid two Months, left every thing in Order, and ſailed for *England*.

The Cargo he brought over very well anſwer'd the Expence of the Voyage: it conſiſted of Pearls, and ſome valuable Skins and Furs. He took Leave of the Colony in high Spirit, and brought back the moſt favourable Accounts to *England*.

CHAP. XCIV.

The Eſtabliſhment of the firſt Colony in Virginia.

WE have informed the Reader in the Account of the preceding Expedition to this Country, that the Natives were a free, honeſt, and not uncivilized People. Every Thing had been conducted between them and the *Engliſh* with good Faith and good Nature: they had form'd an Opinion of our Nation very much to their Advantage; and nothing was required but Prudence for the keeping up the moſt perfect Harmony between them and the Colony.

We have ſeen on many Occaſions of a like Kind, nothing is ſo rare as this ſuppoſed common Quality: it was wanting here.

The Planters, not content with the happy Spot of which they had unmoleſted Poſſeſſion, forced their Way up the Rivers, and traverſed the Country to a great Diſtance at Land. Theſe were called Expeditions of Diſcovery; but a more proper Name had been Excurſions for Plunder. Whatever they found that pleaſed them they took, and Luſt coming in to the Aſſiſtance of Rapine, they violated Wives and Daughters of the *Indians*.

One of theſe, too weak to oppoſe four *Engliſh* who had ſeized upon his Wife, let fly an Arrow, and kill'd the Perſon who had hold of her.

He fled, and threw himſelf at the Feet of his Sovereign. He told the Story: and Nature, not leſs powerful in thoſe untaught Minds than in the moſt improv'd, led all to applaud him. Many Complaints had been made before; and now all were called up in Remembrance together.

It appear'd theſe Strangers, whom they had permitted to ſettle themſelves on a ſmall Corner of the Country, thought they were Maſters of the whole; and treated the proper Poſſeſſors as Slaves by Conqueſt, and as a Species different from their own, and much beneath them.

The Conduct of the Natives was immediately ſettled: their King thought no Terms need be kept with thoſe, who had violated all that was juſt, and he gave Orders for their Deſtruction.

He inſtructed his Warriors to go out in ſmall Parties, and fall upon all thoſe they ſhould find ſeparated from the reſt: after thus reducing the Number, he told them the Remainder would be an eaſier Conqueſt.

The *Engliſh*, who had not the Wiſdom or Integrity to obſerve a proper Conduct, had not the Diſcretion to foreſee the Conſequences. Their Parties went out as uſual, but they did not return: ſo blinded were they to the Cauſe, that a great many were loſt before the reſt were ſenſible of their Danger.

At length one eſcaping from the Deſtruction of the reſt of a Number, came in wounded, and told the Story: that they were ſhot at a Diſtance with Arrows by a Party of the Natives, without any Cauſe or Quarrel.

Now every Eye was open'd to the Danger, and it became a ſerious Conſideration. The Natives, whom they had found ſo friendly, they perceived could act as Enemies; and they were counſel'd by Fear to a more prudent Conduct: they ſtrengthen'd themſelves in their Settlements; and the Governor gave Orders none ſhould go out ſingle, or unarm'd, under a ſevere Penalty.

The *Indians* ſaw this, and they obſerved the ſame Conduct: whenever they appear'd it was in Bodies, arm'd, and determined upon Miſchief. Declarations of War are not known on theſe Occaſions; but 'twas an abſolute Rupture between them and the *Engliſh*.

Our People aw'd thoſe who underſtood them by a reſolute Conduct, and by Threats of the next Year's Campaign, when their Countrymen ſhould return. They went out in large Bodies upon the great Affair of Diſcovery; and principally on the Coaſt, which they ſearch'd more than an hundred Miles Northward, and to ſome Diſtance South.

All went well till the Approach of Winter; but then Things wore a leſs favourable Aſpect. The *Indians* could very well ſubſiſt in this Country, becauſe they underſtood Fiſhing, Fowling, and gathering Fruits; and they would in the hardeſt Seaſon have aſſiſted the *Engliſh*; but theſe knew not how to help themſelves, and far from receiving Aſſiſtance from the Natives, were ſtarv'd by them. They were in the Condition of a beſieged Garriſon, for whenever Hunger carried out a Party, the Natives were ready to fall upon them.

Thus began thoſe Broils in *America*, which have continued ever ſince; not in the Country where they began, for the Race of Natives is in *Virginia* extinct; but in other Parts of *North America* we ſee all in a State of War, with the original Poſſeſſors. They will be Friends for their Intereſt perhaps of one Year; but ready on the leaſt Diſtaſte to butcher thoſe to whom they ſtand engaged by all their ſolemn Treaties; and at this Day, perhaps by a Stroke of Policy ſuperior to all the *European* Councils, are cutting the Throats of *French* for the *Engliſh*, and of *Engliſh* for the *French*, till having weakened both, they can drive out all, and take again Poſſeſſion.

The Diſtreſs of the new Colony increaſed, as the Seaſon grew in Severity; and there was all poſſible Difficulty for the People to ſubſiſt, till the Return of Spring and of their Friends.

CHAP. XCV.

England *engaged in Diſputes with* France *and* Spain.

WE have ſeen our Country for the ſeveral preceding Years on Terms of but forc'd Friendſhip with thoſe of *France* and *Spain*; the Time now approached of open and declared Enmity.

In 1585 the States of the *United Provinces* ſtood on the Brink of Ruin. The Power of *Spain* was irreſiſtible by their own Force; and they again beſought the Aid of *Elizabeth* of *England*: as Proteſtants they applied to the chief Patroneſs of that Religion, and offer'd themſelves again to her Sovereignty.

Elizabeth, who knew her Intereſt and her Duty equally, declined the Sovereignty, but gave them her Protection. She engaged herſelf by Treaty to ſend them over an *Engliſh* Army with *Engliſh* Officers, and under *Engliſh* Pay: The Sum expended to be returned to *England*, when ſhe had obtained for them an honourable and advantageous Peace.

This was a Method of Succour worthy the Name of ſuch a Kingdom as ours, and ſuch a Sovereign as then govern'd it; and there was at the ſame Time a Nobleneſs of Mind in declining to take Advantage of their diſtreſſed Condition, though Sovereignty itſelf was in her Choice; to which few others have ariſen.

The People of *Zealand* ſtruck Medals on the Occaſion, and their Inſcription, *Autore Deo favente Regina*.

The ſame Year a ſecond Body of Foreigners were thrown upon the *Engliſh* Protection. The Prince of *Condé*, who with all the Spirit of which a human Mind is capable, ſupported the Cauſe of the Hugonots in *France*, was at this Time reduced to ſo deſperate a Condition, that he left his Army, and threw himſelf into the Arms of *England*.

Elizabeth received him as became not his Misfortunes, but the Cauſe of them. She ſaw him a Prince fighting to the laſt Drop the Cauſe of GOD againſt Tyranny and Superſtition: ſhe received him with all the Reverence he could have claim'd if he had come a Conqueror: ſhe engag'd her Aſſiſtance in every Method ſhe ſhould have in her Power, and ſhe diſmiſſed him in Haſte, for the Service of the haſty Cauſe, with Force and Money.

Rochelle was beſieged by the *French*, defended by the Hugonots, and reduced at this Period to the moſt extream Diſtreſs: no Power on Earth could have ſaved the Place, or raiſed the ſinking Cauſe, but that of *England*.

It was the Policy of *Elizabeth* to be ready for War in Times of Peace. Her naval Force was in perfect Order, and ſhe diſpatched ten Ships with bold and experienced Officers to the Aſſiſtance of the Party; her Ships and her Money anſwered the great Purpoſe: *Rochelle* was relieved; and the Proteſtant Cauſe revived.

Thus ſtood the political Condition of *England* with reſpect to her Enemies and her Alliances: Enemies whom ſhe diſdain'd to fear, tho' the moſt powerful the World could have raiſed againſt her; and Allies whom ſhe protected, not from whom ſhe expected, wanted, or deſired Protection.

CHAP. XCVI.

The Expedition of the Engliſh *at Sea in* 1585.

NEwfoundland, which had been poſſeſſed as the Property of the *Engliſh* Nation, became now the Scene of a very profitable Commerce. Its Fiſh ſupply'd *Europe* in many Kinds; and many Nations ſent out Veſſels upon the Expedition.

This *Elizabeth* permitted; for where there was a Supply for all the Earth, her great Spirit diſdain'd to claim a Monopoly: but while ſhe permitted this Liberty to others, ſhe maintained ſtrictly the Right to the Country in herſelf; and grew more and more ſenſible what Value there was in the Poſſeſſion.

Among the many Nations who ſent thither, two only pretended to a Right, the *French* and *Portugueſe*. This *Elizabeth* reſented as became her. She firſt repreſented to thoſe ſeveral Courts, that *Newfoundland* being hers, it was enough that ſhe allow'd them Liberty to fiſh upon the Coaſt; but that ſhe demanded and inſiſted they ſhould underſtand this as Favour and Permiſſion, and acknowledge her Title.

Negotiations coming to as little then as in later Days, ſhe fitted out a powerful Squadron. While ſhe commanded the Seas, ſhe knew that ſhe could compel what ſhe had requeſted; and puniſh thoſe who had ſlighted her Remonſtrance. Sir *Bernard Drake* was honoured with the Command of this Squadron; and received full Inſtructions to aſſert her Majeſty's Right and Title to the Country.

He ſailed in ſuch Time as to come in when the Fiſhing was juſt finiſhed; and he met, as he intended, every Veſſel with its Loading. All that he met he took; and after a very ſhort Expedition, returned with the whole captive Fleet to *England*.

They were all Veſſels of *Portugal* or *France*: others had been upon the ſame Service; but thoſe he diſmiſs'd, with every one his Leſſon, that 'twas with the *Porcugueſe* and *French* alone he had Buſineſs; and that all belonging to them he had Authority to confiſcate, for Fiſhing in the Dominions of *England*, and denying the Queen's Title to the Country,

CHAP. XCVII.

The Guinea *Trade eſtabliſhed.*

THE Support the Queen gave to the Trade of her own Country, and the Check they never failed to receive who preſumed to intrench upon it, gave every Day new Spirit for attempting freſh Articles, or for engaging deeply in the others.

This appear'd in the Courſe of the *Guinea* Trade; which, after ſome Difficulties and Diſadvantages, began this Year to ſhine with a new Luſtre. The Traffick encreaſed, and as it grew more underſtood, became more advantageous; and toward the Cloſe of the Year, of which we now treat, 1585, it was eſtabliſhed by Patent.

The Trade being thus ſet upon a reſpectable Footing, the Queen added all in her Power. She cultivated an amicable Intercourſe with the Emperor of *Morocco*; and to this Purpoſe Mr. *Roberts*, a Perſon of Family and great Accompliſhments, went her Ambaſſador to that Court, charged with the moſt friendly Propoſitions; and loaded with magnificent Preſents. The Embaſſador was ſet out with a State becoming one who came from ſo great a Sovereign; and the Emperor, to whoſe Favourites he had the Addreſs firſt to introduce himſelf by Preſents, received him with equal Magnificence and Good-Will.

Mr. *Roberts*, in his firſt Audience open'd to the Emperor his whole Commiſſion; and ſpoke largely of the Advantage of that Traffick to both Countries, which under his royal Authority he hoped to ſee perfectly eſtabliſh'd.

Bribes had as much Power in *Morocco* as we find them have in *Europe*. Every one who was near the Perſon of the Emperor, Mr. *Roberts* bought to the *Engliſh* Intereſt with the Money of the Merchants entruſted to him for that Purpoſe; and he found every Thing proſper accordingly.

Three Years this prudent and wiſe Embaſſador reſided in the Kingdom. During this Time he was attentive to the Intereſts of the Merchants, as well as to the Honour of the Crown. Every Thing was conducted according to his Direction, and by that Means thoſe Diſputes were all avoided, which uſually attend a new eſtabliſhed Intercourſe.

The Emperor wss, from Time to Time, ſatisfied that his Subjects gain'd to the full as much by this Commerce as the *Engliſh*; and for that Reaſon, as an Act of Prudence and kingly Virtue, he patroniſed it warmly.

When the Time of the Embaſſador's Departure approach'd, he honour'd him with many Preſents; and ſent with him a Perſon of Diſtinction of his Court, Embaſſador to *Englaad*.

CHAP. XCVIII.

The Conduct of the Spaniards *to the* Engliſh *at this Period.*

WE have ſeen the *Spaniards* but upon ill Terms for ſeveral of the preceding Years with *England*; and it muſt be rational to think theſe grew worſe upon the Protection *Elizabeth* had now juſt given to the diſtreſſed States of the *Low Countries*, immediately in Oppoſition to that Crown.

Open War was not however at this Time declared between the two Kingdoms: both depended greatly on their Security at Sea; and both were ſtrong there: it was not therefore to the Advantage of either to come to a Rupture abſolutely, becauſe whatever might be the Event of ſuch a War, 'twas certain Commerce muſt be at a Stop in a great Meaſure all the Time.

This kept thoſe at ſeeming Peace who were in Earneſt at hearty Enmity. The *Engliſh* had however at this Time taken bold Steps, conſidered as the Actions of a People not at War; and the *Spaniards* ſeemed in as good a Temper to return them.

At this dangerous Period it happen'd there lay without the Bay of *Bilboa* a Ship of our

Country, of an hundred and fifty Tons, its Name the *Primroſe*, and the Commander Captain *Foſter*.

After three Days lying there, a Pinnace from the Shore came up to her; and in it the principal Officer of the Place; a Magiſtrate whoſe Title is Corregidor of *Biſcay*.

With this Officer came ſix other Perſons, whoſe Aſpect beſpoke them Merchants. Captain *Foſter*, a Man of Politeneſs and an open Diſpoſition, invited them on board with all poſſible Reſpect.

They brought Fruit with them, which they thought would be acceptable on board; and the Captain gave them every Thing the Ship afforded beſt. After a Collation they ſat down, as is the Sea Way, to Drinking; and when all were merry, the Corregidor took Occaſion to ſay Buſineſs called him on ſhore. He took with him three of thoſe who had came in his Party, and left the others, at their own Requeſt, Drinking.

Foſter, who had his Eyes about him, ſoon diſcover'd ſomething in the Countenances of the three *Spaniards* that gave him Suſpicion. He ſlip'd out of the Cabin a Moment, and communicating his Thoughts to the next in Command, gave Orders all ſhould be arm'd, and on their Guard: at the ſame Time he ordered every Thing ſhould be conducted with Quietneſs and Civility, till there ſhould be Occaſion to act otherwiſe; for that he might be miſtaken.

'Twas well he was upon his Guard, for nothing elſe could have prevented a Surprize. He kept his Eye upon the Shore, and he ſaw it crowded with People: preſently appear'd two Veſſels: the one that in which the Corregidor had came on board: the other much larger. The People he had perceiv'd upon the Shore embarked in theſe, and four and twenty being got into one, and near fourſcore into the other, they both made toward the Veſſel.

Theſe all appeared, as they approached, to be *Biſcayan* Merchants as the firſt, but Captain *Foſter* knew that a Number of ſuch Perſons were not likely to come up at once.

The Company of the *Primroſe* conſiſted of about thirty Perſons; and their Commander knew very well what could, and what could not be done with them.

The Corregidor was the firſt that came on board, and Captain *Foſter* received him very civilly, he took in four more of them; and then put a Stop to their Admiſſion. His Veſſel he ſaid was not his own: he beſt knew his Orders; and he inſiſted that the reſt ſhould remain in their Boats.

The Corregidor was extremely concern'd at his Suſpicions, and promiſed both for thoſe now on board, that they ſhould give no Offence, and for thoſe in the Boats that they ſhould continue where they were.

Captain *Foſter* ſhew'd he doubted his Sincerity, and deſired an End might be put to a Viſit, which gave him ſo much Uneaſineſs. The Corregidor, who all this Time paſſed as a Merchant, told him they would take their Leave; but one Glaſs of Friendſhip they would drink firſt: the Moment they had put the Captain off his Guard, as they thought, a Drum was beat in the Ship; 'twas one of the *Spaniards* who carried it, and it was the Signal of Attack: the People from the ſeveral Boats boarded the Veſſel in many Parts at once, and with a perfect Regularity.

Every Man now appear'd arm'd, all took their allotted Poſts, and the Corregidor declared himſelf. One who ſtood next him drew out a white Wand, the Badge of Office belonging to his Marſhals; and all being ready, he bade the Captain ſurrender himſelf Priſoner to the King of *Spain*.

The Captain made him no Anſwer, but gave an appointed Signal to his Men.

The *Spaniards* threaten'd him with immediate Death, if he made the leaſt Reſiſtance, or permitted his People to do ſo.

He remain'd unmov'd, and his Sailors obey'd his Signal; ſome from under the Hatches diſcharged their Fire-Arms among the crowded *Spaniards*; and others upon Deck preſs'd in among them with their Cutlaſſes and other Weapons. One Moment ſaw the Deck covered with the Dead and Wounded.

This was the Effect of the Captain's Orders, and the Fury of the People terrify'd the *Spaniards*. One Minute overthrew the Preparation of many Days; thoſe who were fartheſt from the Danger leaped again into their Boats; and the reſt begg'd for Mercy.

Thus the Courage of about thirty *Engliſh* clear'd the Ship of more than an hundred *Spaniards*: and the Mercy of the Commander did him no leſs Honour than his Courage. Among the Number who ſwam wounded upon the Sea was the Corregidor. He ordered him to be taken into the Veſſel; gave him into the Care of his own Surgeon, and without upbraiding him with his Fault, ſaw him cured.

The Ship being recover'd, the Captain had to conſider what Courſe he ſhould take. A Part of his Cargo was landed, and he was but in the Beginning of his Traffick: but he conſider'd nothing could be expected from the *Spaniards* after this Action; and that it would appear enough to his Owners that he ſaved his Veſſel: he failed therefore immediately for *England*.

The Corregidor, though he had not the Virtue to feel thoſe Senſations another would have done from the Generoſity of one he had betrayed, trembled at the Thought of *England*. He entreated to be ſet on ſhore in ſome other Country, and offer'd largely for his Ranſom: but Captain *Foſter* refuſed: he told him, the Concern was that of the Nation, not of his private Perſon, and that he could not deliver him any where but in *England*; where, if it ſhould prove that he had boarded him without Authority from the Government, he muſt expect the Fate of Pirates; but if he were able to produce Authority, the King who gave muſt anſwer it. *Britain*, he added, in that Caſe would look on him no otherwiſe than as a faithful Servant to an unfaithful Maſter.

This Harangue had its Conſequences. The Corregidor, who had often thought of deſtroying ſome private Papers which had eſcaped their

Search, preſerved them carefully. When called upon to anſwer for his Conduct, he produced the King of *Spain*'s Commiſſion; and this was one of the great Occaſions of the ſucceeding *Spaniſh* War.

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CHAP. XCIX.

Drake's *Expedition againſt the* Spaniards *in* 1585.

IT was natural to ſuppoſe from the Protection *Elizabeth* had given the *United Provinces*, that *Spain* would look on *England* as an Enemy; and the Commiſſion produced from that Court by the *Biſcayan*, proved it was ſo.

Spain was too powerful to be ſlighted as an Enemy; and the excellent Policy of the Queen now determined to remove the War from her own Coaſt, by finding Employment for the *Spaniſh* Force in the *Weſt Indies*.

Ships of the *Engliſh*, with their Cargoes and their Men, were detain'd in all the Ports of *Spain*, as *Foſter* would have been but for his Defence; and the firſt Step the Queen took was, to give thoſe who had ſuffer'd, Authority to indemnify themſelves upon any of the *Spaniſh* Effects they ſhould find in their Power.

Letters of Reprizals were granted, authoriſing the Perſons to whom they were given, to detain and ſeize all Veſſels belonging to *Spaniards* which they ſhould meet upon the Seas; and private Satisfaction being thus given to the Sufferers, the publick Meaſure was purſued with Vigour: a Fleet was ordered out for the *Weſt Indies*; and when the Choice came for a chief Commander, all Voices ſpoke for *Drake*.

The Queen ſent for him, and told him, that as he had before reſented his private Injuries againſt the *Spaniards*, he muſt now revenge thoſe of the Publick.

Drake accepted the Commiſſion. He had at this Time the Rank of Admiral, and he went out with one and twenty Ships.

The Veſſels were well furniſhed with every Thing, their Complement of Sailors was more than two Thouſand; and this Number was encreaſed by a large Addition of Land Forces.

Lieutenant General *Carliſle*, an experienced and brave Commander, had the Land Force under him; and the whole being ready on the fourteenth of *September* 1585, they ſailed from *Plymouth*.

Sir *Francis Drake* knew the Extent of his Power, and the Importance of the Expedition. He ſhaped his Courſe directly for the Coaſt of *Spain*, and in his Way took a Number of Prizes.

This did not ſatisfy him; becauſe it was not all he could do: *Drake* was an *Engliſhman* in Heart and Soul; he never thought he had done his Duty, while any Thing remained that could be undertaken in the Service.

Having ſeiz'd what Ships were ſcattered about the Coaſt, he bore to Shore; inſtructed Lieutenant General *Carliſle* in his Purpoſes, and landed large Bodies of Men, firſt at *Bayonne*, and afterwards at *Vigo* and *Ferro*, to plunder.

The *Spaniards* were aſtoniſh'd and terrify'd: Poſts ran after one another to Court, with Intelligence of new Miſchiefs; and the Name of *Drake* more terrible to their Ears, than the fabled Baſiliſk to Eyes, added tenfold Fright.

When he had thrown all *Spain* into Confuſion, he left that Coaſt and ſailed for the *Weſt-Indies*. In his Way he ſtop'd at the *Cape Verde* Iſlands; and on the ſixteenth of *November* anchor'd at *St. Jago*, between the Town ſo named and that of *Praje*.

It was in the Duſk of Evening they came to Anchor; and *Drake*, whoſe Character it was never to loſe a Moment, conſulted with the Lieutenant General that Night to attack the Town.

Theſe were not Officers who deſtroy'd their Country's Hopes by private Squabbles: they agreed in every Thing. The Men were landed, and before Notice could be given, they were upon the Town. They plunder'd it, and beſides vaſt Quantity of Proviſions and valuable Effects, found Abundance of Gold and Silver.

This with the Plunder of the Cathedral at *Vigo*, among which was a vaſt Crucifix of maſſy Silver, amounted to a great deal of Treaſure.

Drake called the Men on board, and giving Orders to ſpare an Hoſpital, in which were many helpleſs Perſons, he burnt the Town.

A Fortnight his Fleet rode in Triumph in this Place, Witneſſes of the thorough Revenge taken of a perfidious People. He then ſet ſail for the great End and Purpoſe of his Voyage, the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*.

CHAP. C.

Sir Francis Drake *arrives at the* Weſt Indies.

EVERY Thing had hitherto favoured the Expedition, even to the Extent of the Admiral's Wiſhes. A Sickneſs threatened the Men ſoon after they ſet ſail; and ſome were loſt: but the Admiral ſtopping to refreſh firſt at *Dominica*, and afterwards at St. *Chriſtopher's*, Health was reſtored on board his Fleet, and he purſued his deſtin'd Courſe to *Hiſpaniola.*

They arrived there on *New Year's Day*; and Sir *Francis* according to his determined Method, propoſed immediately to fall upon the City of St. *Domingo.*

They were at about ten Miles diſtance, and he adviſed, and the Commander of the Land Forces joined in it, to land a ſufficient Number, and lead them to the Attack, before they ſhould receive Intelligence at the Place, or be prepared for Reſiſtance.

Twelve Hundred were landed; and their Officers having placed them in Order, led them at once forward.

The March of ſuch a Number could not be in Secret. Expreſs upon Expreſs arrived at the Town, and what the *Spaniards* did upon this ſhort Notice, ſhowed it was well they had no more.

They ſent out a Party of Horſe, to the Number of near two hundred, to meet the Enemy upon the March, as far diſtant from the Town as they could; and theſe being diſpatched, they laid more than three hundred Foot in Ambuſh very near the Place.

The *Engliſh* were not ſurprized to meet with Oppoſition, and they were well prepared to encounter it.

Their Officers gave them full Orders, and as the *Spaniſh* Horſe appeared, commanded a Halt, to receive them.

The *Spaniards* were commanded to diſcharge their Pieces, and then ruſh in Sword in Hand upon the Enemy.

The *Engliſh* Officers ſtood attentive to every Advantage. The Enemy fir'd at too great a diſtance; and as they came on, the *Engliſh*, of whom few were hurt, received them with a full Volley; every Man took his Aim, and they were near enough for Execution.

Scarce a *Spaniard* was left alive upon the firſt Fire: the few who remained, rode off, and the *Engliſh* purſued their Courſe without farther Moleſtation, till they came near the Place.

The Foot of the *Spaniſh* who were in Ambuſh, fir'd, and did ſome Execution; but the Officers leading their Men in Sword in Hand upon them, they fled.

They had no Place to fly to but the City; the Gates were opened to them; and the *Engliſh* cloſe at their Heels entered with them.

All was Confuſion: the People thought of nothing but eſcaping as well as they could. The *Engliſh* took Poſſeſſion of the Church and Market-Place, and were acknowledged Maſters of the Town.

Their Loſs was ſmall, and this was owing to their Intrepidity. There were ſome Cannon on the Ramparts, and theſe began to do Execution; but the Troops under *Carliſle*, preſſing forward with Rapidity, were ſoon ſecure from them; and entered a City too terrified for more Reſiſtance.

The Soldiers who had eſcaped were admitted into the Caſtle, and that ſtill held out, tho' the Town was in the Hands of the *Engliſh.*

The Admiral and the Lieutenant General held a Council with all the principal Officers on the Method of attacking it; but the Garriſon ſaved them the Trouble.

The Soldiers who had eſcaped the *Engliſh*, gave ſuch Accounts of their Boldneſs, that Reſiſtance was held impoſſible.

At Midnight the Attack was concerted to be made; but the firſt Notice of their Approach drove away the Enemy; and ſome were taken Priſoners, and others eſcaped in Boats. Thus were the *Engliſh* perfect Maſters of the Place.

Oppoſition being now over, no Severities were permitted, the Plunder of the Place was carried on board the Ships; and the Admiral ſent to the People to know whether they would ſave their Houſes by Ranſom. They were backward in their Offers, and he ſet Fire to the Town.

This brought them in: a ſettled Rate of Ranſom was propoſed and adjuſted; and the Fleet having made their beſt Advantage of ſo ſucceſsful an Expedition, ſet ſail to *Carthagena.*

CHAP.

CHAP. CI.

Drake's *Attack on* Carthagena.

Carthagena was ſtrong by Land, and well defended by a Fort at Sea: but the *Engliſh* were too many and too brave, to be put from their Purpoſe, by any Appearance of Oppoſition. The Strength of the Place was known; and the Attack was concerted accordingly.

The Land Forces were to be ſet on Shore, at four Miles diſtance; and the Boats and Pinnaces were to be full mann'd, and to make a Diverſion by a bold Attack on the Haven.

'Twas not ſuppoſed they could carry it; but the Diverſion could not but be of Service.

The *Spaniards* had Notice of their Arrival, and expected the Attack: They knew the Strength on the Land-Side, and they poſted themſelves advantageouſly. They planted Spikes in the Way where the *Engliſh* were to paſs, if they came in the Dark; and they lay upon the Watch.

Carliſle advanced in the dead of the Night; and at an appointed Moment, *Drake* with his armed Veſſels began the Attack upon the Fort, by a full Volley.

The Stillneſs of the Time, the Burſt of the Diſcharge, and Eccho from the Shores, called all the *Spaniards* thither. They magnified the Volley into ten Broadſides, and doubted not but the whole Body of the *Engliſh* were there.

This was the Purpoſe: the Land Force, who knew this Diſcharge was their Signal, haſted to the Walls; and took the Place by Storm, at one Aſſault.

The Fire was violent from the Fort, but 'twas Midnight, and the *Engliſh* out of Reach.

Sir *Francis* who had done all he purpoſed, waited to ſee where he could be of Service farther: he found the *Engliſh* Maſters, and he went back to his Ships.

Reſiſtance was at an End, and there remained nothing but to plunder.

The Treaſures of the Place, and all that was worth Carriage, was taken out of the Ships; after which, the Town was propoſed to be burnt, or ranſomed.

This was managed, juſt as in the preceding Inſtance; the People were backward, and the Town was fired: they then came in, and Terms were ſettled.

The Ranſom of St. *Jago* had been five and twenty Thouſand Ducats; and that of *Carthagena*, was a hundred and ten Thouſand.

Thus all ſucceeded in the Hands of theſe experienced Commanders: they joined heartily in every rational Service; and they had none who fear'd to execute any Thing they propoſed.

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CHAP. CII.

The English *purſue their Succeſs.*

A Contagious Diſeaſe had taken off ſome of the *Engliſh* after their leaving St. *Jago*; and ſoon after they ſailed from *Carthagena*, that ſtrange Diſtemper, peculiar to the Sea, the Calenture, threatened them deſperately.

The Sailors were taken inſtantly, and by one certain Symptom of Lightheadedneſs, peculiar to the Diſorder, ſuppoſed the Sea, Green Fields, and leaped from the Deck to walk in them. It is the Courſe of Nature for the Cure of that Diſorder: for a Cold bath, when due Care is taken afterwards, by putting the Perſon into a warm Bed, and promoting Sweat, generally proves a Remedy.

It appeared ſo in this Inſtance; of the many that before the reſt were aware, leaped overboard; moſt were taken up again, and recovered by the following profuſe Sweat.

This Diſorder, which thinned the Number, and diſheartened more than it deſtroyed, was of very ill Effect in the Enterprize: The Admiral had laid a noble Plan of falling again upon *Nombre Des Dios*, a Place whoſe Weakneſs he well knew; and thence to have gone by Land to *Panama*; but this now appeared impracticable.

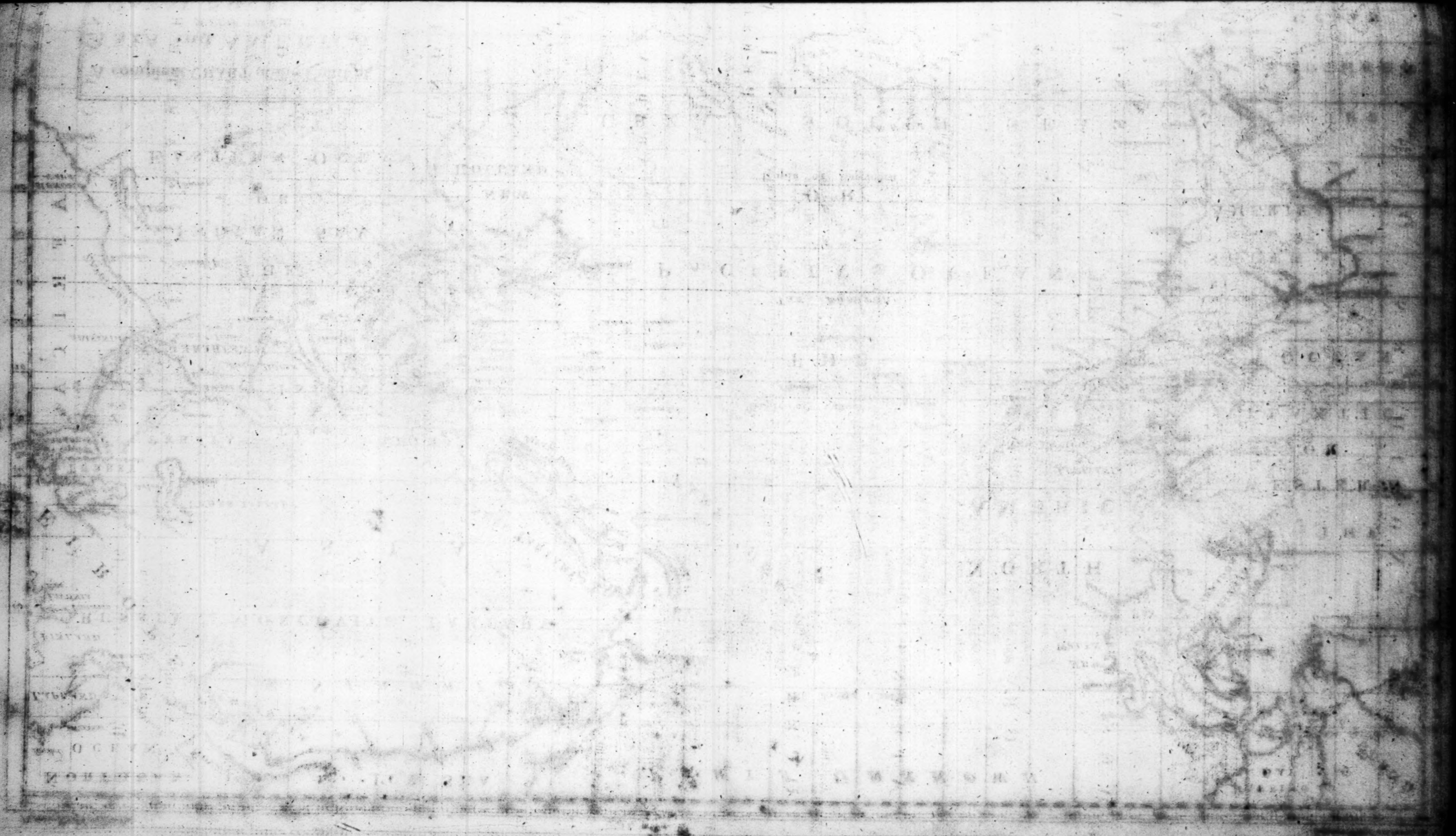
He had that true Wiſdom of ſubmitting to Neceſſity; and giving up his great Enterprize, he ſet ſail for *England*.

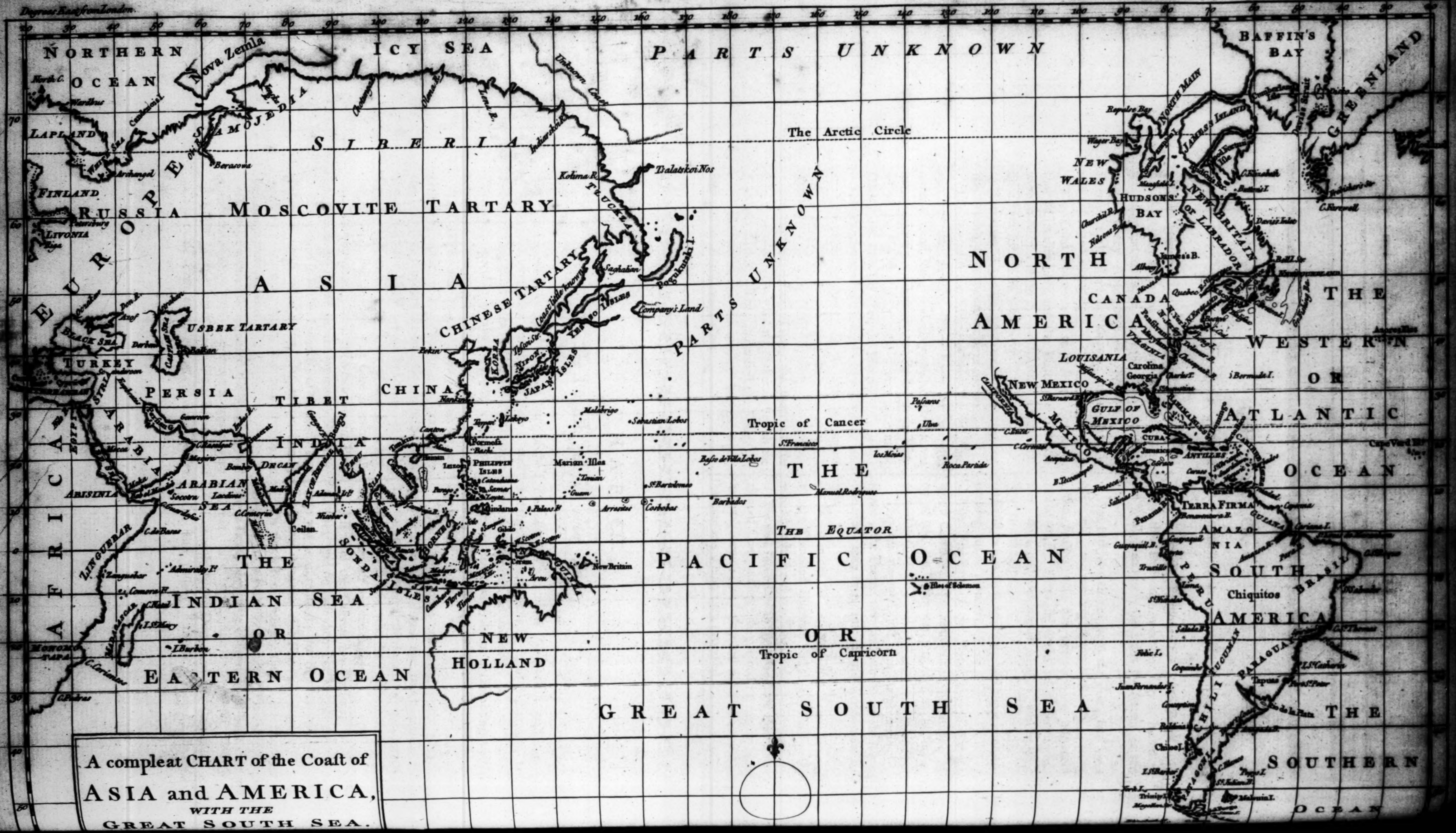
What he had done was much: tho' what he propoſed to have done, was much more. He had however revenged the Inſults of his Country, humbled the People who had offered them; and enriched himſelf and his Sailors.

He told the Officers his Reaſons, when he ſet ſail; and he bade them not ſuppoſe their Fortune was accompliſhed; for that there would ſtill be Prizes between that Place and *England*.

On the laſt of *March*, they ſailed from *Carthagena*, but a Prize Veſſel full of Treaſure ſpringing a Leak, they were obliged to go back thither to refit.

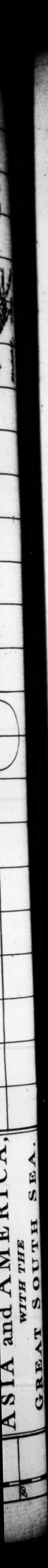
This took up ten Days, and they then ſailed again, and paſſing between *Cuba* and *Jucatan*, they





Degrees East from London
Degrees West from London
NORTHERN OCEAN
North C.
Wardhus
LAPLAND
White Sea
Archangel
FINLAND
RUSSIA
Petersburg
LIVONIA
Riga
EUROPE
Nova Zemla
SAMOJEDIA
Berasova
ICY SEA
SIBERIA
MOSCOVITE TARTARY
ASIA
Oby R.
Lena R.
Indigirska R.
Kolima R.
TSCHUKTSCHI
Tschalatskoi Nos
Unknown Coast
PARTS UNKNOWN
The Arctic Circle
Saghalien
Company's Land
CHINESE TARTARY
Coast little known
YEDSO ISLES
KOREA
Pekin
NIPON
JAPAN ISLES
USBEK TARTARY
Caspian Sea
BLACK SEA
TURKEY
PERSIA
ARABIA
EGYPT
TIBET
INDIA
CHINA
Nankin
Canton
Formosa
DECAN
Bombay
C. Comorin
Ceilan
BAY OF BENGAL
ARABIAN SEA
Socotra
ABISINIA
AFRICA
ZANGUEBAR
C. de Basas
Zanguebar
Comora Is.
MADAGASCAR
I. St. Mary
I. Burbon
MONOMOTAPA
C. Corientes
C. Padras
Admiralty Is.
THE INDIAN SEA OR EASTERN OCEAN
PHILIPPIN ISLES
Mindanao
Palaos Is.
BORNEO
SONDA ISLES
Sumatra
Java
Celebes
Gilolo
Timor
NEW GUINEA
New Britain
NEW HOLLAND
Marian Isles
Guam
Malabrigo
Sebastian Lobos
St. Francisco
Basse de Villa Lobos
St. Bartolomeo
Barbados
Arrecifes
Corbobas
Tropic of Cancer
THE PACIFIC OCEAN OR GREAT SOUTH SEA
THE EQUATOR
Tropic of Capricorn
Isles of Salomon
Pajaros
Ulna
los Mojas
Roca Partida
Manuel Rodrigues
BAFFIN'S BAY
GREENLAND
NORTH MAIN
Repulse Bay
Wager Bay
NEW WALES
HUDSONS BAY
JAMES ISLAND
NEW BRITAIN OR LABRADOR
Davis's Inlet
C. Farewell
Churchill R.
Nelson R.
Albany
James's B.
NORTH AMERICA
CANADA
Quebec
NEWFOUNDLAND
LOUISANIA
VIRGINIA
Carolina
Georgia
Mississippi R.
St. Augustine
NEW MEXICO
CALIFORNIA
C. St. Lucas
C. Corientes
MEXICO
Acapulco
GULF OF MEXICO
CUBA
Jamaica
ANTILLES
Bermuda I.
THE WESTERN OR ATLANTIC OCEAN
Cape Verd Is.
Panama
TERRA FIRMA
GUIANA
Cayenne
AMAZONIA
SOUTH AMERICA
PERU
Lima
Chiquitos
BRASIL
Guayaquil
Truxillo
Arica
TUCUMAN
PARAGUAY
CHILI
Coquimbo
Juan Fernandez I.
Baldivia
Chiloe I.
Rio de la Plata
St. Catherine
PATAGONIA
Magellan Str.
Falkland I.
THE SOUTHERN OCEAN

A compleat CHART of the Coast of
ASIA and AMERICA,
WITH THE
GREAT SOUTH SEA.



they kept near the Coaſt. The *Spaniards*, who had now every where heard the News of them, abandon'd their Towns as they approach'd; and they burnt *St. Anthony's*, *St Auſtin's*, and ſome others; Revenge taking the Place of Plunder.

After the burning *St. Auſtin's*, from whence, as other Places, the *Spaniards* had remov'd their valuable Effects, the *Engliſh* Soldiers fell upon the Fort, where, to their Surprize, as well as Satiſfaction, they found the Iron Cheſt of Public Money; this was too heavy to be remov'd; and the Treaſurer in his Fright forgot the Keys. They burſt it open, and carry'd to their Veſſels, the Pay of the *Spaniſh* Forces.

CHAP. CIII.

Drake *viſits* Virginia.

ALL being now done that could be thought practicable in this Place, the Admiral continu'd his Courſe for *England*, taking in the Coaſt of *Florida*, and determining to viſit his Countrymen eſtabliſh'd in the new *Virginia*.

They arrived at that Place on the Month of *June*, and were directed to the *Engliſh* by a Fire. The Admiral ordered out a Boat: he ſent for one of the People on board, and he proceeded with him to their Port.

From this Place, off which the Fleet anchor'd, for many of them were of too large Burthen to come in, the Admiral ſent an Expreſs to let the Governor and Colony know of his Arrival, and that he was ready to aſſiſt them in every thing they wanted.

Mr. *Lane*, the Governor, inſtantly acquainted the People under his Command; and their Joy was beyond all Bounds.

The Governor himſelf waited on Sir *Francis*, and requeſted Proviſions, ſome more Men, and a ſmall Veſſel, with Boats; that if reduc'd to Diſtreſs, they might have it in their Power at any Time to return to *England*.

This was granted readily: and the People, who had indeed been reduced almoſt to Deſpair, comforted with the Aſſiſtance and Relief, talked of nothing but a longer Stay.

A few Days after a Storm roſe, which drove the Veſſel appointed for them from her Anchors, and ſome beſide. The Accident diſhearten'd them again. Nothing could have kept up their Spirits to ſtay, but the having a Power when they pleas'd to return: this they ſaw, by the preſent Accident, was altogether precarious; and it renew'd in their Minds all their former Deſpair.

It was in vain Sir *Francis Drake* offer'd them another Ship: they were diſhearten'd at the Loſs of the firſt; they could not perſuade themſelves they ever ſhould be ſafe with any; and they join'd in an unanimous Requeſt that they might be taken back to *England*.

Sir *Francis Drake*, who had been rejoiced at their Readineſs to ſtay, was extremely concern'd upon this Change: he call'd the Governor and the principal of the People to Council; preſs'd them by every Argument to remain there voluntarily, and offer'd them more than they aſk'd, by way of Aſſiſtance; but at the ſame Time he told them, that if they perſiſted in their Deſire, he would not be ſo wanting to Honour and Humanity, as to refuſe to take them.

They perſiſted in their Deſire, and the Admiral took them on board his Veſſels.

'Twas on the Eighteenth of *June* the *Engliſh* Colony left the Coaſt of *Virginia*; and on the Twenty-eighth of the ſucceeding Month, they arriv'd in *England*.

CHAP. CIV.

The End of Sir Francis Drake*'s Expedition.*

THE Booty brought in by Admiral *Drake*, was more than many had conceiv'd it poſſible for him to make, tho' much leſs than himſelf propos'd; the Sickneſs among his Men, which had prevented the great Enterprize by Land, had carry'd off near eight hundred of his People.

Among his Plunder were a great many Pieces of Cannon (for thoſe he never left behind him where he became Maſter) two hundred of theſe were Braſs; and, beſide the Glory to the Expedition, and ſo much weakening of the Enemy, they were in themſelves an Article of conſiderable Value.

The Return of *Drake* was in the Year 1586; and this was the Æra of the *Europeans* Knowledge of Tobacco.

Mr. *Lane*, the Governor of the *Engliſh* Colony in *Virginia*, brought a Quantity of it back; and ſhew'd the Uſe of it: but this was, at that Time, thought ſo unnatural and unpleaſant, that few regarded it.

CHAP. CV.

Hoſtilities begin in Europe.

WHILE *Drake* was terrifying as well as plundering the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*, there were many preparing to revenge their Country nearer Home.

Among thoſe who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves on this Occaſion, was a Youth, then of Sixteen, whom we ſhall, in a ſucceeding Part of this Work, have many Occaſions to name with Honour, Sir *William Monſon*: he engag'd among a Company of Volunteers, who embark'd in two Ships, commiſſion'd by the Queen for Reprizals, and well furniſh'd with Arms and Ammunition.

They ſail'd from *Portſmouth* for the Coaſt of *Spain*; and they gave Chaſe to the firſt Veſſel they ſaw of that Nation. It prov'd a Ship of *Biſcay*, returning from a ſucceſsful Expedition to *Newfoundland*.

The *Engliſh* were reſolute, and the *Biſcayan* deſperate. It was a ſharp Service for a Youth; perhaps ſuch as could not have been found under any other Circumſtance: but, far from diſheartening, it ſerved only to make this Stripling, who was in chief Conduct of the Enterprize, deſpiſe ſucceeding Dangers.

When the *Engliſh* came near, they ſaw the Enemy's Deck cover'd with Men, and the Commander at their Head. They made up with all Sail, the more in Spirit for the Preparation of Defence: running cloſe, they were in a Moment grappled, and this bold Youth with a Number more on board.

'Twas Evening, and the Sea roſe Mountains: The *Biſcayan* defended his Ship hardily, and the Waves ungrappled them.

The *Engliſh*, left upon the Enemy's Deck, made good their Poſt, fought Hair by Hair the little Space of Conteſt; and after they had kill'd one half of the Crew, and diſabled the Commander, drove the reſt under the Hatches.

Here they continued the Fight, firing thro' the Grates; and, toward Morning, ſeeing the Caſe deſperate, attempted to blow up the Deck.

This the *Engliſh* perceiv'd, and prevented.

It was the laſt Reſource; and this failing, they yielded.

The *Biſcayan* deliver'd his Sword to the young *Monſon*, with whom he had been twice engag'd, Hand to Hand, upon the Deck; and the Veſſel, with more Glory than Advantage, was brought to *England*.

This was the firſt Prize taken in the *Spaniſh* War: and if any thing general was to be collected from the Circumſtances, it was, that the *Engliſh* Courage was at that Time invincible.

CHAP. CVI.

An Engagement with ſome Spaniſh *Gallies.*

IT was now abſolute War between *Spain* and *England*. The King of *Spain*, incens'd at the Attempts, and confounded at the Succeſs of the *Engliſh*, gave Orders to his Subjects of ſuperior Force, to attack and deſtroy them every where.

In the *Levant* there lay at this Time a great Number of Gallies of that Kingdom, of great Force, and theſe receiv'd expreſs Orders to intercept the Ships belonging to the *Engliſh Turky* Company.

The Governors had Notice of it; and that they might be able to face the *Spaniards* in thoſe Seas, they ſent out five Ships of very conſiderable Force, and gave them Orders not to ſeparate.

Theſe Veſſels, arm'd for the Defence of the Trade, and mann'd with choſen Sailors, follow'd their Inſtructions in going, and arriv'd ſafe at their ſeveral Ports: for their Return they appointed the general Rendezvous at *Zante*; and there they receiv'd Intelligence of their Danger: That two Fleets of Gallies were diſpatch'd purpoſely to intercept them; and that the leaſt Odds they could have to combat, were thoſe of four to one. The ſmalleſt Fleet of the two being of twenty, and the other of thirty Gallies.

The Uſe the *Engliſh* made of the Intelligence, was to prepare for the Action. They examin'd their Arms, made every thing ready for the moſt ſudden Occaſion, and took their Courſe according to the uſual Manner.

Between *Sicily* and the Coaſt of *Africa*, they ſaw, at early Morning, thirteen Sail; Veſſels of *Sicily* and *Malta*, at that Time in the Pay of *Spain*.

They ſaw theſe were appointed to intercept them, and they prepar'd for their Reception.

While the *Engliſh* were arming, two light Veſſels from the Enemy came up, with a Demand, That the Commanders and Purſers of thoſe Veſſels ſhould come on board the *Spaniſh* Commander, *Don Pedro de Leiva*, to know his farther Pleaſure.

The *Engliſh* treated this Meſſage with the Contempt it deſerv'd; returning no Anſwer, but purſuing their Courſe, in full Preparation to engage.

Another Meſſage came from the *Spaniard*, requiring at leaſt one Perſon to wait on him, and under Promiſe he ſhould not be detained. To this the *Engliſh* conſented: and one of their Supercargoes went on board.

The *Spaniard* demanded with great Arrogance, whether they were *Engliſh*, or of any other Nation; and upon the Acknowledgment that they were *Engliſh*, inſiſted on their ſurrendering at Diſcretion. The Supercargoe anſwer'd, he never heard of an *Engliſhman* who did that; and deſired to be returned in Safety.

As ſoon as he was return'd, the *Spaniſh* Admiral fired a Shot of Defiance: the principal Ship of the *Engliſh*, who were now ranged in Quality of Admiral, Vice Admiral and Followers, return'd it. The *Spaniards* bore down, and the *Engliſh* in good Order expected them. They fired at a Diſtance, and did little Damage at their firſt Fire; but when they were near enough for certain Execution, the whole Diſcharge was regular, well aim'd, and very terrible.

The Engagement continued with all poſſible Fury five Hours; but at the End of that Time, the Admiral of the *Sicilian* Gallies, who had very deſperately engaged the Vice Admiral of the *Engliſh*, turned for Flight. The Veſſel was indeed in no Condition for any Thing elſe, and ſcarce for that. Two others followed the Example, and the Fight was ſoon over, for one by one they made off for the Shore, and left the *Engliſh* to purſue their Voyage.

Our People loſt but a few Men in this Action; and eſcaping the other Squadron in a Fog returned ſafe to *England*.

CHAP. CVII.

An Expedition of the Earl of Cumberland.

JUſtice to Sir *Francis Drake* demands of us to ſay, the private Spirit of revenging publick Wrongs, which, at the Period whereof we now treat, diſplayed itſelf ſo glorioſly in *Britain*, ſprung from his Example.

An Earl of *Cumberland*, a Perſon afterwards diſtinguiſh'd by more pompous Victories, this Year 1586, trod in his honourable Steps; and out of his private Fortune equip'd a little Squadron to annoy the Enemy.

It conſiſted of no more than three Ships and a Pinnace. Their Names were the *Red Dragon*, Admiral Ship, Captain *Widrington*; the *Clifford*, *Liſter*; and the *Roe*, *Hawes*: the Pinnace was called the *Dorothy*.

The Names of theſe Commanders drew them Men; and they pick'd out the beſt: War was their Buſineſs, therefore the noble Proprietor provided a ſufficient Number; and on the Seventeenth of *Auguſt* they ſailed from *Plymouth*, deſtin'd for the *South Seas*.

They had been but three Days out, when they found an Occaſion of diſplaying their Courage: they met in the Channel ſixteen Northern Veſſels; *Hamburghers*, as they ſaid, and come from *Liſbon*.

Captain *Widdrington* made his Signal, demanding Honour to the *Britiſh* Colours: but this they refuſed, deſpiſing the ſmall Number of the Squadron.

The Earl of *Cumberland* had made it the firſt Article in his Inſtructions, that they ſhould every where, againſt all Perſons, and on all Occaſions, ſupport the Glory of the *Britiſh* Flag.

The Admiral ſuſpected by their Refuſal, they had *Spaniſh* Property; and taking Occaſion from that Refuſal to treat them as Enemies, began the Attack.

They were not able to reſiſt him; he took out Proviſions, and what elſe could be uſeful to his People, and then diſmiſs'd them with this Notice, that the *Engliſh* claim'd, and would ſupport the Sovereignty and Dominion of the Seas.

This happy Beginning of the Enterprize gave the Sailors Spirit; and they grew eager for more Buſineſs. Their Commander led them toward the Coaſt of *Barbary*; and, on the Seventeenth of *September* they ſaw *Rio Doro*, where they anchor'd and took in Refreſhments.

Thence they ſail'd to *Sierra Leona*; and as their People in a large Body were on ſhore for Wood and Water, approaching near one of the Negro Towns, they were ſaluted with a Volley of Arrows.

The *Engliſh* return'd this with a Diſcharge of their Fire Arms, and the Negroes fled.

This Intelligence exaſperating the Admiral, he fell upon a Negro Town, and burnt it. In the Neighbourhood they found Rice in large Quantity; and taking this on board, with what elſe they wanted, they ſailed on the Seventeenth of *November* for the Coaſt of *America*.

In the South Latitude of thirty Degrees and a half they fell in with a high Shore in the Beginning of *January*. The Cliffs were lofty, and there was no Way of putting on ſhore, ſo they ſtood out to Sea again; and on the Tenth found themſelves near *Rio de la Plata*.

Captain *Widrington* told them, they were now in the Way of Fortune: that *Portugueſe* Veſſels, and thoſe often rich, were continually paſſing here, and that he had Orders to make Prizes of all he could maſter.

A Day after a Sail appear'd; it was a *Portugueſe*, and they took it. The Cargo was Rice, Sweetmeats, Sugar and Slaves.

Two more fell in their Way the next Day, and ſhared the ſame Fate: in theſe they found the whole holy Furniture of a new Monaſtery. The Maſter of this Veſſel gave the melancholy Account

count of Captain *Drake*, Brother of Sir *Francis*, which we have inſerted in its Place before.

On the Seventh of *February* the Admiral called all the Officers to Council, and debated with them the Courſe and Conduct of the ſucceeding Part of their Expedition.

CHAP. CVIII.

The English *viſit the Coaſt of* Braſil.

THE firſt Determination of the Council was, that they ſhould ſail directly for the Streights; and to this Purpoſe, taking all that was valuable out of their Prizes, they turn'd them adrift, and bent their Courſe as they had intended. After ſome Time however they found themſelves obliged to alter their Purpoſe; the Seaſon did not favour, and they grew uneaſy about Proviſions: a ſecond Council was called, and at this the Reſolution was unanimous, to make for the Coaſt of *Braſil*; and wait better Accommodations and a kinder Seaſon.

They purſued this Determination; and on the Twenty-eighth of *March* ſaw the Coaſt they ſought. They landed firſt at the moſt convenient Place from the Road of *Comana*, and there took in Water, and a great Quantity of freſh Proviſion. From thence they made *Baya*, and came to an Anchor before the Town.

Here they found eight large *Portugueſe* Veſſels, and a ſmall one. The Prize appeared very well worth diſputing on both Sides: the *Engliſh* prepared with all Diligence for the Attack, and the *Portugueſe* for their Defence; not only from the Veſſels themſelves, but from the Shore. Cannon were planted where they could be moſt ſerviceable for the Support of the Veſſels, and the beſt Force they had was muſter'd on the ſame Spot with their ſmall Arms: the Ships were drawn in as near as poſſible to the Shore, and about Three in the Afternoon the *Engliſh* bore upon them.

They fired at once upon the Veſſels and the Party on ſhore, and did ſo much Execution, that the *Portugueſe* on board terrify'd and confounded, gave up four of their Veſſels: the reſt eſcaped. Theſe coſt the *Engliſh* ſome Lives, but they were very rich and valuable. The Guns which were of Braſs added not a little to the Value, as well as Glory of the Prize; and they found in them Wine and other Refreſhments.

The *Portugueſe* very ill brook'd this Diſhonour, and determined on every Method of Revenge: the *Engliſh* on the other Hand, full of the true Spirit of their Nation, deſpiſed them; and, to ſhew their utter Contempt, landed their Men daily for Refreſhments.

The *Portugueſe* ſaw this as a freſh Inſult, and they reſolved not to bear it. A Galley was fitted out with the beſt and braveſt Men, to the Number of four Hundred, and it was laid to wait the moſt convenient Moment of attacking the *Engliſh*. They permitted our People to land, and they fell upon them in their Return. Ours were not more than ſixty Perſons, in a Pinnace, and two or three little defenceleſs Boats.

The *Portugueſe* thought them ſure Victims, and devoted them all to Death. They came on with Drums beating, Colours flying, and with Shouts. The *Engliſh* kept in a Body, and waited the furious Enemy; they repulſed them in ſix ſucceſſive Attacks, and then ſaw them in a miſerable Condition make the Shore: the Dead and Wounded much more than out-numbring the ſurviving and unhurt.

Captain *Widrington* gave them all the Applauſe ſuch Courage deſerved; and to reſent the Attempt, he burnt ſome of their Veſſels and their Sugar-houſes, after he had given his People Commiſſion to plunder them at Diſcretion.

CHAP. CIX.

The Concluſion of this Voyage.

ON the Twenty-ſecond of the ſame Month they put to Sea again, and took a little Veſſel; from the Maſter of which, they got Intelligence of a much larger, well loaded, and drawn up a little Creek, ſhaded by Hills and Woods, to lie till they had left the Coaſt.

They found and took her on the twenty ſixth; and afterwards cruized with no great Advantage, in the ſame Seas a Month.

The Vice Admiral *Liſter*, grew loud now in his Complaints; he ſaid, the Purpoſe of their Expedition was by no Means comply'd with; and that they were neither executing the Intention of their noble Proprietor, nor giving their Men the promiſed Opportunity of making their Fortunes: that the deſtined End of their Voyage was the *South-Sea*, and that their Duty, as well as Intereſt, called upon them now, after this long Delay, to ſeek the Streights of *Magellan*.

Captain *Widrington*, who did not want Courage, yet for ſome Reaſon was abſolutely againſt this. No Arguments could move him; and 'twas in vain that *Liſter* ſollicited his Permiſſion to act alone as he thought his Duty required him.

The Commander in Chief oppoſed it. He did not care another ſhould have the Glory of attempting what he declined: and he had the Addreſs to make what was judg'd his own Act ſolely appear that of the whole Body. He again called a Council, when the Matter was propoſed; and there were not wanting Hints of calling *Liſter* to Account as mutinous. This was too groſs to paſs; but the Reſolution was carried as the Commander choſe; and the Return for *England* was determined.

In their Return they ſettled Matters among themſelves as well as they could; and tho' they had by no Means anſwered the Intent, they had very well compenſated the Expence of the Voyage: and they brought home with their Treaſure ſome Reputation.

CHAP. CX.

An Expedition to the Azores.

IN the Year 1586, Mr. *Walter Raleigh*, not yet Sir *Walter*, fitted out at his own Expence two Veſſels, mann'd them with Sailors harden'd by former Expeditions, and gave them to the Command of truly *Britiſh* Captains; Men who conſidered an Inſult to their Nation as an Indignity to every one who was born in it, and who underſtood every Individual bound in Honour to reſent it.

Such were the Hearts and Diſpoſitions of the Commanders, and their Deſtination was to the Coaſt of *Spain*, and afterwards to the *Azores*.

They ſailed from *Plymouth* on the Tenth of *June*, and in their Way met with a Veſſel carrying a *Portugueſe* of Diſtinction to the Government of *St. Michael*'s Iſland. They took it. They found with him many other *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* of ſome Faſhion, and her lading was not inconſiderable.

They failed next to the Iſland *Gracioſa*, Weſt of *Tercera*; and there came in Sight of a large Veſſel. They made ſail to her, and perceiving her to be *Spaniſh*, hung out a white ſilk Enſign from the Main-Top. This made them paſs for *Spaniards*, and the Deceit was not diſcover'd till within Gun-ſhot.

The Croſs of St. *George* then took Place of the white Flag, and the *Spaniards* ſtruck.

It was their Fortune to take Governors. Don *Pedro de Sarmiento* was on board the Veſſel, Governor of the Streights of *Magellan*; but they changed his Voyage, and preſented him at their Return to the Queen of *Britain*.

Two other Veſſels appeared a few Days afterwards; and the Fort of *Gracioſa* was no Defence to them: they ſent in a Boat with only ſeven Men, who took firſt one of them, and then the other, in Sight of twenty Times their Number upon the Shore, within Gun-ſhot, but afraid to attack them.

The Time of their intended Expedition now drew toward its Period, and they had done as much as they could expect: they prepared therefore to return Home; and were ſcarce out of Sight of Land, when they diſcovered a conſiderable Fleet: no leſs than twenty-five Veſſels were counted from their Maſt Heads.

The Commanders determined not to fly; but that they might ſecure what they had got already, they ſent their Prizes off for *England*, to tell that they had left them acting like *Britons*, and preparing to attack the Enemies of their Country againſt all Odds.

The Fleet all this Time followed their proper Courſe, not regarding two ſmall Veſſels. They, with only ſixty Men attacked them; and could they have been ſucceſsful, had made a wonderful Capture: two Carracks, one of twelve hundred Tons, and the other of eleven hundred, being ſtout Veſſels, took the Poſt of Danger: they ſtood the Attack of the *Engliſh*, ſheltering all the others. The Fight laſted two and thirty Hours, and in that Time the *Engliſh* fired all their Powder; they were then obliged to give up the Attempt.

They ſailed for *England*; and arrived ſoon after their Prizes at *Plymouth*.

CHAP. CXI.

The Attempt of Davis *for a North-Weſt Paſſage.*

IN the ſame Year 1586, the Opinion of a North-Weſt Paſſage to the *Eaſt Indies* gain'd great Ground among the People of Judgment in *England*.

Saunderſon at this Time diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſome large Globes; on which he laid down the ſeveral known Countries with more Correctneſs than they had been marked before; and many of the principal Merchants and Perſons of Diſtinction, Purchaſers of them, were led by what they ſaw, and by what many had joined to believe ſo firmly, to perſwade themſelves a new

Paſſage might be found by the North-Weſt Parts of *America*.

All who entertained this Opinion were invited to ſubſcribe to the Undertaking; and at the joint Expence two Veſſels were fitted out, the *Sunſhine* and the *Moonſhine*; and the Command was given to Captain *John Davis*, a great Promoter of the Scheme, and a large Subſcriber to it.

On the Twenty-eighth of *June* they got clear of *Falmouth*, having ſailed from *Dartmouth* ſeveral Days before.

They went Northward; and at about five hundred Leagues from the South Cape of *Iceland* they firſt fell in with Ice: this was on the Thirteenth of *July*, and the next Day they ſaw *Greenland*. Froſt for ſome Leagues guarded the whole Shore; and the Mountains were covered with Snow; Wolves howl'd, Bears roar'd; the Ice from Time to Time burſt with a Noiſe of Thunder; and every thing contributed to the Idea the Commander entertain'd, when he called the Country the Land of Deſolation.

He followed the Courſe of the Land Northward and Weſtward as it ran; and on the Nine and twentieth came to an open Sea, and a thaw'd Shore.

Here he put in, and found the Natives not averſe to traffick. They were numerous, and not unfriendly. The Commodities they offered were Furs and Seals Skins; and their Dreſs, Skins and Feathers.

On the Firſt of *Auguſt* he ſaw an open Sea to the North-Weſt, and he purſued his Courſe. On the Sixth he came to an Anchor under a Hill in ſixty-ſix Degrees and forty Minutes. The Sailors were charm'd with the glittering Sand they ſaw run down its Sides, and gild the Land at its Foot; but the Commander had ſeen enough of theſe Deceptions, not to amuſe himſelf with Hopes about it. He called the Hill *Mount Raleigh*; and ſtaying only to kill ſome Bears, proceeded along the Shore.

The Land here they found run Weſtward. This they coaſted Day by Day, watching the Shore; and on the Eleventh they diſcovered with unſpeakable Joy, what they ſuppoſed a Paſſage.

They came into a Streight running in a promiſing Direction, and twenty Leagues in Breadth. It ſeem'd to continue in an equal Manner, with good Depth of Water, all the Aſpect of a Cut from Sea to Sea, and perfectly free from Ice.

After returning ſolemn Thanks to God for the Succeſs of their Voyage hitherto, and the Proſpect of Diſcovery with which it was now attended, they ſailed forward up the Streight.

Davis who determin'd to do nothing imperfectly in this weighty Buſineſs, obſerved all the Coaſt, viſited many Iſlands in his Way, and ſailed without Obſtruction ſixty Leagues.

He found ſeveral convenient Harbours; a ſafe Sea and an open Shore: and on the Fifteenth, and the two ſucceeding Days, he went on Land; and ſought for the Inhabitants. The Sight of unknown Veſſels had driven from the Shore; but he found many Marks not only that there were People, but that they were not wholly untaught in the Arts of Life.

Davis purſued his Courſe up the Streight farther, till the Twenty-eighth of *Auguſt* confirmed more and more by all he ſaw, that it would open into the other Sea: but now the Cold approached, the Seaſon was exhauſted in the Search; and the Winds hitherto fair and favourable, proved now harſh and contrary.

He called the principal People about him, and explained his Purpoſe. He told them, he would not venture their Lives farther in the Reſearch now the Time grew improper, but that they would return to *England*; and ſet out again prepared for purſuing the Project: that if they urg'd it too far at preſent, not only they might periſh, but their Country would then be robbed of the ineſtimable Diſcovery they had made; and their ill Fortune diſcourage ſucceeding Adventurers.

The People, convinced as he was of their Succeſs, liſten'd to his Reaſons. They gave his Name to the Streight, which it retains to this Day; and on the laſt of *Auguſt* ſailed for *England*.

Thirty Days brought them back to *Dartmouth*, whence they had ſet out; without Loſs or Damage; to chear their Owners with the Proſpect of Succeſs, and to prepare for a ſecond Expedition.

CHAP. CXII.

A ſecond Expedition of Davis.

ON the Return of the two Veſſels, a Conſultation of the Proprietors was held, and Captain *Davis* and the moſt intelligent of his People were preſent, himſelf as Proprietor and Maſter of the Voyage, the reſt as Evidences.

The Globe of *Saunderſon* was produced, and the Streight was mark'd in upon it; in a Place ſuitable to their joint Obſervations, and where before there ſtood a perfect Blank. Its Courſe, ſo far as they had gone up, was traced upon the Globe; and *Davis* with dotted Lines continued what he gueſs'd to be its Way into the other Sea.

Thoſe who aſſembled were moſt Geographers: they debated the Matter with all that Calmneſs its Importance deſerved; and they were in the End fully brought over to the Opinion of the Captain by his juſt Reaſons, and well grounded Conjectures. He obſerved that the whole Streight, ſo far as they had gone, abounded with Iſlands, with Sounds between them; that the Water all the Way continued of the ſame Colour and Complexion with that of the Ocean; and that to the

Weſt of the Iſlands, far up the Streight, they ſaw four Whales.

There was no Probability of theſe coming from the Eaſtern Sea, becauſe they had ſeen none before, and therefore it was probable they came from the Weſtern.

That rowing into a great Sound South-Weſt, whence the Whales came, they found a very powerful Countercheck of a Tide from the Southward, againſt the Flood in which they came: that from twenty Fathom towards the Entrance of the Streight, the Depth came as they advanced, fifty, ſeventy, and at laſt no Ground in three Hundred Fathom; and that it ebb'd and flowed from ſix to ſeven Fathom, the Flood coming from divers Parts.

Theſe Facts the Men atteſted; and by theſe *Davis* perſuaded the Proprietors, as firmly as he was himſelf perſuaded of a Paſſage.

The Seaſon had advanced upon them too quick for their Diſcovery, therefore in the ſucceeding Year he fail'd from *England* a full Month earlier, and on the fifteenth of *June*, diſcovered Land in ſixty Degrees Latitude, and forty ſeven Longitude from *London* weſtward.

His Fleet was now one Ship, two Barks, and a Pinnace for Diſcovery. Ice prevented his coming near the Shore.

Here he divided his Number, and ſent one of the Veſſels with a Pinnace Northward, to try for a Paſſage between *Iceland* and *Greenland*, in the Latitude of Eighty, where no known Land hindered them.

On the twenty ninth he landed in ſixty four Degrees Latitude; and traded for Furs, with a civil, inoffenſive People.

Many of theſe were the ſame Perſons with whom he had been the Year before, and they were pleaſed extremely with his Return.

Here he ſent Boats into all the Sounds and Bays; and aſcended himſelf the higheſt Mountains to ſee forward: what he could diſcover was, that the Streight continued; but nothing more.

He puſh'd his Courſe now to the utmoſt, and ſailed eighty Leagues up the Streight; he found it full of Iſlands, and well ſtor'd with Fiſh.

He then coaſted ſouthward to fifty ſix Degrees, and found a good Harbour: there he ſtaid till *September*, and then ſailing thence in fifty two Degrees; on the fourth of that Month, found himſelf in an open Sea.

All was now Tranſport: none doubted but they had made the Paſſage. The Sea tended Weſtward; and the Land to the South they perſuaded themſelves was only Coaſts of Iſlands. They earneſtly wiſh'd to puſh into this Sea, but the Wind did not favour.

They fiſh'd, and landed for Neceſſaries; and remain'd two Days waiting more favourable Weather: but all Accidents now conſpir'd againſt them: ſome of their Men were murthered on ſhore by the Natives; and the Weather grew inſupportably ſevere and ſtormy.

Davis who uſed his Advantages with Diſcretion, ſaw no more prudently could be done now, and he returned to *England*.

The Attempt made by the two other Veſſels, was altogether unſucceſsful; one of them periſhed, and the other returned with no Advance toward a Diſcovery in that Part, and with a very indifferent Cargo in Furs.

CHAP. CXIII.

A Third Voyage on the ſame Adventure.

THE Proprietors met at the Return of their Adventurer; and they heard again his Reaſons for believing that a Diſcovery would be made. He had no Intereſt to deceive, for his own Fortune was deeply embarked, and he was too prudent to be deceived.

They found him fully perſuaded, that a Paſſage might be found; and his firm Hope gave them a like Aſſurance.

They agreed upon the Expence of another Trial; and on the nineteenth of *May*, the ſucceeding Year, he ſailed again from *Dartmouth*, with three Ships.

Two of the three Veſſels were deſtin'd for Fiſhing, that ſome Return might be certain; and the third ſolely for Diſcovery.

On the Eighteenth of *June*, he anchored on the North Coaſt of *America*; and on the Twentieth he was in ſixty ſeven Degrees forty Minutes Latitude in an open Sea.

He ſteer'd Weſtward Forty Leagues, and there found a great Quantity of Ice; and was forc'd by the Violence of a North Wind out of his Courſe into an open Sea again.

On the Twentieth of *July* he had Sight of the Streight, and he ſailed up it ſeventy Leagues; where he found it forty wide.

Ice now obſtructed his Paſſage, and he was obliged to come out again into the open Sea.

He coaſted ſouthward, to fifty two Degrees Latitude, and without making any farther Diſcovery, fail'd when the Seaſon required for *England*. He return'd convinced more and more of the Practicability of what he had attempted; but all were diſheartened from farther Trial.

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CHAP. CXIV.

Raleigh's *farther Attempt to ſettle* Virginia.

ALL this Time the happy Diſcovery, and unhappy Settlement of *Virginia*, were the Subject of Converſation.

Mr. *Raleigh* who had been deeply intereſted in that Expedition, determined not to give up the Hope of ſuch an Addition to the *Engliſh* Dominions, for the Folly or Fears of a few People, unluckily choſen to manage firſt ſettled there; and in 1586, he fitted a Veſſel, and declared his Reſolution of going to relieve the Colony.

His Diligence and Expedition, got his own Ship ready before the reſt that were to join him, and he ſet ſail alone.

It was an unlucky ſetting out. Sir *Francis Drake*, had at their own Requeſt, taken the People home juſt before; and Mr. *Raleigh* returned to *England*.

He had been offended in the higheſt Degree with thoſe concerned at home; but he had not conceived they on the Spot would have deſtroyed the Plantation yet more effectually.

Sir *Richard Grenville* who ſail'd a few Days after Mr. *Raleigh*, came to the Place of his Colony, about a Fortnight after he was gone.

He found the Spot unpeopled, and he conceived as Mr. *Raleigh* had done, that the Natives had deſtroyed them.

In this Opinion, Mr. *Raleigh* had left the Place; but it happened that Sir *Richard* gain'd ſome Intelligence; not that the People were gone back to *England*, but that the *Indians* had not deſtroyed them.

This Information he obtained from one of the Country, who only knew his People had not killed them.

The Opinion of their being murthered, had diſheartened thoſe who came with Mr. *Raleigh*; but Sir *Richard* cheer'd thoſe who had come with him to ſettle by this Account: none could conceive they were got back to *England*; ſo it was thought they had made a new Settlement in ſome more favourable Place.

Sir *Richard* comforted the People he brought over, with this Thought; and with the Promiſe of an annual Supply from *England*; and they agreed to ſtay.

He landed fifty Perſons in the Iſland of *Roannak*, built them Houſes, and left them under a proper Government, with Proviſions for two Years.

This done, he returned by the *Azores*; where he landed in ſeveral Places, and in all burnt and plundered. What he brought from thence, very well paid the Expedition, and *Virginia* was once more peopled from *England*.

Mr. *Raleigh*, who returned long before Sir *Richard Grenville*, found the old Colony in *England*, and he applauded the Humanity of *Drake*, who had brought them home; nor could he now blame the People themſelves, who had been ſhamefully deceived by thoſe, on whom they had repoſed the greateſt of all human Confidence, in the double Reſpect of Proviſions and Supplies.

Soon after came Sir *Richard*; and upon the Notice of what he had done, Mr. *Raleigh*, who thought his Reputation would ſuffer by the more ſucceſsful Conduct of the other, ſet himſelf in earneſt about adding to the Number.

He encouraged many of thoſe who had come back, to go again; and with what others he procured, he ſent in the ſucceeding Summer, a Hundred and fifty Perſons of the two Sexes, and with them a Governor, Council, and proper Officers, that they might become an eſtabliſhed Colony, and ſettled all under a good Policy.

To theſe he gave a Charter of Privileges, and commiſſioning them to build a City, to be called after his Name, they were incorporated, under the Name of the Governor, Council and Aſſiſtants, of the City of *Raleigh*, in *Virginia*.

The Place allotted for the Settlement of this Colony, was the *Cheeſepeak*; they were embarked on board three Veſſels, and they had abundant Plenty of all Kinds of Stores and Proviſions.

Mr. *John White*, Governor, had the Conduct of the Voyage; and after ſome Days, paſſed not diſadvantageouſly among the *Spaniſh American* Iſlands. The Veſſels arrived ſafe at *Hateraſk* in *Virginia*, on the Twenty ſecond of *July*, whence they croſſed to *Roannoc*.

The firſt Buſineſs of the new Colony, was to enquire after the People left there by Sir *Richard Grenville*; and of theſe, they heard an Account, which almoſt diſheartened them from truſting themſelves in the Country: the *Indians* had fallen upon them, and left few alive: thoſe whom they had ſpared, they had taken with them.

Mr. *White*, upon this Occaſion, acted with great Diſcretion; he gained over to his Party, thoſe who had remained ſo long upon the Place before; and they gave Spirit to the reſt: they declared they ſaw nothing terrible in the Natives when at Enmity: but that they were a People with whom it was eaſy to cultivate a peaceful Intercourſe.

They related all the Advantages they had found in the Place; and with this Encouragement, and the Promiſe of a conſtant Supply from *England*, good Terms, and fair Speeches, they were induced to ſtay.

They proceeded to the Place where the others had reſided, and they found the Houſes not demoliſhed, but over-run with Weeds, which the rich

Soil raiſed in great Abundance, and to a vaſt Size in a little Time; a few Bones they alſo ſaw there; but it did not appear to have been a general Maſſacre.

Mr. *White* told them their Inſtructions were to make the Settlement now in a better, ſafer, and more convenient Place: but here were Houſes ready built, and the People prefer'd taking Poſſeſſion of them to the Labour of erecting new ones: they were not to be thwarted, and Mr. *White* ſubmitted.

'Twas plain the Natives were in a State of War with the *Engliſh*. The Inſtructions ran, that they ſhould keep at home till a better Intercourſe were eſtabliſhed; or if neceſſitated to go out, that it ſhould be in Parties arm'd, and able to reſiſt the common Danger.

This they did not enough regard; but thoſe who moſt ſlighted it, paid dear for their Folly. Mr. *How*, one of the Aſſiſtants, idly went out alone, and fell a Sacrifice. A Party of the *Indians* ſaw him, they diſcharged no leſs than ſixteen Arrows at him, every one of which took Place; and as he ſunk thus covered with Wounds, they fell upon him with their Swords. This gave them more Caution.

There was an *Indian* who declared great Friendſhip to the *Engliſh*, his Name was *Manteo*, it was from him they obtained Intelligence concerning their Countrymen left there before; and him they conſulted on all Occaſions reſpecting his own People.

This *Manteo* propoſed to them, after they had been a few Days ſettled, to go to the Iſland *Croaton*, where his Friends liv'd, and where they might enquire concerning the fifty Perſons whoſe Houſes they had found deſerted and deſolate.

The *Engliſh* were not without their Suſpicions of him; and they were natural enough, but they were ill grounded: though an *Indian*, he had a Senſe of their Civilities: he lov'd their Manner of living, and he was faithful.

The *Engliſh* ſent a Party of twenty, under the Command of Captain *Stafford*; and *Manteo* led them. They arrived among his Friends; and they found there had been a Scuffle between the *Indians* and the People of this little Colony, in which ſome of the latter were loſt; but that the far greater Part eſcaped: that they deſerted their Habitations, becauſe too much expoſed to the Enemy; and had retired thence to an Iſland; and from that afterwards to ſome other Place of more Security.

Manteo was afterwards chriſten'd. He was the firſt *Indian* who was ſo; and he was inveſted by the *Engliſh* with the Command of an *Indian* Province. This was the Act of Mr. *White* the Governor, and there were thoſe who blam'd it; but it was the beſt and wiſeſt Stroke of Policy that was ever atchiev'd by the Colony.

Manteo, proud of his new Religion and new Honours, took every Method of ſhewing his Gratitude: he propoſed to go Embaſſador from the Governor, not only to his own People, but to the ſeveral Nations of other *Indians* ſettled there; and to make Peace between them and the *Engliſh*. His Offer was accepted, and he received from the Governor and Council full Authority and large Inſtructions.

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CHAP. CXV.

Peace reſtored between the Colony and Natives.

MANTEO went firſt to his Iſland *Croaton*, and ſummoning the Elders and the Warriors of the People, he made them a long Speech. He ſhew'd the many Preſents he had received from the *Engliſh*, among whom, he told them, ſuch Things grew, as Leaves upon the Trees; and that the Way to have them always, was, not to plunder thoſe who were ſettled here, but to be Friends with them, and ſo receive them in Abundance every Fall of Leaf, when they came in from the great Kingdom.

He ſpoke with Piety and Rapture upon the Way he was taught to worſhip him who made the Earth and Stars; and told them, theſe People came not as Robbers to take their Country from them, or as Savages to make it a Deſart, but as Friends to viſit them; to live among them, and to improve and enrich the Kingdoms.

Manteo's Speech had its Effect; he was deſired to retire; and the People conſidered the Matter. After an Hour they called him in. They aſked him, if the *Engliſh* deſired to live as Friends for ever. On his anſwering Yes, they led him to a River, and every one kneeling on the Brink, and taſting a little in his Hand, ſwore before Heaven, in the Names of themſelves and their Deſcendants, they would do no Harm to the *Engliſh* as long as that Stream ran.

Twelve of the principal People went back with *Manteo* to the Colony, to ratify the Engagement; and they were received in Form: the *Engliſh* on their Part, took the ſame Oath in Favour of the *Indians*, and they gave them many Preſents.

With theſe *Manteo*, in an *Engliſh* Habit proceeded to viſit all the neighbouring Provinces. The twelve vouch'd for him, all he affirmed, of the Greatneſs, Generoſity, and good Diſpoſition of the *Engliſh*; and in three Months a perfect Intercourſe of Friendſhip was eſtabliſh'd between the Colony, and all the Tribes of *Indians* near enough to ſerve or moleſt them.

Every Thing was quiet, and every one happy; the *Engliſh* entertained no more Thoughts of returning, but were intent upon the Buſineſs of their Settlement. They intreated their Governor to go to *England* to negotiate the Affair of their Supplies, and to report the flouriſhing State of the Colony.

He left them on the Twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt* 1587, conducted on board by the *Indian* Elders with the higheſt Reſpect.

CHAP. CXVI.

The State of Europe *at this Period.*

SPAIN reſented the Protection given by *England* to the *United Provinces*; and the more it gave Offence, the more ſtrenuouſly *Elizabeth* ſupported them: it ſhew'd at once her Spirit, and their true Neceſſity.

In the Spring of 1586 ſhe ſent thither a Fleet of no leſs than fifty Sail; and placed at the Head of the Command the Earl of *Leiceſter*. There went with him, beſide the common Force, a Number of the *Engliſh* Nobility, and many of the firſt Families.

The States proceeded raſhly and ungratefully under a Pretence of Reſpect. Queen *Elizabeth* had been offer'd and had declined their Sovereignty: they could not but know from this her Intentions; and they ſhould have conform'd to it in all their Conduct.

On the Arrival of the Earl of *Leiceſter* they declared him Governor of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and the *United Provinces*; inveſting him with nearly an abſolute Power. This they called expreſſing their Gratitude to the Queen of *England*: but *Dutch* have been *Dutch* in all Ages; and they knew nothing could more offend her.

She acted as became a Sovereign. She told Lord *Leiceſter* he had acted contrary to her Inſtructions, her Manifeſto having declared ſhe would relieve the States, but would aſſume no Power over them; and added, that when ſhe raiſed him from the Duſt to ſo much Rank and Honour, ſhe little thought to be repaid with Diſobedience.

Elizabeth ſaw the Bottom of this Matter, and ſuſpected immediately what in ſome Time happen'd. *Leiceſter*, intoxicated by an unexpected Authority, aim'd to enſlave the People he was ſent to defend.

The Queen was not ſo tame to ſuffer this; nor yet ſo raſh as to diſpute violently with a Subject who might give her Trouble: ſhe took Care to give ſuch Orders among his Officers, that he ſhould be able to do nothing effectual, and at the End of the Year recalled him without farther Animoſity: his Preſence with the Forces had ſerved the Purpoſe ſhe intended; and the little he had done, loſt him the Opinion of the States.

England was this Year embroil'd, and a Conſpiracy againſt the Life of the Queen became the Subject of the general Attention. *Mary* her Siſter, a Priſoner in *Fotheringay* Caſtle, was accuſed of being concerned in this, and ſuffer'd Death. Both Houſes of Parliament confirm'd the Sentence; and took off ſome Part of thoſe Reflections, which Compaſſion for *Mary* would perhaps have thrown otherwiſe upon the Queen.

The Sovereignty of the Seas ſeems at this Time to have been acknowledged to the *Engliſh*: at leaſt the Power of our Country then was ſo great, that none choſe to incur the Hazard of offending it; and ſome of the leſs powerful States and Kingdoms requeſted Permiſſion of long Voyages from *Elizabeth*, as if the Courſe had lain through her hereditary Dominions.

The *Hanſe Towns* had ſome Time before ſet the Example; and the King of *Denmark* had followed it: this Year the King of *Sweden* ſending a Ship to *Spain*, requeſted formal Leave from the Queen of *England* to paſs thro' the Sea, her Territory; and it was growing an Article of common Opinion, that the *Engliſh* poſſeſſing a Power none could reſiſt upon the Sea, were its proper Lords.

CHAP. CXVII.

The great Expedition of Sir Francis Drake *to* Spain.

IN the Year 1587 was diſcloſed the Intent of *Spain* to revenge the Inſults and Loſſes ſuffered from the *Engliſh* in *America*, by falling upon the Iſland in a powerful Invaſion.

Drake, whoſe Eyes were as quick to ſee the Danger of his Country as his Hand ready to defend it, acquainted the Government that there was Reaſon to be upon their Guard; that *Spain* was arming at Sea, and preparing Land Forces; and that by certain Intelligence he knew they had laid up Proviſions to maintain forty Thouſand Men a Year.

Sir *Francis Drake* was too well known both in Capacity and Integrity to ſuppoſe him likely either to be deceived, or to deceive: the Eyes of all were upon the *Spaniſh* Preparation; and *Walſingham* obtained Intelligence, that *Philip* had writ to *Rome* an Account of his Intent in theſe Preparations, and pray'd the papal Benediction.

Here followed a Maſter Stroke of Policy, ſuch as we have ſeen lately practiſed with Succeſs. *Walſingham* knew the Secret was in the Letter; he underſtood when it would be with the Pope; and knowing what Prieſts would do for Money, he brib'd a *Venetian* of that Order to ſteal the Letter out of the holy Cabinet. The Keys were taken out of the Pope's Pocket, while he was taking his Afternoon's Nap: the Paper was taken, and every thing elſe left in its Place: the Keys were returned into the infallible Pocket, and *England* ſaw under the King of *Spain*'s Hand, a Declaration, that he intended all this Force againſt her.

Drake, who had given the firſt Hint of the Danger, was pitch'd upon to reſent the Intention. He was ſent out immediately with a large Force, and his Orders were to fight the *Spaniards* at Sea, or to deſtroy them in their Ports.

In the Beginning of *April* he ſet ſail from *Plymouth*, intending for the Coaſt of *Spain*. *Liſbon* was the general Rendezvous of theſe Veſſels of the *Spaniards*; and in their Way, the *Engliſh* Fleet obtained Intelligence of vaſt Stores lodg'd at *Cadiz*, and deſtin'd to be in a few Days ſent thither. He directed his Courſe for the Bay of *Cadiz*, and on the Nineteenth of the ſame Month arrived there.

He ſaw a vaſt Number of Veſſels, not leſs than an hundred, which lay there ready for ſailing with the Stores; and ſix Gallies before them.

The Gallies ſeemed to intend Oppoſition; but he drove them at once under the Caſtle, and burnt or ſunk every Veſſel of this mighty Preparation.

This was an Admiral of whom even *Britain* might boaſt: and theſe the Services, he who has Integrity and Courage, can render to his Country.

Many of the Veſſels were large and of great Force, one a Galleon of twelve Hundred Tuns, another of a Thouſand Tuns, and forty Braſs Cannon, the reſt of various Size and Strength; but theſe may ſhew, that if they had dar'd to cope with *Engliſh*, they did not want Force.

Two Nights the Sky and Sea ſeem'd Fire with this Deſtruction; that Time, and the intermediate Day ſerved for the whole Enterprize; and *Spain* looked on, to ſee her great Deſign overthrown, and her vaſt Preparation ſacrificed to a Force ſo much inferior, that their own Annals are ſilent through Shame of repeating what it was; and ours omit the Detail, becauſe it would ſhock the Faith of Hiſtory.

Drake ſtaid no longer than to ſee the perfect Deſtruction of the Enemy, and on the twenty firſt ſail'd for *St. Vincent's*.

He ſaw the Terror of the *Engliſh* Name not a little enforc'd by his particular Command; and he knew the more ſudden he came upon them, the more Miſchief would be in his Power to do them.

He came up with *Cape St. Vincent*, and inſtantly attacked the Caſtle. This he took after a ſhort Reſiſtance; and two others in the Neighbourhood ſhar'd the ſame Fate.

He landed his Men afterwards to plunder and burn, and they ſpar'd nothing they could carry off or deſtroy: After ravaging the whole Coaſt in this Neighbourhood, he proceeded to the Mouth of the *Tagus*.

Here lay the Marquiſs *Santa Cruz*, with ſome Power; and *Drake* called him out, to diſpute the Fate of his Country.

The Challenge terrified him. He lay ſtill, and ſaw a Hundred more of their Ships periſh before the ſame revengeful Arm that had deſtroyed the others.

Theſe Veſſels ſunk or burnt, *Drake* landed his Men upon the Coaſt, and repeated his Devaſtations.

Spain was humbled thoroughly; and the Admiral ſaw plainly enough, what afterwards appeared, that there was for the preſent an End of all Deſigns of that Nation upon his own.

He had executed glorioully the Purpoſe of his Expedition on his Country's Account, but there remain'd ſomething very worthy his Conſideration.

The Merchants of *London* had, at their own free Choice, fitted out ſix Veſſels to join the Royal Force under his Command; to revenge the intended Inſult on their Country; and to teſtify their Gratitude to a Sovereign, who had many Years ſo faithfully eſpouſed their Intereſts.

Drake conſider'd that although Glory was the Aim of the Crown, there was a Principle ſuperior in the Minds of mercantile Adventurers. He had hitherto made no valuable Prize; and he had neglected the Thought till the more important Buſineſs was accompliſhed; but now that was done, he led the Fleet for a more profitable Enterprize.

He directed his Courſe toward the *Azores*, knowing that about this Seaſon the rich Ships from the *Indies* would naturally be thereabout.

He ſaw after a few Days Cruize a Carrack, which he took, 'twas the *St. Philip*, homeward bound, and ſo loaded with Treaſure, that it made as good Amends to the mercantile Part of the Expedition, as the reſt did to the royal Intentions.

Spain was obliged to confeſs the Superiority of the *Engliſh* on the Sea; and the Expedition againſt the Iſland, ſo ſanctify'd by infallible Authority, was impracticable. The Papal Bleſſing could not ſecure the Stores at *Cadiz*; and the World ſaw the *Britiſh* Thunder was an Over-match for that of *Rome*.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXVIII.

The Merchants are ſerved by the Crown, and ſhew their Gratitude.

THE Cargo of the *St. Philip* amply repaid the Expence of the Merchants Part in this Expedition; but there was an Advantage from it unſeen at firſt, which was in Effect much greater than the immediate Treaſure: with the Cargo the Papers fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*; for the Commander, not conſidering their Importance, had forgot to throw them overboard.

Theſe came into the Poſſeſſion of that great Stateſman *Walſingham*, who made the proper Uſe of them.

He ſent for the Merchants, who had engaged thus far in Favour of the Government, and told them what a Treaſure had fallen into his Hands, and how perfectly it was devoted to their Service.

It was the peculiar Character of this great Man, that there was no Subject of which he was altogether ignorant. He talked of theſe Things as if he had been bred to Trade: he laid before them the vaſt Value of the *Indian* Commerce, and the eaſy Way to it, ſhewn by theſe Papers of the *Spaniards*.

He delivered to them the Writings; promiſed them the Protection of the Government in carrying on this moſt valuable Branch of Traffick; and having thank'd them for the Service they had done the State in this Preparation; the Event of which had ſo happily anſwered alſo their own Expectations, he deſired them to be ſerviceable again in their own Way.

Theſe reciprocal Obligations he told 'em were the great Support of Government: that the Merchants were a very eminent Body, and were able always to return the Favours ſhewn them by the Crown.

"You Gentlemen, continued he, are as much concerned and intereſted as we in the Preſervation of our Country. *Spain* has laid a Deſign to enſlave us; the Queen's Force, with your Aſſiſtance, has diſturb'd this Preparation; but the ill Will remains at the Heart, and will produce another. Againſt this we muſt guard; and it is to prevent this we apply for your Aſſiſtance; not by Ships at this Time: keep thoſe for your Commerce; but in your own Way. We know your Intereſt in foreign Countries in all Matters of Money, and here is an Opportunity of ſerving us, without hurting or incommoding you."

The Merchants declared their Willingneſs to undertake any thing reaſonable he could propoſe; and letting them into the Depth of all his ſecret Intelligence, he by their Means got all the *Spaniſh* Bills proteſted at *Genoa*, which were to have ſupply'd the Sums for the new Preparation.

Philip rav'd, and his Council were aſtoniſh'd: they ſaw what Arts had been uſed, when it was too late to remedy the Diſorder they had cauſed; and *England* had the Satisfaction to ſee all Thought of this great Attempt obviated for the preſent.

CHAP. CXIX.

Cavendiſh's *Voyage round the World.*

THE Year preceding this was diſtinguiſhed by a very conſiderable Exploit of an *Engliſhman*; no leſs than another Voyage round the World.

Mr. *Cavendiſh*, a Man of Family and Faſhion, who ſaw the Encouragement given by the Government to every Project that could diſtreſs *Spain*, undertook, at his own Expence, an Expedition to the *South Seas*, to diſtreſs the *Spaniards*; not doubting a good Return in Point of Profit.

On the Twenty firſt of *July* 1586, he ſailed from *Plymouth* with two new Ships, and one which had been diſtinguiſh'd before as a prime Sailer. He took a Number of pick'd Men, and Stores, Arms, and Ammunition, fit for ſuch an Enterprize. The Ships were the *Deſire*, the *Content*, and the *Hugh Gallant*; the Number of Men about an hundred and thirty, and Mr. *Cavendiſh* himſelf embarked in chief Command.

On the Twenty-fifth of *Auguſt* they arrived at *Sierra Leona*, where one of his Men being killed by a poiſoned Arrow from a Negroe, they burnt the Town in Revenge.

On the Sixth of *September* they left that Coaſt, and on the Seventh ſailed from *Cape Verde* Iſlands.

On the laſt of *October* they ſaw the Coaſt of *Braſil*, and on the next Day were between the main Land and the Iſland *St. Sebaſtian*.

Here they landed, took in Water, and examined the State of their Ships; they repaired what was amiſs, built a Pinnace, and on the Twenty-third ſailed again in perfect good Condition.

On the Twenty-ſixth they ſaw the Coaſt of *America* in forty-ſeven Degrees South, and coaſted till they came to Eight and forty.

On the Twenty-ſeventh they came to a good

Harbour, and the Admiral gave it a Name *Port Deſire.*

On the Sixth of *December* they arrived amidſt terrible Storms at the Streights of *Magellan,* and entered in Defiance of all Dangers.

The Admiral found here the poor Remains of four hundred *Spaniards,* placed there five Years before to guard the Streight: they were now reduced to three and twenty.

On the Eighth they anchored off *Penguin* Iſland: and on the Tenth they came to the Place built for the Reſidence of thoſe *Spaniards,* who were to be the Guards of the *South Seas.* They had called it the City of King *Philip,* but Mr. *Cavendiſh* better named it *Port Famine.* The whole was deſolate, and the miſerable People wanted every Neceſſary of Life: deſerted by their Country, in a Place where they had no Power to ſubſiſt, but as the Birds and Beaſts.

On the Twenty-firſt they came to a good Bay, which the Admiral named, from his Queen, *Elizabeth.*

The Day after they came to *St. Jerom's* Channel, where bad Weather detained them to the Twenty-third of *February*; but failing on that Day, they the next enter'd the *South Sea*; and gave Thanks to Heaven for their hitherto proſperous Voyage.

* * *

C H A P. CXX.

Cavendiſh *is ſucceſsful in the* South Seas.

THE Diſtance of Time between theſe Expeditions of the *Engliſh,* had thrown the *Spaniards* off their Guard: they ſaw no *Drake* return immediately upon them; and they ſuppoſed no other would again venture. Fools! not to know the *Engliſh* Courage could not be center'd in one Breaſt; nor one Expedition ſtand with that Nation as Revenge for repeated Inſults.

On the Firſt of *March* one of their Veſſels, the *Hugh Gallant,* was reduced to the moſt extreme Neceſſity: ſhe was ſeparated from the others in bad Weather, and ſhe had ſprung a Leak: 'twas with the utmoſt Difficulty ſhe could be kept above Water.

With great Labour, however, the Men kept up for a Fortnight; and at the End of that Time met with the Admiral between the Iſland *St. Mary* and the Continent of *Chili.*

On the Sixteenth they came to *St. Mary's*-Iſland, the Natives of which lived in Subjection to the *Spaniards.* They had no Thought of any *Europeans* but their Maſters; and when the Admiral landed a Body of Men, they met him with the greateſt Humility; and conducting his People to their Town, ſhewed them their Stores of Corn, their beſt Treaſure.

Of this the Company took what they wanted with as little Ceremony as the *Spaniards* would have done; probably with little leſs. They took alſo what other Proviſions they liked: and failing, came on the Thirtieth to the Bay of *Quintero.*

Here the Admiral landed ſixty of his Men well arm'd, and ſent them up into the Country for Diſcovery or Plunder. The *Spaniards* had a large Force, and they detached two hundred Horſe to deſtroy theſe Strangers. The *Engliſh* were employ'd in ſtoring themſelves with what they wanted, and the *Spaniards* looked on; they galloped round them, and the others ſtood upon their Defence when they approach'd any thing near: this conſtantly occaſion'd their going back again; and thus, without firing a Gun, our People, when they had finiſhed their Buſineſs, came back to their Ships, eſcorted by this diſtant Party of the Enemy.

The next Day a Skirmiſh happened, as the *Engliſh* were taking up Water, in which ſome few were killed on both Sides; but the *Spaniards* were too averſe to Fighting, to ſtand many Vollies.

Sailing from hence well ſtored with Neceſſaries, on the Fifth of *May* they arrived at a Bay, on the Shores of which were ſituated three little *Spaniſh* Towns, *Paraca, Chinca* and *Piſca.* They plundered theſe: and at a little Diſtance they ſaw two large Veſſels.

The Admiral called together his People, told them they were now come to the Place of their Fortune, and ſpirited them up to undertake any Thing. There was no Certainty whether theſe were Veſſels of Force, or Traders, but they found them defenceleſs. They took out the Treaſure to a very conſiderable Amount; and then ſetting the People on ſhore, burnt the Veſſels.

C H A P. CXXI.

Cavendiſh *purſues his Succeſſes.*

'TWAS long the little Fleet had pleaſed themſelves with the Hope of Treaſure, but now they began to feel the Reality: they gather'd new Spirit from their Fortune, and determined to leave nothing undone to ſerve their Country, to revenge the Inſults of *Spain,* and to enrich themſelves.

On the Twenty-ſixth of *May* they came into the Road of *Paita*, and immediately landing plundered and burnt the Town of that Name, carrying the Treaſure on board, and driving the Inhabitants into the Mountains: a Veſſel lay in the Road, and this ſhar'd the Fate of the others; it was plundered and burnt.

Sailing hence, they arrived on the Twenty-fifth at the Iſland of *Pinna*: they ſaw a large Ship in the Harbour, and this they ſunk; then landing, they marched up to the Town, and driving out the Inhabitants, plundered it. They took out every thing of Value, not excepting the Bells of the Church.

Here they learn'd, that the Governor had ſecured his private Fortune, which was immenſe, in a ſmall Iſland, at a Diſtance from the Place: the Admiral took with him the Perſon who had made the Diſcovery, telling him if it were true, he ſhould be diſmiſſed with a good Reward, but if falſe, hang'd upon the Place. The Intelligence was true, the Treaſure was found, and without Oppoſition it was carried to the Ships.

From thence returning to the Town they fired it, and burnt three large Veſſels then on the Stocks. While they were thus employed, the *Spaniards* and *Indians* fell upon them with a very ſuperior Force, and, though with a much larger Loſs on their own Part, deſtroyed ſome of them.

Cavendiſh, having made all the Advantage he could of the Place, returned on board: and this Loſs added to the former having reduced his Men to a Number too ſmall for the three Ships, he ſunk one of them, the Bark of forty Tons; and taking all on board the other two Veſſels, he proceeded to *Rio Dulce*, and paſſing the Line on the Twelfth of *June* purſued a northerly Courſe all that Month.

On the Firſt of *July* they ſaw *Nueva Eſpanna*, and the Admiral told them, they would not be long without freſh Plunder.

On the Ninth they diſcover'd a large Veſſel, which they chaſed, took, and after plundering burnt as the former; and the next Day another ſhared the ſame Fate.

On the Sixteenth they came to the River *Coaplita*; and the ſame Night rowing up to *Aguatulco*, they plundered it, and after bringing on board their Pinnace Cocoa and Indigo to a very conſiderable Value, burnt the Town.

On the Twenty-fourth of *Auguſt* they burnt *Puerto dos Natividad*, and two Ships on the Stocks, as well as ſome others at Sea. The Damage they did the Enemy in this Expedition, was greater than the Good to themſelves; however they got ſomething conſiderable.

On the Six and twentieth they came into the Bay of *St. Jago*, where they dragged for Pearls, and made ſome conſiderable Profit: and from this Time they continued burning and plundering along the Coaſt.

CHAP. CXXII.

An Engagement with a capital Ship of Spain.

ON the Fourth of *November*, as the Admiral with his little Fleet was cruiſing not far diſtant from the Coaſt, they ſpied from the Maſt-Head a Sail. Order was given to chace, and they advanced apace upon her. As they came nearer, they were ſurprized and almoſt terrify'd at the Bulk and Force of the Veſſel. It was the *Spaniſh* Admiral Ship of the *South Sea*, the Name *St. Ann*, of fourteen hundred Tons Burthen.

Cavendiſh encouraged his Men by placing himſelf foremoſt in the Poſt of Danger; and told them the larger the Veſſel the larger the Booty; we will take out of her, ſaid he, as much Gold and Silver as our Ships can carry, and you ſhall ſee her then blaze, like the reſt, to the Glory of old *England*.

They came within Shot as he ſpoke, and immediately fired their Broadſide, and their full Volley of Small Arms, the Commander taking his Poſt among the reſt, and firing his Muſket as the meaneſt Sailor.

The *Spaniards* returned the Salute, and the *Engliſh* bearing cloſe down upon them, the Engagement grew very warm.

Six Hours they kept a cloſe Fight and inceſſant Fire; at the End of which Time the Enemy hung out a white Flag, and gave up their Ship, on Condition of only eſcaping with their Lives.

The *Engliſh* found the Treaſure worth all the Pains and Hazard they had taken; the Veſſel was from the *Philippines* bound for *Acapulco*. Beſide a vaſt Sum in Gold, they found on board Silks, Muſlins, and other very valuable Commodities to a vaſt Amount. They landed the People at *Puerto Seguro* at their own Requeſt; and on the Seventeenth of *November*, the Anniverſary of the Queen's Coronation, made a Bonfire of the Ship with Goods on board to a vaſt Amount, for which they had not Room in their Veſſels.

CHAP. CXXIII.

The Concluſion of this Voyage.

THUS cloſed the Expedition: they were loaded with Treaſure, and they ſet ſail for *England*.

The Admiral Ship ſail'd firſt, and the other was expected to follow, but what became of her, and her rich Lading, none ever knew: ſhe never appear'd, or was heard of afterwards.

The Admiral in his ſingle Ship, purſued his Courſe for *England*, and on the Third of *January*, 1588, ſaw the *Ladrones* Iſlands; where they purchaſed of the Savages, for a ſlight Exchange, Fruits, and freſh Proviſions; and ſailing thence, arrived on the Fifteenth at the Iſland of *Capril*.

The Pilot of one of the large Ships they had taken, had hitherto ſerved them faithfully, pointing out the Roads of Safety, and the Places of beſt Plunder; but here he laid a Scheme for their Deſtruction.

While they traded with the Chiefs of the Iſland, he caball'd with the *Spaniards* to deliver them the Veſſel, and the People Priſoners: but the Plot was diſcovered, and the Pilot hang'd on a high Gibbet, in the Face of thoſe, with whom he had concerted the Deſign.

On the Twenty-fourth of this Month, they paſſed the Streight between *Panama* and *Negroland*; and on the Eighth of *February*, ſaw *Batochina*: On the Fourteenth they fell in with ſome ſmall Iſlands near the *Moluccas*, and on the firſt of *March* anchor'd at *Java Minor*.

After purchaſing Proviſions at this Place, they ſail'd for the *Cape of Good Hope*, which they ſaw on the Sixteenth of *May*; and on the Ninth of *June*, anchor'd at *St. Helena*.

There they furniſhed themſelves with all Neceſſaries; and on the Twentieth ſail'd for *England*; where they arrived on the Ninth of *September*; anchoring at *Plymouth*.

CHAP. CXXIV.

The Preparation of the Spaniſh Armada.

BRITON! whomſoever thou art, now call up thy Attention! the Scene is opening to greater Proſpects: and in the Place of private Enterprizes, thou art to read thy Country's general Glory.

'Tis an Event, which Children liſp at preſent: and which they will be taught to remember, till the Raſhneſs of ſome other Nation ſhall equal that of *Spain*, at the Period whereof we now write; and other *Drakes* and *Cavendiſh's* ariſe to ſcourge its Inſolence.

Spain long offended at the Ravages committed by the *Engliſh*, on her *European* as well as *Indian* Coaſts, had determined in the Year 1587, to revenge them by an Invaſion of the Iſland: purpoſing to ſubdue it; and with the papal Benediction, to reſtore the *Romiſh* Faith.

Drake had that Year diſturbed the Scheme, but all he had been able to effect, was no more than diſconcerting their Meaſures for the Seaſon.

The *Spaniards* were too powerful and too rich to be prevented in their Purpoſe, by that Stroke: they immediately ſet about a new Preparation greater than the firſt; and in this Year 1588, fitted out a Fleet, which, from its own Strength, and the Authority of *Rome*, was ſtil'd and thought by thoſe who did not know the *Engliſh* Courage, INVINCIBLE.

The Fleet conſiſted of a Hundred and thirty two large Ships, beſides a vaſt Number of Galleaſſes, Galleons, Pinnaces, and the ſmaller Attendants on Ships of War deſtin'd for ſuch Expeditions.

The Burthen of the ſeveral larger Ships together, amounted to ſixty Thouſand Tun. The Number of Sailors they carried, was nine Thouſand, and there were on board to the Amount of two and Twenty Thouſand Land Forces.

There were beſide theſe, more than two Thouſand Slaves in the Gallies: and the Cannon in the Fleet amounted to more than three Thouſand.

Europe looked on; and trembled for the Fate of *Britain*. The Sovereign of Iſles and Miſtreſs of the Ocean, ſtood as it ſeem'd devoted: ſo great a Force was never prepared for any Expedition. None view'd it with leſs Fear than the *Engliſh*. They ſaw every Preparation of Defence was neceſſary, and they had been ſo long uſed to ſcourge this Enemy, that being prepared, they had no Fear of Succeſs.

The *Spaniards* now made their Deſign no Secret, they publiſhed to all the World, the Strength and Number of their Veſſels, and their determined Purpoſe.

They were got ready in *Portugal*, at *Naples*, and in *Sicily*; and nothing that could be propoſed for Service, either on Sea or at Land, was omitted in the Preparation: beſide Powder and Ball in vaſt Abundance, for the Service of the

Fleet, there were Field Pieces, Muſkets, and the whole Apparatus, for a conſiderable Land Force; with Whips and Chains, and Knives for Butchery and Torture.

All that could ſerve for Oſtentation or for Terror, was there in Profuſion; and the determined Purpoſe was to cut off the *Engliſh* from the Face of the Earth; and to expel by Torture and by Death, the Proteſtant Religion.

Burleigh then guided, next under his Queen, the Councils of the *Engliſh* Nation: he procured early an Account of the Preparation, as themſelves publiſhed it; and from this Piece of Folly in the Publication, he knew how to prevent their Purpoſe.

The Number and the Force of their Fleet, were ſpread by him every where, not to terrify the *Engliſh*, for theſe were Times when they diſdained ſuch Motives; but to alarm them to a ſuitable Defence. The Pride of *Spain*, was ſounded in every Soldier's Ears, to rouſe him up to humble it: and the Whips and Knives, Inſtruments of Torture for the Proteſtants, made every honeſt Man a Soldier.

Among the People who embarked in this great Expedition of the *Spaniards*, was *Allen*, an *Engliſhman*, of the *Romiſh* Faith, who brought at his Heels a Hundred *Jeſuits*: Every great Family in *Spain*, ſent one at leaſt to the Action; and the twelve principal Ships, (as if Names had Power to terrify the *Engliſh*, or to preſerve thoſe Veſſels,) were named after the twelve Apoſtles.

The Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, *Alphonſo Perez de Guſman*, commanded in Chief, and under him in principal Office, was a *Biſcayan*, *Martinez de Ricaldi*, diſtinguiſh'd by his Courage and Experience: and not an Officer, who had done any Thing great or brave in *Spain*, but had the Command of ſome Ship, in this pompous Expedition.

CHAP. CXXV.

The Preparation of the Engliſh *in their Defence.*

ENGLAND, upon the Notice of ſuch a Force, deſtin'd to act againſt her, was earneſt in her Preparation of Defence; and 'twas her Fortune, in that perilous Time, to have brave and honeſt Men in principal Command at Sea.

The Lord High Admiral of *England*, *Charles*, Lord *Howard*, of *Effingham*, had, and deſerved the perfect Confidence of the Queen, and the Adoration of the Sailors.

The Stateſmen thought the Force too great to be oppos'd at Sea, and adviſed the Fighting them on Shore; but the Queen anſwered, they knew not thoſe of whom they ſpoke: That no Force was too great to be oppos'd by *England*; and that ſhe would fight them firſt upon Sea, and afterwards at Land, if they ſhould reach it.

England at that Time, might boaſt three of the greateſt Sea Commanders, the World had ever ſhewn; *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbiſher*: on theſe the Queen beſtowed new Honours; and ſent them out with Lord *Howard*, at the Head of the beſt Force ſhe could prepare; her Vice and Rear Admirals.

Theſe ſailed to the Weſtward: and on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, ſhe lodged forty *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships under the Command of the Lord *Henry Seymour*, and *Juſtin* of *Naſſau*, Admiral of *Zealand*.

This was a Point of great Importance, for the Duke of *Parma* had fitted out a Fleet to join the *Spaniards*, when they ſhould appear in our Seas.

The *Dutch* at that Time, had either Gratitude, or Prudence: they either were in earneſt, to return the Obligations they had received from *England*; or they ſaw their own Fate linked with hers.

Their Veſſels were of great Service, for with ſome from *England*, who could not ſpare many for the Purpoſe; they perfectly blocked up the Ports, from whence the Duke of *Parma* ſhould have iſſued; and fully and perfectly prevented that Reinforcement of a Fleet, which, without added Strength, appeared to all the World, much too great for Oppoſition.

CHAP. CXXVI.

The firſt Diſpoſition of the Engliſh *Fleet.*

ON the Eighteenth of *May*, News arrived in *England*, that all was ready on the Part of *Spain*, and the firſt Wind would bring them to the Coaſt.

At the ſame Time, *Burleigh* received Intelligence of the true State of the Duke of *Parma*'s Preparation, which was much greater than at firſt imagin'd: he had received Money from *Spain*, and with it Directions for all his Meaſures; and he lay ready with a numerous Squadron, and a conſiderable Land-Force, to join the Expedition; beſide a Number of ſtout Veſſels, he had prepared a vaſt many flat bottom'd Boats, for the tranſporting of Horſe; with Bridges fitted to them, and every other Neceſſary for an Invaſion.

Sailors he had hir'd from all the neighbouring Countries; and this whole Land-Force in the Sea-Port Towns, lay ready to embark upon the Signal. Theſe were not leſs than thirty Thouſand Men; of whom four Thouſand were Horſe; and to aſſiſt in the ſame Manner, the Duke of *Guiſe* had brought twelve Thouſand Men down to the Coaſt of *Normandy*.

The Sum of this Intelligence was communicated to the Lord High Admiral, who with that Calmneſs which attends true Courage, laid before the Council, the Plan of his intended Diſpoſition; and on the Twenty-firſt of *May*, ſail'd, to meet the Enemy.

The Merchants furniſhed out now every Day Reinforcements; and of theſe, the Lord High Admiral join'd a conſiderable Number to thoſe under the Command of the Lord *Seymour*; and left him cruiſing in the narrow Seas, to fight the Duke of *Parma*, if he attempted to come out: himſelf ſail'd with a large Force to the Weſt, and arrived after a ſhort Paſſage at *Plymouth*.

There lay Sir *Francis Drake*, with ſixty Sail, breathing Revenge, and longing for an Opportunity to repeat his Chaſtiſement of this proud Enemy.

He came out to the Lord *Howard*, delivered his Fleet to his Command, and was appointed his Vice Admiral.

This Force joined to thoſe the Lord High Admiral brought, amounted to ninety Sail. He gave Orders for taking in more Proviſions with all Diligence; and every Thing being prepared for Action, ſailed; and waited in the Channel, between *Uſhant* and *Scilly*, the vaſt Force of *Spain*; now known to be on the Seas; and in full Courſe for *England*.

At Land, all was in the ſame Manner, cool and prudent Preparation. The Southern Coaſt was lined with a conſiderable Force, and at *Tilbury*, there encamped twenty two Thouſand Foot, and a Thouſand Horſe.

Other large Bodies were diſpos'd in different Places, where they might be needed; and Communication eſtabliſhed in the readieſt Manner between them.

Lord *Leiceſter* commanded theſe at *Tilbury*; and thirty two Thouſand were appointed under the Command of Lord *Hunſdon*, a Guard for the Royal Perſon.

The Queen reviewed the Force at *Tilbury*, and in a wiſe and ſpirited Speech, repreſented in ſuch Terms, the Inſolence of *Spain*, and their own Intereſt in ſcourging it, that every Soldier took the Cauſe upon himſelf, and looked upon it as his immediate Concern.

The City of *London*, often diſtinguiſh'd by the Royal Favour, now ſhewed its Gratitude: Money was furniſhed thence to the Queen on her own Terms, and being ſet down on this Emergency, to furniſh five Thouſand Men, and fifteen Ships, the Citizens doubled the Number in each Article, and ſent out thirty Ships, and ten Thouſand Men.

Every Corporation, to its Power, followed the Example: and nothing was heard, but Vengeance againſt *Spain*; and Love and Reverence for *Elizabeth*.

CHAP. CXXVII.

The Spirit of the People under the threatened Invaſion.

THE People of *England* idoliz'd their Sovereign, and deteſted *Spain*. Every Man would have fought for her, againſt any Enemy; but every one now underſtood, that he was alſo fighting for himſelf.

The Liberty of *Britiſh* Subjects compared to Slaves of *Spain*, animated them (for then *Britons* underſtood the Value and the Glory of their Liberty) to defend it; and the Danger of their Religion, for at that Time Regard was ſhewn to it, inſpired them with a Contempt of Dangers.

Every Man contributed with Pleaſure, what was demanded of him, and told the Collectors of it, he was ready to give more. In the Place of Conſternation, Terror and Deſpair, which *Spain* thought to have thrown over *England*; and *Europe* thought they ſhould ſee fall upon all its People, there appeared every where Compoſure, Alacrity, and Confidence of Succeſs.

The Militia were muſter'd and arm'd in every County, choſen Officers conducted and commanded them; and every one took Pleaſure in telling, what none needed to be told, that 'twas againſt an inſolent, a cruel and tyrannic Enemy, they were to defend every Thing that could be valuable to a brave, free, and virtuous People.

With what Bluſhes muſt *Britons* of this Period look back upon theſe their virtuous Anceſtors, when ——— but that's reſerved to our ſuc- Pages.

All Care was thus taken by the Government, as well as every Mark of Courage ſhewn by the People.

Theſe Bodies of Militia, had their Orders where and in what Manner to join, when that ſhould be needful: the Sea-Ports were fortified, and well guarded; and univerſal Orders were given, that where ever the Enemy ſhould land, the Country ſhould for many Miles be laid waſte, and the Account of the Damage afterwards brought in to the Government, from whom every Man ſhould receive full Reparation.

The *Spaniards* confounded by ſuch ſpirited and wiſe Preparations of Defence, began to think of deluding the Government with an Offer of Peace.

The Duke of *Parma*, who had before propoſed Terms, now renewed his Offers: but the Queen ſaw thro' them. She had been of Service to the *Dutch*, and they were now returning in ſome Degree the Obligation.

The Duke of *Parma*, had known in his firſt Negotiations, that it would be needful to take off the Friendſhip of the *Engliſh*, before he could ſubdue them; and the Queen ſaw in theſe, that the Aim was, to rob her of their Aſſiſtance.

She behaved with that Prudence, which on all other important Occaſions made ſo great a Part of her Character; ſhe anſwered, that being perfectly prepared for War, ſhe could the more diſintereſtedly treat of Peace; and that ſhe was not leſs ready to hear the Terms of an Accommodation, than to meet the Arms of an Invader.

The Spirit of the Queen, in which the Enemy ſaw alſo that of the whole People, gave them Fears of their great Enterprize, and with theſe grew the pretended Earneſtneſs for an Accommodation. *Elizabeth* to ſhew her Readineſs, ſent Commiſſioners to *Flanders*, but they found the *Spaniards* at once inſolent and deceitful, attempting tho' in vain, to amuſe and intimidate them at the ſame Time.

Many Days were ſpent in frivolous Ceremonies, and it then appeared, juſt as the Queen had expected; that the whole was nothing more than a Feint to obviate, or at leaſt give Umbrage to the *Dutch*; and to put the *Engliſh* off their Guard, whilſt *Spain* was in her great Preparation.

The *Spaniſh* Cannon now heard upon the Coaſt of *England*, broke off the Negotiation; and the Duke of *Parma* having drawn all his Forces to the Shore, gave a ſafe Conduct to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, and declared himſelf ready to join the *Spaniards*.

Their Fleet now hung upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts: and that the Deſcendants of thoſe, who vanquiſhed it, may know to all ſucceeding Times, for what their Fathers were an Overmatch; we here ſubjoin a perfect Liſt of this ſuppoſed, and called INVINCIBLE ARMADA.

A Compleat Liſt of the Spaniſh *Fleet, arrogantly called the* Invincible Armada.

The Squadron of *Portugueze* Gallions, &c. under the particular Command of the *Generaliſſimo*, the Duke of MEDINA SIDONIA.

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burden Tuns.	Guns.	Number of Mariners.	Soldiers.
1	*The* St. Martin, *Capt. General of all the Fleet*	1000	50	177	300
2	St. John, *Admiral General*	1050	50	170	231
3	St. Mark	792		117	292
4	St. Philip	800	40	117	415
5	St. Lewis	830	40	116	376
6	St. Matthew	750	40	50	177
7	St. James	520	30	100	300
8	*Gallion, of* Florence	961	52	100	300
9	St. Chriſtopher	352	30	90	300
10	St. Bernard	352	30	100	280
11	Zabra, Auguſta	166	13	55	55
12	Zabra, Julia	166	14	50	60
		7739	389	1242	3086

The Fleet of *Biſcay*, commanded by *Don Juan Martinez de Ricaldo*, Captain General.

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burden Tuns.	Guns.	Number of Mariners.	Soldiers.
13	St. Ann, *Admiral*	768	30	114	323
14	Grangrina, *Admiral*	1160	36	100	300
15	St. James	660	30	102	250
16	Conception, *of* Zubelzu	468	20	70	100
17	Conception, *of* Juan del Cavo	418	24	70	164
18	Magdalena de Juan Franceſco d'Ayala	330	22	70	200
19	St. John	350	24	80	130
20	Mary	165	24	100	180
21	Manuel	520	16	54	130
22	St. Mary de Monte Majore	707	30	50	220
23	Mary *of* Aguiare	70	10	23	30
24	Iſabella	71	12	23	33
25	Michael de Suſa	96	12	24	30
26	St. Stephen	78	12	26	30
		5861	302	906	2117

The Fleet of *Caſtille*, commanded by *Don Diego Florez de Valdez*, General.

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burden Tuns.	Guns.	No. of Mariners.	Soldiers.
27	*The* St. Chriſtopher, *Gallion, General*	700	40	120	205
28	St. John Baptiſt, *Gallion*	750	30	140	250
29	St. Peter, *Gallion*	530	40	140	130
30	St. John, *Gallion*	530	30	120	170
31	St. James, *the Great Gallion*	530	30	132	230
32	St. Philip *and* St. James, *Gallion*	530	30	116	159
33	Aſcenſion, *Gallion*	530	30	114	220
34	*Gallion, of* Our Lady del Barrio	130	30	108	170
35	*Gallion, of* St. Medel *and* Celedon	530	30	110	170
36	St. Ann, *Gallion*	250	24	80	100
37	*Ship,* Our Lord of Vigonia	750	30	130	190
38	Trinity	780	30	122	200
39	St. Catherine	862	30	160	200
40	St. John Baptiſt	652	30	130	200
41	*Pinnace, of* Our Lady della Roſaria		35	25	30
42	St. Anthony, *of* Padua, *Pinnace*		16	46	300
		8054	474	1723	2924

The *Andaluſian* Squadron, commanded by *Don Pedro de Valdez*, General.

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burden Tuns.	Guns.	No. of Mariners.	Soldiers.
43	General Ship	1550	50	118	304
44	St. Francis, *Admiral*	915	30	60	230
45	St. John Baptiſt, *Gallion*	810	40	40	250
46	St. Gargeran	569	20	60	170
47	Conception	862	25	65	200
48	Duqueſa, St. Anne	900	30	80	250
49	Trinity	650	20	80	200
50	St. Mary de Juncar	730	30	80	240
51	St. Catherine	730	30	80	250
52	St. Bartholomew	976	30	80	225
53	Holy Ghoſt, *Pinnace*		10	33	40
		8692	315	776	2359

The Squadron of *Guipuscoa*, commanded by *Don Mighel de Oquendo*.

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burthen Tons.	Guns.	Number of Mariners.	Number of Soldiers.
54	The St. Ann, *General*	1200	50	60	300
55	*Ship*, Our Lady of the Rose, *Admiral*	945	30	64	230
56	St. Saviour	958	30	50	330
57	St. Stephen	936	30	70	200
58	St. Martha	548	25	70	180
59	St. Barba	525	15	50	160
60	St. Bonaventura	369	15	60	170
61	Mary	291	15	40	120
62	Santa Cruce	680	20	40	150
63	Urſa doncella, *Hulk*	500	18	40	160
64	Annunciation, *Pinnace*	60	12	16	30
65	St. Barnaby	60	12	16	30
66	*Pinnace*, Our Lady of Guadalupe	60	12	16	30
67	Magdalene	60	12	16	30
		7192	296	668	2120

The *Eaſtern* Fleet of Ships, called *Levantiſeas*, commanded by *Don Martinez de Vertendona*.

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burthen Tons.	Guns.	Number of Mariners.	Number of Soldiers.
68	*The* Ragazone, *General*	1294	35	90	350
69	Lama, *Admiral*	728	30	80	210
70	*Rata*, St. Mary crown'd	820	40	90	340
71	St. John, *of* Cecilia	880	30	70	290
72	Trinity Valencera	1000	41	90	240
73	Annunciation	730	30	90	200
74	St. Nicholas Prodaveli	834	30	84	280
75	Juliana	780	36	80	330
76	St. Mary *of* Piſon	666	22	80	250
77	Trinity Eſcala	900	25	90	302
		8632	319	844	2792

The Fleet of Ships called *Urcas*, or *Hulks*, commanded by *Don Juan Lopez de Medina*.

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burthen Tons.	Guns.	Number of Mariners.	Number of Soldiers.
78	Great Griffin, *General*	650	40	60	250
79	St. Saviour, *Admiral*	650	30	60	230
80	Sea Dog	200	10	30	80
81	White Falcon	500	18	40	160
82	Black Caſtle	750	25	50	250
83	*Bark of* Hamburg	600	25	50	250
84	Houſe of Peace	600	25	50	250
85	St. Peter, *the Greater*	600	25	50	250
86	Sampſon	600	25	50	250
87	St. Peter, *the Leſs*	600	25	50	250
88	*Bark of* Dantzick	450	26	50	210
89	White Falcon, Mediana	300	18	30	80
90	St. Andrew	400	15	40	160
91	Little Houſe of Peace	315	15	40	160
92	Flying Raven	400	18	40	210
93	White Dove	250	12	30	60
94	Adventure	600	19	40	60
95	Santa Barba	600	19	40	60
96	Cat	400	9	30	50
97	St. Gabriel	280	9	25	80
98	Eſayas	280	9	25	80
99	St. James	600	19	40	60
100	Peter Martin	200	30	30	80
		10860	466	950	4170

PATACHES and *Zabra's*, commanded by *Don Antonio de Mendoza*.

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burthen Tons.	Guns.	Number of Mariners.	Number of Soldier.
101	Our Lady del Pilar de Saragoſſa	300	12	50	120
102	Engliſh Charity	180	12	36	80
103	St. Andrew *of* Scotland	150	12	30	51
104	Crucifix	150	8	30	50
105	Our Lady of the Port	150	8	30	50
106	Conception, *of* Cariffa	70	8	30	50
107	Our Lady, *of* Begoya	70	8	30	60
108	Conception de Capitillo	60	8	30	60
109	St. Hieronymus	60	8	30	60
110	Our Lady of Grace	60	8	30	60
111	Conception of Francis Laſtero	60	8	30	60
112	Our Lady of Guadalupe	60	8	30	60
113	St. Francis	60	8	30	60
114	Holy Ghoſt	60	8	30	60
115	Our Lady, *of* Freneſda	60	8	30	60
116	*Zabra*, *of* the Trinity	60	8	30	60
117	*Zabra*, *of* Our Lady del Caſtro	60	8	30	60
118	St. Andrew	60	8	30	60
119	Conception	60	8	30	60
120	Concept. *of* Sommariba	60	8	30	60
121	Santa Clara	60	8	30	60
122	St. Katherine	60	8	30	60
123	St. John de Caraffa	60	8	30	60
124	Aſſumption	60	8	30	60
		2090	204	746	1103

The four Galleaſſes of *Naples*, commanded by *Don Hugo de Monçada*.

125	St. Lawrence, *General*	50	130	270
126	Pattrona	50	112	180
127	Girona	50	120	170
128	Neapolitana	50	115	124
		200	477	744

These four Galleaſſes had Slaves 1200

The four Gallies of *Portugal*, commanded by *Don Diego de Medrana*.

129	*The* Capitana	50	106	110
130	Princeſs	50	106	110
131	Diana	50	106	110
132	Vazana	50	106	110
		200	424	440

In theſe four Gallies were Slaves 888.

An Abſtract of the ſeveral Squadrons, which compoſed the whole Spaniſh *Fleet.*

No. of Ships.	*Squadrons and Commanders.*	*Burden Tons.*	*Guns.*	*Number of Mariners.*	*Number of Soldiers.*
12	The Squadron of *Portugueſe* Gallions, under the particular Command of the Generaliſſimo	7739	389	1242	3086
14	The Fleet of *Biſcay*, commanded by *Don Juan Martinez de Recalde*, Captain General	5861	302	906	2117
16	The Fleet of *Caſtile*, commanded by *Don Diego de Valdez*, General	8054	474	1793	2924
11	The *Andaluſian* Squadron, commanded by *Don Pedro de Valdez*, General	8692	315	776	2359
14	The Squadrom of *Guypoſcoa*, commanded by *Don Mighel de Oquendo*	7192	296	608	2120
10	The Eaſtern Fleet of Ships, called *Levantiſcas*, commanded by *Don Martin Vertendona*	8632	319	844	2792
23	The Fleet of Ships called *Ureas*, or Hulks, commanded by *Don Juan Lopez de Medina*	10860	466	950	4170
24	*Pataches* and *Zabra's*, commanded by *Don Antonio de Mendoza*	2090	204	746	1103
4	The Galeaſſes of *Naples*, commanded by *Don Hugo de Moncada*	——	200	477	744
4	The Gallies of *Portugal*, commanded by *Don Diego de Medrana*	——	200	424	440
132		59120	3165	8766	21855

CHAP. CXXVIII.

The Engliſh *Fleet oppoſed to the Armada.*

IT had been the Care of *Elizabeth* at all Times, when in moſt Peace, to be prepared for War; and to that ſingle Circumſtance was owing the Poſſibility of a Defence againſt this vaſt Power.

Her People joined in all her Meaſures, and to the Force which ſhe had ſent out firſt, they added daily: every Man of Fortune, or of Intereſt, contributed; and every Arm was eager to be liſted in the Defence of the Kingdom.

To this great Armament, when it approached our Coaſts, the Government was able to oppoſe a Fleet equal in Number, tho' inferior in Strength; and what it wanted in that Article, the World ſaw *Britons* could make up in Courage.

Before we relate what theſe did, it will be proper to ſay what they were: we ſhall add a correct Liſt of this Fleet as of the other; and leave the Reader to compare preſent and paſt Times, when he ſhall ſee the *Britons* of that moſt reſpected Period attacking, vanquiſhing, confounding, deſtroying an Enemy double their Number in Men, and more than double in the Burthen of their Ships.

A perfect Liſt of the Engliſh *Fleet, oppoſed againſt the* Armada.

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burden Tons.	Captains.	No. of Mariners.	No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burden Tons.	Captains.	No. of Mariners.
1	*The* Ark Royal	800	*Lord* Charles Howard, *Lord High Admiral*	425	17	Swiftſure	400	Edward Fennar	200
2	Elizabeth-Bonaventure	600	*Earl of* Cumberland	250	18	Swallow	360	Richard Hawkins	160
3	Rainbow	500	*Lord* Henry Seymor	250	19	Foreſight	300	Chriſtopher Baker	160
4	Golden Lion	500	*Lord* Thomas Howard	250	20	Aid	250	William Fennar	120
5	White Bear	1000	*Lord* Edmund Sheffield	500	21	Bull	200	Jeremy Turner	100
6	Van-Guard	500	*Sir* William Winter	250	22	Tyger	200	John Boſtock	100
7	Revenge	500	*Sir* Francis Drake, *Vice-Admiral.*	250	23	Tramontana	150	Luke Ward	70
8	Elizabeth-Jonas	500	*Sir* Robert Southwell	500	24	Scout	120	Henry Aſhley	70
9	Victory	800	*Sir* John Hawkins, *Rear-Admiral.*	400	25	Achates	100	Henry Rigges	60
10	Antelope	400	*Sir* Henry Palmer	160	26	Charles	70	John Roberts	40
11	Triumph	1100	*Sir* Martin Forbiſher	500	27	Moon	60	Alexander Clifford	40
12	Dreadnought	400	*Sir* George Beſton	200	28	Advice	50	John Harris	40
13	Mary-Roſe	600	Edward Fenton	250	29	Spy	50	Ambroſe Ward	40
14	Non-pareil	500	Thomas Fenner	250	30	Martin	50	Walter Gower	35
15	Hope	600	Robert Croſs	250	31	Sun	40	Richard Buckley	30
16	*Gally* Bonavolia		William Boroughs	250	32	Signet	30	John Shrive	20
					33	Brigantine		Thomas Scot	35
					34	George, *Hoye*	120	Richard Hodges	24
							11850		6279

SHIPS serving by Tonnage, with the Lord Admiral.

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burden Tons.	Captains.	No. of Mariners.
35	White Lion	140	Charles Howard	50
36	Difdain	80	James Bradbury	45
37	Lark	50	Thomas Chichefter	30
38	Edward of Malden	180	William Pierce	30
39	Marygold	30	William Newton	20
40	Black Dog	20	John Davis	10
41	Catherine	20		10
42	Fancy	50	John Paul	20
43	Peppin	20		8
44	Nightingal	160	John Doatt	16
		750		239

SHIPS serving with Sir Francis Drake.

45	*Gallion* Leicefter	400	George Fennar	160
46	Merchant Royal	400	Robert Flyke	160
47	Edward Bonaventure	300	James Lancafter	120
48	Roe-buck	300	Jacob Whitton	120
49	Golden Noble	250	Adam Seigar	110
50	Griffin	200	William Hawkins	100
51	Minion	200	William Winter	80
52	*Bark* Talbot	200	Henry White	90
53	Thomas Drake	200	Henry Spendlowe	80
54	Spark	200	William Sparke	90
55	Hopewell	200	John Marchaunt	100
56	*Gallion* Dudley	250	James Erizy	100
57	Virgin, God fave her	200	John Greenfield	80
58	Hope, *of* Plymouth	200	John Rivers	70
59	*Bark*, Bond	150	William Poole	70
60	*Bark*, Bonner	150	Charles Cæfar	70
61	*Bark*, Hawkins	150	—— Pridexe	70
62	Unity	80	Humphry Sidnam	70
63	Elizabeth Drake	60	Thomas Seely	30
64	*Bark*, Buggins	80	John Langford	50
65	*Frigat* Elizabeth Fonnes	80	Roger Grant	50
66	*Bark* Sellinger	160	John Sellinger	80
67	*Bark* Mannington	160	Amb. Mannington	80
68	Golden Hind	50	Thomas Fleming	30
69	Makefhift	60	Peerce Leman	40
70	Diamond of Dartmth.	60	Robert Holland	40
71	Speedwell	60	Hugh Harding	14
72	Bear-Young	140	John Young	70
73	Chance	60	James Foues	40
74	Delight	50	William Cox	30
75	Nightingale	40	John Grifling	30
76	Carvel	30		24
		5120		2348

London Ships fitted out by the City.

77	Hercules	300	George Barnes	120
78	Toby	250	Robert Barret	100
79	May Flower	200	Edward Banks	90
80	Minion	200	John Dales	90
81	Royal Defence	160	John Chefter	80
82	Afcenfion	200	John Bacon	100
83	Gift of God	180	Thomas Lamblowe	80
84	Primrofe	200	Robert Bringborne	90
85	Margaret and John	200	John Fifher	90
86	Golden Lion	140	Robert Wilcox	70
87	Diana	80		40
88	*Bark* Burre	160	John Saracole	70
89	Teigur	200	William Cæfar	70
90	Berfabe	160	William Furthoe	70
91	Red Lion	200	Jarvis Wild	90
92	Centurion	250	Samuel Foxcraft	100
93	Paffport	80	Chriftop. Colthirft	40
94	Moonfhine	60	John Brough	30
95	Thomas Bonaventure	140	William Adridge	70
96	Relief	60	John King	30

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burden Tons.	Captains.	No. of Mariners.
97	Sufan Ann Parnell	220	Nicholas George	80
98	Violet	220	Martin Hakes	60
99	Solomon	170	Edmund Mufgrave	80
100	Ann Francis	180	Chriftopher Lifter	70
101	George Bonaventure	200	Eleazar Hikeman	80
102	Jane Bonaventure	100	Thomas Hallwood	50
103	Vinyard	160	Benjamin Cook	60
104	Samuel	140	John Vaffell	50
105	George Noble	150	Henry Bellinger	80
106	Anthony	110	George Harper	60
107	Toby	140	Chriftopher Pigott	70
108	Salmander	120	—— Samford	60
109	Rofe Lion	110	Barnaby Acton	50
110	Antelope	120	—— Dennifon	60
111	Jewel	120	—— Rowell	60
112	Paunce	160	William Butler	70
113	Providence	130	Richard Chefter	60
114	Dolphin	160	William Hares	70
		6130		2710

COASTERS with the Lord Admiral.

115	*Bark* Web	80		50
116	John Trelawny	150	Thomas Meeke	70
117	Hart *of* Dartmouth	60	James Houghton	30
118	*Bark* Potts	180	Anthony Potts	80
119	Little John	40	Lawrence Cleyton	20
120	Barthol. *of* Apfham,	130	Nicholas Wright	70
121	Rofe *of* Apfham	110	Thomas Sandy	50
122	Gift *of* Apfham	25		20
123	Jacob *of* Lime	90		50
124	Revenge *of* Lime	60	Richard Bedford	30
125	William *of* Bridgewr.	70	John Smith	30
126	Crefcent *of* Dartmth.	140		75
127	*Gallion of* Weymth.	100	Richard Miller	50
128	Katherine *of* Weymth.	60		30
129	John *of* Chichefter	70	John Young	50
130	Hearty Ann	60	John Winoll	30
131	Minion *of* Briftol	230	John Satchfield	110
132	Unicorn *of* Briftol	130	James Laughton	66
133	Handmaid *of* Briftol	85	Chriftopher Pitt	56
134	Aid *of* Briftol	60	William Megar	26
		1930		993

COASTERS with the Lord Henry Seymour.

135	Daniel	160	Robert Johnfon	70
136	*Gallion* Hutchins	150	Thomas Tucker	60
137	*Bark* [illegible]	150	Leonard Harvel	60
138	Fancy	60	Richard Fearn	30
139	Griffin	75	John Dobfon	35
140	Little Hare	50	Matthew Railfton	25
141	Handmaid	75	John Gatenbury	35
142	Marygold	150	Francis Johnfon	70
143	Matthew	35	Richard Mitchel	16
144	Sufan	40	John Mufgrave	20
145	William *of* Ipfwich	140	Barnaby Lowe	30
146	Catherine *of* Ipfwich	125	Thomas Grimble	50
147	Primrofe *of* Harwich	120	John Cardinal	40
148	Ann Bonaventure	60	John Conny	50
149	William *of* Rye	80	William Coxon	60
150	Grace of God	50	William Fordred	30
151	Elinathan *of* Dover	120	John Lidgier	70
152	Reuben *of* Sandwich	110	William Cripp	68
153	Hazard *of* Feverfham	38	Nicholas Turner	34
154	Grace of Yarmouth	150	William Mufgrave	70
155	May-Flower	150	Alexand. Mufgrave	70
156	Wil. *of* Brickelfea	100	Thomas Lambert	50
157	John Young	60	Reynold Veyzey	30
		2248		1073

VOLUNTEERS with the LORD ADMIRAL.

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burden Tons.	Captains.	No. of Mariners.
158	Samſon	300	John Wingfield	108
159	Francis of Foy	140	John Reſbley	60
160	Heath-Hen of Weymouth	60		30
161	Golden Rial of Weymouth	120		60
162	*Bark* Sutton of Weymouth	70	Hugh Preſton	40
163	Carowſe	50		25
164	Samaritan of Dartmouth	250		100
165	William of Plymouth	120		60
166	Gallego of Plymouth	30		20
167	*Bark* Haulſe	60	Greenfield Haulſe	40
168	Unicorn of Dartmouth	76	Ralph Hawes	30
169	Grace of Apſham	100	Walter Edney	50
170	Thomas Bonaventure	60	John Pentyre	30
171	Rat of Wight	80	Gilbert Lea	60
172	Margaret	60	William Hubberd	46
173	Elizabeth of Layſtaff	40		30
174	Raphael	40		30
175	Fly-boat, Young	60	Nicholas Webb	40
		1716		859

VICTUALLERS.

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burden Tons.	Captains.	No. of Mariners.
176	Elizabeth-Bonaventure of London			60
177	Pelican	——	——	50
178	Hope	——	——	40
179	Unity	——	——	50
180	Pearl	——	——	50
181	Elizabeth of London	——	——	60
182	John of London	——	——	70
183	Barſaby	——	——	60
184	Marygold	——	——	50
185	White Hind	——	——	40
186	Gift of GOD	——	——	40
187	Jonas of Alborough		——	50
188	Solomon of Alborough		——	60
189	Richard Duffield	——	——	70
190	Mary-Roſe		Francis Burnell	70
				810

Beſides the above, Mention is made, in ſeveral Manuſcripts, of the ſeven Veſſels following;

No. of Ships.	Ships.	Burden Tons.	Captains.	No. of Mariners.
191	John of Barnſtaple		——	40
192	Greyhound of Alborough		——	65
193	Jonas		——	30
194	Fortune, of Alborough		——	25
195	Hearts-Eaſe		Henry Harpham	24
196	Elizabeth of Lowſtoffe		——	40
197	*A Galley, not named by Name*		——	250
				474

An Abſtract of the ſeveral Squadrons, which compoſed the whole Engliſh *Fleet.*

No. of Ships.	SQUADRONS.	Burthen Tons.	No. of Mariners.
34	Her Majeſty's Ships, under the Lord High Admiral *Howard* —— ——	11850	6279
10	Serving by Tonnage, with the Lord Admiral ——	750	239
32	Serving with Sir *Francis Drake* —	5120	2348
38	Fitted out by the City ——	6130	2710
20	Coaſters with the Lord High Admiral ——	1930	993
23	Coaſters with the Lord *Henry Seymour* —	2248	1073
18	Volunteers with the Lord High Admiral	1716	859
15	Victuallers — — —		810
7	Veſſels, not mentioned in the Liſt in the King's Library		474
127		29744	15783

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CHAP. CXXIX.

The firſt Attempt of the Spaniſh *Armada.*

THE *Spaniards* had taken Time for their mighty Preparation, and they had in that Time ſpared nothing of the ſubtle Arts of Courts to ſtrengthen their own Arms, and to weaken ours.

The Duke of *Parma* was prepared for the firſt Purpoſe: he had omitted nothing that Art could provide, or Money purchaſe: and as the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry underſtood the People of *England* to be ſo devoted to their Queen, that whatſoever was theirs, was alſo hers; and knew every Merchant Veſſel of Force would be converted into a Ship of War againſt them, they had clandeſtinely engaged *Germans*, *Italians*, and other Foreigners conſiderable in Traffick, to hire as many of the ſtrongeſt and largeſt of them as they could for long Voyages.

This had Succeſs while it was unſuſpected; but the frequent Commiſſions for this Purpoſe, and the Noiſe of the *Spaniſh* Arms at the ſame Time, awaken'd the Owners to the real Cauſe, and they deteſted and abhorred the Thought.

From this Time all our good Ships were kept at home, and ſent into the Service of the State; and from them were furniſh'd that great Addition to the royal Force, which we have particulariz'd in this Liſt.

Such was the Force with which we oppoſed and beat them, and thus began the Scene.

Toward the End of *May*, in this ever to be remember'd Year 1588, the Armada ſailed from the great Rendezvous at *Liſbon*, bearing for the *Groyne*.

The King of *Spain's* Orders were, that they ſhould add to their vaſt Strength every Step of Prudence. The Duke of *Parma* he knew lay ready; and the firſt Buſineſs of the Armada was, to take in his Reinforcement. Their Orders were to repair with all Diligence to the Road of *Calais*, and there wait the Arrival of that Fleet under the Command of the Duke in Perſon.

If they ſhould meet the *Engliſh* before this Junction, their Orders were not to fight them, if that could be avoided; and when joined, the Duke of *Parma* was to take his allotted Part in the Command; and he and the *Spaniſh* Admiral were then to open their laſt Inſtructions.

In all this the Deſign was interrupted and overthrown: the Duke of *Parma* never, either by his Fleet or Army, came into Action.

The Vanity of the Threatnings, and the Oſtentation with which the Armada ſailed, were to the utmoſt ſuch as might be expected from the confident and boaſtful Spirit of the Nation; but Heaven began the War upon them. They had not been long at Sea, when a Storm ſcatter'd them off Cape *Finiſterre*. Seventeen of their Gallies were driven far this Way, three were run into a Port of *France*; and fourteen made a ſhort Appearance between *Uſhant* and *Scilly*: had they ſtaid but a little, they would have been conducted into ours; but a northerly Wind carried them back, before our Force came thither on the Intelligence.

The *Groyne* was now the Rendezvous, and thither the Veſſels put in one after another; many of them much hurt.

The News ſpread faſt; and the Damage of the Ships increaſed wherever it was told. All *Europe* heard the Armada was deſtroyed; and the *Engliſh*, too haſty in their Credit, began to order their largeſt Ships into Port, concluding that at leaſt the Damage was ſo great, that they could not put to Sea again that Year.

The Lord High Admiral, who then commanded, dared to delay the Orders even from the Crown. The Queen had commanded theſe Ships to be ſent into Port; but he returned for Anſwer, that it was dangerous to be too credulous; that ill News never came without Addition, and that nothing was more deſtructive in great Affairs than too ready a Credulity. He deſired for theſe Reaſons that he might have Permiſſion to retain thoſe Ships order'd Home, till her Majeſty ſhould reconſider the Matter; and that upon freſh Commands he would diſmiſs them.

England was indeed in Danger from her too quick Credulity more than from all the Force of *Spain*. Her beſt Power was ill able to cope with ſuch an Enemy; and if weaken'd, ſhe could have had little Chance.

The *Spaniards* were at this Time preparing not to return Home, but to proceed for *England*: while we, deceived by raſh Intelligence, ſuppoſed them ſhatter'd and almoſt deſtroy'd, and ſeeking Safety in various Ports, they were indeed taking in Men and Ammunition.

This great and virtuous Sea Commander was the Lord *Howard*; he offered at his own Charge to keep the Veſſels out at Sea, rather than endanger the Kingdom by ſending them to Port; and now, ſeeing our own Coaſt clear, he took the Advantage of a favourable Wind, and ſought the Enemy on their own.

He took the Advice of a Council of War to this Purpoſe; and all joining in his Opinion, he ſailed, not doubting he ſhould do ſome Service. If the Fleet of the Enemy were ſo diſabled as had been repreſented, he purpoſed to fall upon the Veſſels wherefoever he found them; and to compleat that Deſtruction Heaven had begun: if it were otherwiſe, he was certain to get this Way a true Knowledge of the Condition of it, a Matter of too much Importance to truſt to common Report, or indeed to any Intelligence beſide his own.

On the Tenth of *July* he was within forty Leagues of the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, and he there found the Story had been ſtrangely exaggerated; that the Loſs and Damage the Armada had ſuſtain'd, amounted to nothing like its Deſtruction: that it had been thoroughly repaired, and that the whole Fleet was ready now to put to Sea in as good a Condition as ever.

The Wind, which had been northerly, turned about, and the Admiral made his beſt Sail to his former Station; his Buſineſs was to guard the *Engliſh* Coaſt, and there was a Poſſibility that with this Wind the Enemy might paſs by him, and be there before him.

On the Twelfth of *July* he arrived at *Plymouth*, refitted his Fleet in what it wanted, and waited the Enemy.

The Armada ſailed on the Tenth from the *Groyne*; the very Day the Lord High Admiral came back for *England*; and two Days after the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, who commanded in Chief, diſpatch'd a Yacht to let the Duke of *Parma* know he waited for him, and on Notice of his being ready, would receive him, and immediately proceed to *England*.

Spain now ſuffer'd, as *England* had lately like to have done, the Miſchiefs that ariſe from falſe Information. A Fiſhing Veſſel of our Country fell into the Hands of ſome of the Duke of *Medina's* Cruizers, and the Maſter was brought before the Commander of that Enterprize. He was demanded upon Pain of Torture and Death to declare what he knew concerning the *Engliſh* Fleet.

The Terror of the Proſpect made him declare all he knew; the greateſt Part of which was no more than what he had heard; and he ſerved the Purpoſe of his Country by his Ignorance, as well as he could have done by the beſt Deſign. The Seamen with whom he had converſed, had told in their rude Manner the ſeveral Occurrences we have related; and from theſe the Fiſherman collected this Story, that the *Engliſh* Fleet had been many Months at Sea, but that having Intelligence the *Spaniards* had laid aſide their Deſign for that Year, the largeſt Ships were all ordered into Port, and moſt of the Men diſcharged.

The Duke of *Medina* now propoſed, without waiting for the *Parma* Fleet, to deſtroy the *Engliſh* in their Ports: there were thoſe who reminded him of the King's expreſs Orders not to enter on Action till he had joined the Duke's Force to his own: but he anſwer'd, no Council could foreſee all Events, and it was left to the Chief Commander to improve them his own Way to his Country's Advantage, tho' againſt the Letter of his Orders.

The Commander of the *Andaluſian* Squadron, *Don Diego Flores de Valdez* joined in the Duke's Opinion; and upon this Strength, againſt moſt other Voices, the Duke declared his Purpoſe to deſtroy our Ships in the Harbours, and made the Signals for immediate Sail.

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CHAP. CXXX.

The Armada ſail for the English *Coaſt.*

'TWAS on the Sixteenth of *July* this Reſolution was taken; and the vaſt Fleet ſailed inſtantly. The Wind ſlacken'd upon them at early Morning, a Fog came on toward Noon, and it became ſoon after a Calm. Toward Evening a ſtrong Gale aroſe, which again ſcattered the Armada, but without Damage; and as all knew their Courſe and Deſtination, there was no doubt of their joining again before they reach'd the Coaſt of *England*.

On the Nineteenth they were all together again; they ſaw *England* from the Maſt-Head, and they enter'd the Channel.

They made Land at the extreme Point of *Cornwal*, the *Lizard*; and their ignorant Pilots ſuppoſing it the *Rambead* athwart *Plymouth*, the Admiral drew off for the Night, and gave Orders to attack the Ships at Day-break in that Harbour.

The Lord High Admiral of *England* knew better where they were than themſelves; he had Intelligence by one of his light Veſſels, that they were at the Height of the *Lizard*; and with ſome Difficulty; but with a Spirit greater than the Difficulty, he got his Fleet out of *Plymouth* Sound againſt a contrary Wind. On the Nineteenth his own Veſſel and ſix more were out, and by Day-light on the Twentieth, about fifty others.

He failed with theſe, and at the *Eddiſton* he had Sight of the Enemy.

The Armada broke at once upon the View Weſtward, forming a Creſcent of ſeven Miles Extent, and failing with formidable Regularity up the Channel.

The Ships appeared ſo many floating Caſtles; their Number and their Size ſuch as had never preſs'd the Boſom of the Sea before.

To any but the *Engliſh* this would have been a Sight of Terror, enough to ſtrike them dumb; but to them it was no more than an Invitation to a Combat they deſired and fought; an univerſal Inſtinct ſeem'd to guide the Sailors, and they received them with a Shout that ecchoed from the remoteſt Shores.

The *Spaniard* alter'd nothing of his Courſe. He was ſurprized to ſee a Fleet upon the Seas, and in good Order, which he had ſuppoſed laid up in Harbour; but his own vaſt Superiority kept him ſecure from Fear.

The *Engliſh* burn'd with Fury and Deſire to attack him; but the Lord High Admiral, while he applauded them, repreſſed their Ardour. He told them, they ſhould attack them; and he knew they would beat them; but that againſt an Enemy ſo ſuperior in Force, it would be fit to uſe all Arts, and take all fair Advantage. They have the Wind, continued he, at preſent, therefore unleſs they attack us we will let them paſs, and when they are gone by, we'll take that Advantage they fooliſhly ſhall forfeit, and fall upon them with the Wind favouring, and with our whole Force.

England ſaw from her Shores theſe Preparations of Invaſion and Defence; and any Nation but *England* would have trembled.

Had the *Spaniard* attacked the Fleet this Day, with ſuch Superiority, and with the Advantage of the Wind, it would not have been eaſy they could have eſcaped; but he let paſs an Opportunity never to be recover'd. He ſail'd on; and the *Engliſh* next Morning, *Sunday* the Twenty-firſt of *July*, ſaw their Number encreaſed to an hundred, by the reſt of the Ships got out of the Sound, and the Wind theirs.

Thus lay the two Fleets off the *Eddiſtone*; and *England* thought it happy that ſhe had now a Force, though inferior to this mighty Enemy, yet able to ſtand againſt her, and watch all her Motions.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXXXI.

The Engliſh *attack the* Spaniſh *Fleet.*

A Modern Admiral would have thought this ſufficient Praiſe, that he had kept the Sea againſt ſuch Superiority; but there is great Difference between a Lord *Howard* and an Admiral of our degenerate Times. Far from content with ſuch Praiſe, this great Man made the Signal for an Attack. The *Spaniards* were leſs terrify'd than aſtoniſh'd at his Boldneſs: they laugh'd at Danger from ſo weak an Enemy compared with them, and they expected the Event with the ſolemn Gravity natural to their Nation.

At Nine in the Morning, the *Engliſh* drew near in Order; and the Lord High Admiral ſending before a Pinnace to defy them by the Diſcharge of all her Guns, followed in his own Ship, and made at once up to the Veſſel he had ſuppoſed to be the *Spaniſh* Admiral: it was a vaſt Ship, commanded by *Alphonſo de Leva*. The *Spaniard* was for a diſtant Fight, but the Lord *Howard* preſs'd in upon him, tore him with whole Broadſides that took Place in his Hull, and brought the Veſſel to the Verge of Striking or of Sinking, when a Number of the beſt Ships fell in to reſcue her.

Recalde commanded the Enemy's Sternmoſt Ships, and theſe were attack'd by *Drake*, *Hawkins* and *Forbiſher*, who fought as became their Characters, and the Importance of the Action.

Ship engaged Ship: *Recalde* the Vice-Admiral was himſelf in the Action on board a *Portugueſe* Galleon; and he behaved as one raiſed for his Courage, and fighting with the braveſt Enemies the World could raiſe againſt his Country. One by one of the Veſſels he commanded ſhattered to Pieces; and, terrify'd with the Number of their Dead, fled. The Vice Admiral himſelf laſt. Not that he wanted Courage, but he was left alone in a Veſſel ſcarce to be kept ſwimming.

The vaſt Body of the Fleet kept on its Courſe; and theſe diſabled Ships were received among them into Places of Security.

The *Engliſh* preſſed now upon the main Body, and drove the enormous Herd before them. They were the better Sailors, and they ſaw no Superiority could give their frighted Enemy Courage.

All Day the Armada kept a running Fight; and hardly it far'd with every Veſſel that receiv'd the *Engliſh* Fire: our Sailors were elated with their Succeſs; and preſſed on every Moment more boldly.

Some Hours they thus inſulted and triumphed. The Lord High Admiral then deſiſted firing; and calling a Council of War, gave his particular Inſtructions to every Captain in what Manner he ſhould purſue, and attack this flying Enemy.

CHAP. CXXXII.

The Engliſh *have every where Advantage.*

NIGHT now drew on, and the Wind grew boiſterous: it was a Poſt of Hazard, ſo near an Enemy, and ſo toſſed by Storm. The Lord High Admiral, with all poſſible Care kept his Veſſels together, and he watch'd the Enemy.

They were buſied all Night in repairing the Damages of the preceeding Day; and about Midnight the *Engliſh* ſaw a large Veſſel in the Centre of their Fleet blow up, and its Remains take Fire. This was one of the *Guypuſcoan* Squadron; a Veſſel of eight hundred Tons, and had the Treaſure of the Armada on board: the Ship was deſtroyed, but the beſt Part of the Money ſaved by a timely Removal.

At early Morning, a large Gallion was at a diſtance from the Fleet, diſabled by the Storm, and incapable to keep up with them.

Sir *Francis Drake* attacked, and after a ſhort Reſiſtance took her. The Commander was *Don Pedro Valdez*, and there were on board ſeveral Perſons of great Families in *Spain*.

Drake treated them with a Reſpect due to their Rank, and ſent them into *Dartmouth*, the firſt *Spaniſh* Priſoners on this Occaſion; he then gave the Plunder of the Veſſel to his Sailors, amounting to a very conſiderable Share each Man.

Toward Evening, he ſaw five Veſſels, ſeparated as he thought, like the former, from the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and he began to chace them.

His Lights were to be the Signal, and he this Night omitted them in the Hurry of the Purſuit. It kept back the greateſt Part of the Fleet, and was of no Service, for they proved only *German* Merchant Veſſels.

The *Armada* which had all the preceeding Day ſail'd proudly on before the *Engliſh*, bore at Night along by the *Start*; and the next Morning were as far to the Leeward, as the *Berry*.

Drake who had outſail'd his Ships, and kept all Night within Muſket-ſhot of the Veſſels he chac'd, ſaw all far behind him in the Morning; and it was Evening before he could get his Force together, and join the Lord High Admiral.

This Day the Commander in chief of the *Spaniards*,

niards, ſent to the Duke of *Parma* to come up; and made the Diſpoſition for Action, as it had been agreed in *Spain*. Each Ship had its appointed Station, and the Commanders were not to depart from that on Pain of Death.

The Veſſel that had been burnt ſo far in the Night, was this Day turned a-drift; and the *Engliſh* ſent her into *Weymouth*.

The Evening of this Day prov'd calm, and the *Engliſh* Commander very well underſtanding what had been doing in the Enemy's Fleet, gave Orders for every Veſſel, and bade them expect them in the Morning.

CHAP. CXXXIII.

The Spaniards *attack the* Engliſh *Fleet.*

IT proved as the Lord *Howard* had foretold: the *Spaniards* tacked at Day-break on the Twenty third, and with the Wind at North, bore down upon the *Engliſh*.

The Lord High Admiral who ſaw every Advantage, was well prepared for them; and tacking ſtood to the Weſtward.

The two Fleets had the ſame Point in View to get the Weather-gage, but both failed of their full Purpoſe, and the Lord High Admiral ſaw toward Noon, they were determined on the Attack, without farther Preparation.

They perceived which was the weakeſt Part of our Fleet, and they fell upon it: their Number as well as Strength, promiſed them at firſt Succeſs; for they ſurrounded ſome of the *London* Veſſels.

The Lord High Admiral ſent a Reinforcement, and himſelf the mean Time bore down upon the Vice Admiral *Ricalde*.

The *Engliſh* reſcued their Ships, and the *Spaniards* their Vice Admiral; who was once near falling into our Hands. This brought on the Engagement in a general Manner: the largeſt Ships of the *Spaniards* were ſent in againſt the *Engliſh* Admiral; and his Reinforcement brought on the full Battle.

The *Engliſh* had that Advantage which they have claimed at all Times, and will I hope ſupport for ever, of being the beſt Sailors in the World.

They fired Broadſide after Broadſide by their good Management; while the huge Veſſels of the Enemy lay ſtill as it were to receive them.

The *Spaniſh* Ships were alſo ill built for Service, too unwieldy to ſail faſt, and too high for Action. Their Balls in general, flew over the Heads of the *Engliſh*, and did little Damage; whilſt ſcarce a Shot of ours miſſed Place.

All went in Favour of the *Engliſh* againſt thoſe vaſt Odds, but ſtill there was not ſo much done, as the eager Fury of the Sailors wiſhed. They preſſed for more Employment, and 'twas the unanimous Voice to grapple and board the Enemy.

The Lord High Admiral had with as much Courage as ever Man poſſeſſed, conſummate Prudence: he told them they did not conſider theſe Veſſels had an Army on board; and that it was impoſſible to ſucceed in ſuch an Attempt. He told them, a Victory over ſo vaſt a Superiority, was ſcarce within the Bounds of Poſſibility; and that a Defeat on their Part, would expoſe their Country to the greateſt Danger: that it was enough Glory they had obtained in beating Ship by Ship ſo vaſt a Fleet; and that with this it became them to be contented till ſome favourable Opportunity ſhould offer to diſtreſs them farther; which he would watch inceſſantly.

While this paſſed, the Wind ſhifted to the South South-Weſt; and upon this the Admiral led to the Attack of the *Spaniſh* Fleet to the Weſtward: All fell on at once, and the INVINCIBLE ARMADA ſhewed it could be beaten.

They were all obliged to give Way: and the *Engliſh* puſhing their Advantage, preſs'd upon them in the Confuſion, and did vaſt Miſchief.

One of the *Engliſh* Ships, the *Triumph*, puſh'd in too far, and four of the *Spaniſh* Veſſels at once attack'd her. The Lord High Admiral, whoſe Eye was upon every Thing, ſaw the Diſtreſs of this Ship; and taking with him ſix other Veſſels, he bore to her Aſſiſtance, giving Orders to the Captains that they ſhould not fire a Gun till within Muſket-ſhot.

The Duke of *Medina*, who had flattered himſelf with the Hope of taking an *Engliſh* Ship of War, ſaw what was meant by this determined Courſe of the Admiral and his Followers; and he ſent ſixteen of his beſt Gallions to intercept them in their Paſſage.

The Lord High Admiral received them as became his Country, his high Office, and great Character: They were miſerably ſhatter'd, and driven back with Diſhonour.

The Admiral purſued his Purpoſe, and the *Triumph* was diſengaged, and brought to the Fleet in Safety. Every where he expoſed himſelf to the greateſt Danger, deſpiſing every Thought but the faithful Service of his Country, and the Glory of deſtroying her Enemies.

At Evening the Engagement ceaſed. On the *Engliſh* Part, few Men were loſt, and not much Damage done to the Ships; from the Enemy there were ſeveral taken, among the reſt, a *Venetian* Ship of very conſiderable Size and Force.

The next Day paſſed with little Action.

The *Engliſh* were employed in taking in Stores of Powder and Ball; and the *Spaniards* looked patiently on to ſee them. They had been ſickened by the Action of the Day before, and they began to find the Title of their Fleet was miſapply'd; that 'twas the *Engliſh* who were INVINCIBLE.

CHAP. CXXXIV.

The third Engagement of the Spaniſh *and* Engliſh *Fleets.*

NEXT Day the Supply being all on board and the Enemy hovering at a Diſtance, the Lord High Admiral divided his Fleet into four Squadrons: one he commanded himſelf, in the *Ark-Royal*, and the three others he committed to Sir *Francis Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbiſher*.

Theſe waited an Advantage all Day, and the *Spaniards* frighted into Prudence, avoided giving any, by keeping their whole Force together.

This Day it was determined by the *Engliſh* to take the Advantage of the Wind, and fall upon them in the dead of Night. All was prepared for a deſperate Encounter, but the Wind failed, that ſhould have borne them down: 'twas a Calm at Night, and the Deſign impracticable.

The Twenty-fifth, the *Engliſh* kept their Diviſion; and as they had been directed, watched the Motions of the Enemy, and had an Eye upon all Straglers.

Toward Noon, a vaſt Gallion, too unweildy for ſailing well, fell behind the reſt. Vice Admiral *Hawkins* ſaw it, and running in between that Veſſel and the reſt of the Enemy, attacked, boarded, and after a deſperate Reſiſtance, took her.

The *Spaniſh* Admiral ſent out three Galleaſſes to her Reſcue, and the Lord High Admiral, who had lain by to ſee *Hawkins* fight the other, Ship to Ship, now bore down to his Aſſiſtance.

He took with him the *Golden Lion*, Lord *Thomas Howard*, and each engaging one of the Galleaſſes, while *Hawkins* fought the other. They were driven back in ſuch Condition, and with ſuch Loſs, that none of theſe Veſſels attempted to face the *Engliſh* afterwards.

Hawkins carried in his Prize, braving the whole Fleet of *Spain*: there had been all this Time a Calm; and the Lord Admiral and the other Veſſel had been tow'd to the Place of Action by long-Boats. Now the Wind roſe, and the *Spaniards* began to edge in: this favoured the Retreat of their Galleaſſes.

Several other Veſſels engaged toward Evening, and in general, the Advantage, tho' not great on any Part, fell to the Share of the *Engliſh*.

Every Ship that had been engaged, had without Exception behaved gallantly; and the Lord High Admiral, empowered by the Queen for that Purpoſe, knighted his Vice Admirals, and the ſeveral Captains who had ſtood the ſharpeſt Encounters.

A Council of War was held to determine on the future Conduct of the Expedition; and it was agreed to watch the *Spaniards* quietly into the Streights of *Calais*; where the Lord *Henry Seymour* and Captain *Winter* lay in Wait for them; and there to attack them with the joint Force.

In the mean Time, more Powder and Ball were brought on board, to keep up a full Supply.

CHAP. CXXXV.

The Armada anchors off Calais.

THUS paſſed the vaſt Armament of *Spain*, followed, but unmoleſted, by the *Engliſh*, who ſaw them on the Twenty-ſeventh of *July* anchor before *Calais*.

Here the Lord *Seymour* and *Winter* joined the *Engliſh*; and the Lord High Admiral now having near an hundred and fifty ſtout Ships, bore down toward them, and anchor'd within little Diſtance, braving their huge Force with his yet much inferior Fleet.

'Twas here the Duke of *Parma* ſhould have join'd them, but no Duke appear'd. They were urgent with him to bring in his Ships and Army to land under their Convoy on the Iſland; but he was well ſecured at Home, and unleſs their Meſſages could have fought the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, who lay in wait for him, 'twas impoſſible they ſhould bring him out.

The Fleets of *Holland* and *Zealand* blocked up the Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, whence he was to come; and they were provided to have diſputed the Point with him on very advantageous Terms.

All this Time the two Fleets lay in Sight, and the Lord Admiral who ſaw what they wanted, and knew the certain Diſappointment, propoſed a new Attack upon them.

He ordered the eight leaſt valuable Ships of the Fleet to be clear'd of their Stores and Men; and filled them with combuſtible Matter, Pitch, Tar, Roſin and Brimſtone. Their Guns he order'd to be loaded with Shot and other deſtructive Things, and covering them with Pitch and Roſin on the Outſide of the Ships, he ordered a Train to each, by Means of which they might be fired on a Signal.

This was in Readineſs on the Evening of the Twenty-eighth, and the unweildy *Spaniards* had no Suſpicion of the Purpoſe. At early Night theſe were placed in Front, and committed to the Care of Captain *Young* and Captain *Prowſe*.

At Two in the Morning the Wind and Tide both favouring, the Admiral made the Signal. The Captains took them almoſt up to the *Spaniſh* Veſſels; and when it was impoſſible for them to be carry'd on amiſs, fir'd the Trains, and committing them to Wind, retir'd to their own Veſſels.

The *Spaniards* rode ſecurely on their Anchors, when this Exploſion, cloſe upon them, fir'd as it were the Sea and Sky. No Confuſion nor no Terror ever equal'd theirs. The univerſal Cry was, Get up your Anchors, Cut your Cables.

Mean Time the Fire-Ships drove in, and were difficultly avoided by the firſt Veſſels. Their Guns charg'd for that Purpoſe, fir'd of themſelves as the Blaze caught their Trains, and the Enemy thought they were mann'd by Fiends, who could live and do their Office in the Fire. They fled, they cut their Cables, and they put to Sea, in all the Hurry that could riſe from Terror.

A Galleaſs, the principal of the Fleet, diſabled in her Haſte, fell on the Sands before *Calais*, and was the next Day brought to Subjection to the *Engliſh* Fleet, by ſome Boats well mann'd and ſent out for that Purpoſe.

The Commander, tho' in this Diſtreſs, defended her till he fell by a Shot in the Head; and after this the ſecond in Command held out, till few but the Slaves at the Oars were left.

Theſe, to the Number of three Hundred, were freed; the Treaſure, and whatever was of Value, was taken out, and the Veſſel fell as a Wreck to the Governor of *Calais*.

The *Spaniſh* Admiral, when he was out at Sea, gave Orders that when this Blaze was over, the Ships ſhould all reſume their Poſt again; and he came in himſelf, and fir'd his Gun as a Signal: but the Fright had carry'd the greater Part of his Fleet far out of Hearing.

Several were among the Shoals upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*; and when the reſt that heard the Signal endeavour'd to obey it, and come to the Rendezvous, the *Engliſh* got the Weather-Gage of them, and render'd it impracticable: they deprived them from the Convenience of *Calais* Road, and cut off all Aſſiſtance from *Dunkirk*.

All this Time the *Engliſh*, who had taken all Advantage of the Separation, attack'd them furiouſly and diſabled ſeveral of their Ships, one of them a large Galleon, ſo much, that tho' ſhe eſcap'd to the Body of their Fleet, the Earl of *Cumberland*, who had torn her to Pieces, ſaw her ſink.

The principal Veſſels of the Enemy were now brought into Service, and the Admiral Ship ſtood, with three or four others, the Attack of the *Engliſh*. They return'd it warmly, but without doing much, they receiv'd vaſt Damage. A Galleon of *Biſcay* was ſunk by the Lord High Admiral; and two other Veſſels by the Vice Admirals *Drake* and *Hawkins*.

Lord *Henry Seymour* engag'd the *St. Philip*, one of the largeſt Veſſels of the Enemy, and reduc'd her almoſt to a Wreck. The *Spaniſh* Admiral, who ſaw the Diſtreſs of the Veſſel, ſent the Galleon *St. Matthew*, to her Reſcue, commanded by *Piemantelli*; but *Douſe*, one of the *Dutch* Commanders, fought him by the Way, and taking the Galleon, carry'd her into *Zealand*.

The *St. Philip* with Difficulty eſcap'd the ſame Fate; and another of the larger Kind of the *Spaniſh* Veſſels was drawn upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and became a Wreck. All the *St. Philip* attempted was an Eſcape, and this ſhe could not make as ſhe deſir'd: the *Engliſh* follow'd her as far almoſt as *Oſtend*; and there her Captain leaving her, ſhe was ſome Time after taken by ſome Ships of *Fluſhing*.

The Engagement had been warm in many Parts this Day, and every where the Advantage was with the *Engliſh*. The *Spaniards* fled wherever they were attack'd; and 'twas a Purſuit more than an Engagement.

Among the *Engliſh* Commanders who ſignaliz'd themſelves in this fourth Engagement, was the eminent Captain *Robert Croſs*. 'Twas but a Veſſel of middle Force he commanded; but in the Courſe of this Day's Action, he ſunk three of the Enemy.

The Soldiers gain'd new Spirit from the Advantages at Sea; and burn'd to fight theſe Invaders when they ſhould dare to land. The Queen herſelf threw off, as it were, her Sex; and riding thro' the Ranks of the Army, encamp'd at *Tilbury*, carry'd an Officer's Truncheon in her Hand, and ſpoke as would have become the greateſt of the *Greek* or *Roman* Heroes.

The Service of the Soldiers, however ready, was not needed; for theſe four ſucceſſive Engagements diſpirited the Enemy who had come on ſo proudly; and all gave up the Enterprize as impracticable.

CHAP. CXXXVI.

The Armada returns to Spain.

THE Wind, on the laſt Day of *July*, drove the *Spaniards*, who attempted to regain the *Calais* Road, toward the Coaſt of *Zealand*, and the Lord High Admiral look'd on to ſee them fall upon Deſtruction, much more inevitable than twice his Force could have threaten'd; this was the Sands and Shoals upon that Coaſt. They did not wholly eſcape the Danger, tho' they ſuffer'd leſs than was imagin'd, the Wind juſt timely favouring their getting off.

At Evening they were ſafe at Sea; and the Admiral calling a Council of War, laid before them a thouſand Reaſons for returning Home. Their Ships they found were unweildy; Marks for the Enemy, but very little capable of Offence; their Sailors diſhearten'd, and the *Engliſh* invincible. They had eaten up their Proviſions; and tho' to little Purpoſe had waſted nearly all their Ammunition; their Ships were ſhatter'd, their Anchors left in *Calais* Road, and a victorious Enemy braveing them every Moment: and laſtly, there were no Hopes of the Duke of *Parma's* joining them. Theſe Reaſons and their Fears prevailed above all Thought of their Country's Diſappointment, or their own Diſhonour; and they reſolved to make their Way home, North-about the *Britiſh* Iſlands.

They were at open Sea; and they determined not to loſe the Advantage. They threw overboard their Horſes, deſtin'd to have trod the *Engliſh* Coaſt, not beat its Waves vainly; and with thoſe their Mules, Service and Oſtentation being forgot together. They took this Step to preſerve their ſcanty Allowance of freſh Water; and all being determined, ſailed with their beſt Speed for *Spain*.

The Lord High Admiral knew all their Motions. He left Lord *Henry Seymour* with a Squadron to aſſiſt the *Dutch* in blocking up the Duke of *Parma*, and ſent Sir *William Winter* with another into the narrow Seas to guard the Coaſts.

Having thus diſpoſed them, himſelf purſued the *Spaniards*. The Invincible Armada fled from the Expedition, inſulted and harraſs'd in its Flight as far as the Firth of *Forth*.

It was ſuppoſed they would have put in there; and probably that had been their firſt Deſign in this Courſe, but the *Engliſh* were at their Heels too cloſe for ſuch Adventures: they kept on their Way, and rounded the *Orkneys*, the *Weſtern Iſles*, and *Ireland*.

Had they put into the Firth, the Lord High Admiral had taken Meaſures to deſtroy them; but though they eſcaped this, 'twas a Courſe not to be followed without Loſs. Many of the Veſſels were damaged, and ſome deſtroy'd: and great Numbers of the People, Sailors and Soldiers, thrown upon the Mercy of thoſe they came to deſtroy, in *Scotland* and in *Ireland*. Thoſe from *Scotland* the Queen conſented ſhould be ſent to the Duke of *Parma*; but ſuch as landed in their Diſtreſs in *Ireland* did not fare ſo well: the Lord Deputy fear'd their joining with ill diſpos'd People there, and they were all ſacrificed: the greateſt Part to the Sword; the reſt to the Hand of the Executioner.

The Lord High Admiral ſaw the Fleet fairly onwards of their Courſe, and return'd himſelf to the *Downs*, his other Veſſels to different Ports, on the Seventh of *Auguſt*.

Thus ended the Project of invading *England*. The Glory of our Defence more than compenſated the Expence of the Preparation; and with all the threatening Appearances, little had been ſuffered.

It was not ſo with *Spain*. That Nation felt the Diſappointment and Diſgrace, and there was not a Family of Conſequence but put on Mourning for ſome Relation loſt in the Enterpriſe.

Beſide the Veſſels caſt away upon the Coaſts of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, many that had received Damages at firſt unſeen, periſhed upon the Sea, more than forty of their Ships were loſt one Way or other in the Enterprize; and few of the People belonging to them eſcaped.

The Duke of *Medina* was diſgraced and forbid the Court. He who had ſaid at parting from the King, that wherever the Armada bent its Sails, Victory attended; and that the *Engliſh* would not dare to face their Preparation, returned beaten, diſhearten'd and diſhonour'd.

Three Years had this vaſt Fleet been fitting out, and in a Month it was broken, ſhatter'd, and driven from the Scene of Action: the Loſs on the *Engliſh* Part was only one Veſſel, and in the whole, by the Arms of *Spain*, not one hundred Perſons.

CHAP. CXXXVII.

A ſecond Expedition of the Earl of Cumberland.

WE have had Occaſion before, to name the Earl of *Cumberland*, as one who felt with the true Spirit of a *Briton*, the Inſults offered by the *Spaniards* to this Country, and who had engaged at no inconſiderable Expence, in an Expedition of Revenge.

In the Fleet that fought this formidable Armada, he had commanded a Veſſel of Force, and among the Numbers who claim'd from their Behaviour in that Action, Immortality, none diſtinguiſhed himſelf more nobly.

This great Project defeated, he thought anew of his firſt Undertaking; and toward the Cloſe of the Year 1588, fitted out two Ships to cruize upon the *Spaniards* in the *South-Seas*.

The Queen publickly thank'd this Nobleman, for his diſtinguiſhed Service in the great Action, and for his preſent Purpoſe; and as her Thanks never flowed from her Mouth in Words only, ſhe added the *Golden Lion*, one of the Royal Ships of great Force, to this Preparation; and honoured him with a Commiſſion under the Royal Seal.

On the Twenty-ſixth of *October* the Fleet was ready, and the Earl himſelf embarked on board the *Golden Lion*, the Admiral Ship, with a Number of Gentlemen, Sharers in the Expence and Fortune of the Enterprize, beſide a full Complement of brave and experienced Sailors.

No Expedition had been ever better plan'd, nor enter'd upon with greater Spirit; but he who would enſure Succeſs at Sea, muſt find a Way of conquering the Winds. Their ſetting out was ſucceſsful, but no more: they took a rich Prize in the narrow Seas, and as they proceeded they were ſtop'd by Tempeſts: good Conduct kept the principal Veſſel above Water, but ſhe with the utmoſt Difficulty was brought in a few Weeks after a very Wreck to *England*.

CHAP. CXXXVIII.

An Expedition to Portugal.

THE Publick were concern'd at the Diſappointment of the Earl of *Cumberland*, but none blamed him.

Mean Time his Voice, and that of every honeſt Man who had the Spirit of his Country, was, that it became her Majeſty's Name and Honour to return the Inſults of the *Spaniards*, by an Attack upon themſelves at Home. That there was Policy in this as well as Glory: the Remains of the Armada might be again fitted out to Advantage; and, under a better Commander, perhaps brave with more Danger the *Engliſh* Coaſt than the full Number. They therefore adviſed to attack the *Spaniards*, not wait and leave them Leiſure to prepare another Attack upon us: and among thoſe who wiſh'd to ſee this done, there were ſome who offer'd, at their own Charge, and their own Riſque, to undertake it.

The Honour of the Propoſal is due to two great Names, Sir *Francis Drake* enrich'd by *Spaniſh* Plunder, and Sir *John Norris*, as true an *Engliſhman* as ever drew the Breath of the Country.

The Queen was charmed with the Generoſity and Spirit of the Offer: ſhe accepted it with Gratitude; and ſhe promiſed them any Aſſiſtance ſhould deſire from the Crown.

The Adventurers fitted out a Number of Ships, and the Queen gave them Commiſſion to raiſe Soldiers and Sailors for them: the Hope of Plunder, and the Spirit of Revenge, brought in theſe in Numbers; and the Publick now knew univerſally, what theſe Commanders had before ſeen from Experience, that the Strength of *Spain* was Words, and nothing more: that they could out-talk and out-threaten Heroes, but that their Arms by no Means kept Pace with their Tongues.

As the Enterprize grew more conſiderable, the Queen more and more eſpouſed it: to her firſt Countenance of the Undertaking, ſhe now added Force and Money; ſhe gave ſix large Ships, and ſixty Thouſand Pounds to ſtrengthen the Expedition.

Her Countenance and Protection raiſed Soldiers; and ſhe haſten'd all the Neceſſaries for the Purpoſe with her utmoſt Earneſtneſs.

Every Thing wore a favourable Aſpect. The Commanders were proud of the royal Aſſiſtance and Authority; and the common Men eager to chaſtiſe the vain-glorious Enemy of their Country.

The infamous Neglect of Men in Office is not peculiar to one Period of Time in *England*. 'Twas at a cruel Height in theſe more virtuous Years of which we write. All the Queen's Urgency, and all the Inſtances of the Commanders in this Expedition, could not get forward the Stores in Time. *Spaniſh* Gold prevailed over the Regard to their Country, and Duty to their Queen, in theſe Men's Breaſts; and what was done was little to what might have been, had all contributed their Duty and their Diligence to the Preparation. They had not all their Guns; they wanted a great Part of their Stores; and whether by unconquerable Accident, or by Treachery, a great Part of their Force never join'd them; five and twenty Companies of Soldiers could not, or their Commanders would not, double *Uſhant*; and the Fleet proceeded without them.

Thus what would have been an Expedition equal to any thing the Commanders could have propoſed, was render'd incapable to attempt half it might have accompliſhed; and private Treachery and Fraud robb'd the Publick of not only great Glory, but great Acquiſitions.

In this Fleet went the dethroned King of *Portugal*, *Antonio*; and he had Hopes by ſuch a Force, as was at firſt propoſed, to have regained his Kingdom: the *Dutch* ſent ſeven Ships to join the *Engliſh*; and if Integrity had been obſerved by thoſe in Office, the whole would have been a Force perhaps more terrible to *Spain*, than her Armada had appeared to *Britain*.

So much Time was waſted purpoſely by thoſe who ſhould have haſten'd the Expedition, that 'twas the Eighteenth of *April* before they ſailed from *Plymouth*: however, againſt all theſe Diſadvantages, the Commanders had by their own Spirit, and by that Emulation they had raiſed in others, a Fleet of fourſcore Sail, including the ſmaller Veſſels; on board of which embark'd eleven Thouſand Soldiers, and two Thouſand five Hundred Mariners. The Accounts vary extremely with reſpect to Number, but this is the moſt authentick.

With as much Force as came up, theſe Commanders *Drake* and *Norris* made their firſt Expedition to the *Groyne*.

They landed their Men; and as they drew them up in Order on the Shore, they ſaw the Enemy advance to face them. They advanced alſo: they met within half a Mile of the Town; and after a ſharp though ſhort Encounter, drove them to the Gates.

The *Groyne* conſiſted of an upper and lower Town. The Soldiers were received in, as they were driven back, and the Commanders halting for that Night, determined to attack the Place next Day. They did this boldly, and they ſucceeded.

The Aſſault was made at once by Land and Water, and the lower Town taken by Storm after a few Hours Reſiſtance. The Governor, *Don John de Luna* was made Priſoner here; and with him many Perſons of Conſequence: but the Body of the People eſcaped into the upper Town, by Ways the *Engliſh* did not know.

Some Number of the *Spaniards* fell as will always happen in a Town taken by Storm, as this was in three Places at once; but the Slaughter was ſtopped by the immediate Order of the Commanders.

In this Place was laid up a prodigious Quantity of Stores, deſigned as had been imagined for a new Expedition againſt *England*. This was pil'd up and burnt; and the *Spaniards* added to the Blaze, by firing a large Ship of their own, which lay in the Harbour, to prevent its falling into the Hands of the Enemy.

All was Shout and Acclamation among the *Engliſh* Soldiers, for added to the Joy of their Succeſs, they had broke into Cellars of *Spaniſh* Wine, and drank without Moderation.

The lower Town in their Hands, while the Stores deſtin'd againſt *England*, blaz'd to the Sky, to teſtify its Triumph; the Commanders prepared for the Attack of the upper.

This was defended by a ſtout Wall, and here they found the irreparable Miſchief of not having their Artillery. What they could bring into Uſe they did, and when they found theſe would not ſerve the Purpoſe, they ſprung Mines, and that Way tore down a Part of the Wall, and made a Kind of Breach in two Places.

Theſe were ſcarce practicable, but the Spirit of the *Engliſh* Soldiers made all ſeem eaſy. They begun the Attack in both Places with Violence, and had ſome Proſpect of Succeſs, when a Tower looſened by one of their own Mines fell, and cruſh'd a great Number by its Weight.

The Commanders on this Accident drew off their Men, and wanting the Support of their Cannon, a great many fell in their Retreat from the Breaches.

They took a Monaſtery, and from Day to Day ravag'd the Country, bringing in abundance of Proviſions; Oxen, Sheep, and every Thing they found uſeful or valuable in their Courſe.

Still the Siege was continued, tho' without the proper Supports; and Intelligence was obtained that eight Thouſand *Spaniards* were raiſed under the Count *de Andrada*, and upon the March for the Relief of the Place. The General puting himſelf at the Head of a great Part of the Force, ſet out to fight him by the Way. The Remainder of the Men were left under the Command of Sir *Francis Drake*, to continue their Operations, defend the Artillery, and keep Poſſeſſion of the Monaſtery.

The General met the Enemy marching in three Columns near the Place of their Encampment, and charging them with that Courage, which then diſtinguiſhed *Engliſhmen*, drove them back over a Bridge into their Camp; followed them thither; forced them there; and drove them with the Loſs of three Thouſand of their beſt Troops from the Ground.

So deſperate an Action was not without Loſs on the Part of the ſucceſsful. The *Engliſh* bought their Glory at the Price of ſome very valuable Lives, and beſides thoſe who fell, many of the Officers were wounded.

They plundered and then burnt the Camp; and when they had in the ſame Manner carried Fire and Sword through the adjacent Country, they returned: they took into their Company thoſe left with Sir *Francis Drake*, and having drawn off their Cannon, plundered the lower Town and Monaſtery, and burnt them.

They diſcontinued the Siege, becauſe their Artillery was not ſufficient to ſupport the Operations; and re-embarked their Troops with vaſt Plunder, and with the principal Standard of the Enemy taken in the laſt Action.

C H A P. CXXXIX.

The English *proceed in their Hoſtilities.*

SOON after this Fleet was under ſail, they deſcried from the Maſt-head, a large Squadron bearing towards them. Orders were given to face them, and prepare for an Engagement; but when they came in full Sight, the Colours of *England*, wav'd from the ſuppoſed hoſtile Veſſels.

The Earl of *Eſſex* commanded them; he had fitted out theſe Ships at his own Expence, and without the Queen's Knowledge, was come out on the ſame glorious Expedition of beating the Enemy on his own Shores, who had dar'd to dar'd to inſult and threaten ours.

He had ſome Prizes, taken about the *South Cape*; containing Neceſſaries, which he gave into the common Stock, and joined the large Force with his Veſſels, and with the gallant Company that attended him, Perſons of Name and Faſhion.

The Fleet thus reinforced, ſailed for the Coaſts of *Portugal*; the King of that Country being on board, to claim his proper Right againſt Uſurpation.

They arrived on the Sixteenth before *Penicha*: Sir *John Norris* marched forwards to beſiege it with a large Force, but the People ſaved him the Trouble; they ſurrendered their Caſtle to *Antonio*, whom they acknowledged their proper King.

He was charmed with his firſt Succeſs, and the Soldiers as much inſpirited: nothing was talked or thought of, but the placing him on the Throne; and the Troops ſtrait marched for *Liſbon*.

The *Portugueze* had Intelligence, and ſent out Forces to oppoſe the March of the *Engliſh*: theſe they fought and beat: and in their Way took the Town and Caſtle of *Torres Vedras*. Every Thing promiſed full Succeſs, and they arrived on the Twenty-fifth at *Liſbon*.

Here the Commanders conſulting together, found the Succeſs which ſeemed intended for them, could not be obtained by the common Means, for thoſe they wanted. They had no Cannon fit for this, any more than the former Expedition; and they found the Garriſon in the Place conſiſted of more Troops, than they had to inveſt it.

The King was called into their Council, and he promiſed them a Reinforcement from *Morocco*; he added, that the People he knew were here, as elſewhere, inclined to declare for him; and only waited a favourable Opportunity.

In theſe Hopes, it was reſolved to attack the Suburbs, and to expect the beſt. They put their Reſolution in Practice, and were Maſters of the Suburb of St. *Catherine*, with little Loſs or Difficulty; but they found the King's Hopes had been ill grounded. No Deſire of having him again, influenced the People; and no Reinforcement came: they ſaw no Service could be done, nor Honour gained by ſtaying; and they ſet ſail for *Caſcais*.

The other Soldiers Hope, Plunder, they might have had in abundance, but this *Antonio* prevented, deſiring them to ſpare his Subjects, as he called them. They were in Poſſeſſion of the Suburbs; and they had there, beſide the Effects of private Families; the Warehouſes along the Water-ſide filled to a great amount with the moſt conſiderable Merchandize. It would have enriched an Army: but the Commanders liſtened to *Antonio*, and the Soldiers were too well diſciplin'd to diſobey them.

Before the Land-Force reached *Caſcais*, the Fleet was there, and had reduced the Place; they had been more ſucceſsful than the others, and ſhewed beſide this Token of their Succeſs, many rich.

At *Caſcais* the General found a very ſtrong Caſtle, which he blew up, and utterly demoliſhed: the Admiral ſaw a vaſt Number of Veſſels, not leſs than ſixty, belonging to the *Hanſe-Towns*. He examined their Buſineſs, and found they had brought naval Stores, and other Neceſſaries for fitting out another Fleet againſt *England*. He made Prize of them all; and embarking his Troops, ſail'd for *Vigo*.

CHAP. CXL.

The Return of the Fleet.

THE *Spaniards* incenſed at theſe Inſults upon their own Coaſts, had upon the Notice of them fitted out twenty Gallies, to attack the *Engliſh* Squadron.

Theſe waited them out at Sea from *Caſcais*, and taking the Advantage of a Calm, attacked them with their utmoſt Fury. They were well manned, and they had picked Commanders: the braveſt Sea-Officers of *Spain* were in the Conduct of this Enterprize.

The *Engliſh* had not Wind to manage their Ships to any Advantage, and the Enemy had the full Uſe of their Oars. They came on with the utmoſt Fury, and they were received as became the *Engliſh*.

Our People could only act in the defenſive, but this they did ſo reſolutely, that the Event of the Action, was great Loſs to the Enemy, and little Damage on the *Engliſh* Part.

After four ſucceſſive Attacks, in all which they met with terrible Loſs and ſhameful Repulſe, they gave up the Enterprize, and tow'd one another into Safety; the Want of Wind not permiting the *Engliſh* to follow them.

They arrived at *Vigo*, and burnt that Town, plundered the neighbouring Country; and with ſome Prizes, met with in their Return, finiſhed this Expedition; not without Glory or Advantage, but with a very ſmall Share of each, compared to what it might reaſonably have been expected, if Integrity at home had equalled the Spirit of thoſe ſent out upon the Expedition.

They arrived in *England* in the latter End of *July*, and brought with them among other Prizes, a Hundred and fifty Pieces of Cannon.

The *Engliſh* ſaw how weak the *Spaniards* were upon their own Coaſts, and found they might at all Times eaſily revenge thoſe Inſults, it was better to prevent, on their own.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXLI.

The Expedition of the Earl of Cumberland's *to the* Azores.

WE have ſeen an Expedition of the Earl of *Cumberland*'s attended with much leſs Succeſs than it deſerved; and have had Occaſion to lament, that all employed in Enterprizes of Hardineſs, ſhould not be of equal Spirit, and of equal Wiſdom, with thoſe who plan the Expedition: we ſhall here ſee, that no Miſcarriage daunts thoſe who have true Spirit; nor any Accident has Power to alter that Principle in their Minds.

This Nobleman in the Year 1589, determined on a ſecond Attempt; and requeſting of the Queen Permiſſion and Authority, he received with theſe, a conſiderable Reinforcement of his Squadron, in the Royal Ship, *Victory*: on board this he embarked himſelf, and named her the Admiral Ship, the Vice Admiral, the *Margaret*, fitted out at his own Expence, he gave the Command to the young *Monſon*, diſtinguiſhed by that deſperate Service we have before related, more than by all Titles: to theſe was added, a third Ship, under the Title of *Rear Admiral*: and with theſe and a Caravel, under the Command of Captain *Pigeon*; he ſailed for Revenge upon the Enemy of his Country. He had in theſe Ships to the Amount of four Hundred Men, Sailors and Soldiers.

They ſailed from *Plymouth* on the Eighteenth of *June*, and in three Days ſent in three *French* Prizes of conſiderable Value; with theſe came back the Rear Admiral, the *Margaret*, unable to keep the Sea.

On the Thirteenth of *July*, they took and plundered thirteen Ships of the *Hanſe-Towns*, laden with Property of the Enemy; theſe they found upon the Coaſt of *Spain*: and after this Succeſs, they ſailed for the *Azores*.

On the Firſt of *Auguſt*, they ſaw St. *Michael's*, and perceived in the Road, four large Veſſels. They hoiſted *Spaniſh* Colours to prevent Suſpicion, and the Stratagem ſucceeded; 'twas not imagin'd they were any other than what they ſeem'd; and all was quiet till the Time of executing the intended Purpoſe.

At Midnight the Earl of *Cumberland* man'd his Boats, and was himſelf one of the Company. They made up to the Veſſels, cut their Cables, and brought them out with Security.

Some Outcry there was made on board, and ſome Shot fired at the Boats from ſhore, but 'twas at random; Darkneſs was the Shield of the *Engliſh*, and the Prize was made without the Loſs or Hurt of a ſingle Man in the Company.

This gave an Earneſt of good Fortune; the Veſſels were rich, and the Soldiers and Sailors encouraged by conſiderable Shares.

Intelligence was obtained, that at *Fyal* lay the *Spaniſh* Carracks, a vaſt Booty. This Force was hardly equal to ſuch an Attempt, according to the Intelligence he received of the Strength and Number; but what he wanted in Power, was well made up in Spirit; his Men, to the meaneſt, breathed the ſame Sentiments of Courage, Honour and Revenge, and they ſet ſail for the Undertaking.

Good Fortune threw into their Way an unexpected Reinforcement; off St. *Michael*; as ſoon as they had ſailed, they met with four *Engliſh* Veſſels, whom the Earl took into his Party; and with them, made with beſt Speed for the Place of the Expedition.

He arrived off *Fyal* on the Twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt*; one Day too late; for the great Prize had ſailed early the preceding Morning: there were however ſome Veſſels there; and theſe it was determined to attack at once; the Principal of them a very large one, richly laden from *Puerto Rico*, lay at an Anchor under the Defence of the Guns of the Caſtle.

It was propoſed to board her: Captain *Monſon*, who made the deſperate Propoſition, offered himſelf for the Service; and manning three Boats with ſelect People, he made off.

The *Spaniards* were aſtoniſh'd at the Boldneſs of the Attempt; they could not believe that a few Men in three open Boats, could dare attempt a Veſſel mounting Eighteen Guns, carrying more than Fifty Men, and defended from the Fortreſs on the Shore: but what they thought too much to undertake, the *Engliſh* did not find too much to execute.

The Ships Guns fired upon them as they came within Reach, and on the other Side, thoſe from the Caſtle: the *Engliſh* advanced, and when they came up with the Veſſel, boarded her at once.

The Men loſt all Spirit, and ſurrendered; they thought againſt ſuch Courage, any Oppoſition muſt be fruitleſs. So had before them thought the Commanders of the beaten Armada: ſo ſhould the Enemies of *England*, think always of her People.

The Veſſel was brought off with very inconſiderable Loſs.

This gave the *Engliſh* Sailors ſtill more Courage; they found that to be bold, was to be feared, and they improved the Thought.

There lay ſeveral ſmaller Veſſels from *Guinea*, loaded with Ivory, and other valuable Merchandize; and theſe they brought off before the Faces of the *Spaniards* in open Day, braving and threatening them on the leaſt Reſiſtance.

The Road thus clear'd, the Prizes were ſent to *England*; and the next Attempt was upon the Town.

The Earl of *Cumberland* told his People it was a bold Adventure, but by what he had ſeen in their Conduct and true Courage, he thought it the more worthy of them, and more fit for them; he promiſed to expoſe them to no Dangers, but what he would ſhare himſelf; and upon a Huzza of Satisfaction and Applauſe, he led to the Attack.

The *Spaniards* had given up all Thoughts of Oppoſition: *England* appeared to them, as *England* ſhould, a Land of Heroes; of Men who dar'd to attempt any Thing, and who could accompliſh all they attempted.

They gave up the Town and Fort without a Blow; and the *Engliſh* found there, beſides the military Stores, a great deal of Treaſure.

From *Fyal*, they ſailed to St. *Michael*'s, and thence to St. *Mary*'s, where they took ſome more Prizes; theſe they diſpatched for *England*, with one of their own Veſſels; and the Commander of the Expedition with the reſt, made for the Coaſt of *Spain*.

CHAP. CXLII.

The Concluſion of this Expedition.

SAILING for *Spain*, they made two other Prizes the one a *French* Ship, the other a *Spaniſh* from the *Weſt-Indies*, loaded richly; and in Part with Silver.

With theſe they made the Iſland *Gratioſa*, which they determined to plunder; but the principal People offering them a Ranſom, it was accepted; and to this Booty they added three other Prizes all of very conſiderable Value.

This Expedition compenſated very well for the Diſappointment from the laſt. The Commander ſaw himſelf enriched with all his People; and what to him was much more, he ſaw he had very gloriouſly revenged the Inſults on his Country. He had never avoided Danger, and in this laſt Action, which was the taking a Veſſel from under the Caſtle of St. *Mary*, he had received ſeveral Wounds.

Full of Glory, and enriched to the utmoſt of his Expectation, there was now nothing to be done, but to return to *England*.

They had ſent off one by one, ſome of their beſt Veſſels with their former Prizes: but they had now more Treaſure than they well knew how to carry; and more Priſoners than any but themſelves would have attempted to guard.

Liſter, who commanded in the *Victory*, under the Earl of *Cumberland*, was ſent off before with the richeſt of their Prizes; and by ill Fortune, or ill Conduct, Hiſtory knows not which, after all his Dangers on an Enemy's Coaſt, he was wreck'd on his own; and of the Number that were with him, ſcarce ſix eſcaped.

The reſt were not without their Share of Misfortune; toſſed upon a boiſterous Sea, attacked by terrible Sickneſs, and in Want of Proviſions, and even of Water: they were reduced to the Uſe of Vinegar in its Stead; and of this, three Spoonfuls a Day, was each Man's Allowance.

Thus was a Courſe of Glory and Succeſs, threatened to end in Famine, and the moſt miſerable Death.

All Eyes were upon the great Commander, whom for his Courage and many Virtues, they idoliz'd. He maintained throughout the terrible Scene, an unaltered Compoſure, ſharing his ſour and ſcanty Portion with the reſt; and like the *Roman* in the Deſart, refuſing to taſte any Refreſhment the meaneſt could not ſhare with him.

He told them, tho' without Relief in themſelves, they were not without Hope: that they did not traverſe an unfrequented Sea; and that every Hour might be expected to bring them in Sight of ſome Veſſel leſs diſtreſs'd than themſelves, whoſe Stores they muſt at any Rate, and at the Expence of whoſoevers Property, make their own.

His Expectations were not long fruitleſs. They ſaw a Veſſel in this deep Diſtreſs, and it proved one of *England*.

Here no Force was required; they freely ſhared their Water and Proviſions; and this gallant Company received enough to laſt them till they made the Coaſt of *Ireland*; whence, after due Refreſhment, they arrived loaded with Spoils, and Glory, in their Country.

CHAP. CXLIII.

Other Expeditions againſt the Spaniards *this Year.*

THE Cowardice of the *Spaniards*, now rung in every Ear, and the *Engliſh* with one Soul, burned to reſent and puniſh their late inſolent Attempt upon the Iſland.

Not only Companies, but private Perſons; ſingle Veſſels, and thoſe of very moderate Force, ſet out upon theſe Expeditions, and returned enriched, revenged, and in all Points ſucceſsful.

In *May* 1589, Captain *Michelſon*, in a ſingle Ship of Seventy Tun, carrying Forty Men, well arm'd, ſet ſail from *Plymouth* for the Bay of *Mexico*.

They had Succeſs beyond their Hopes: Ships larger than their own, and richer than their Imagination had figur'd, ſtruck to them without a Blow; and confeſs'd that they thought Reſiſtance was vain againſt the Countrymen of *Drake* and *Howard*.

They chaſed a Ship of War, and terrify'd her Commander into the hanging out of a Flag of Truce. He deſired a Parley, and the Captain of the *Engliſh* granted it. Some *Spaniards* were entertain'd on board the *Engliſh* Veſſel, and ſome of the *Engliſh* invited on board the *Spaniſh*.

The Captain did not leave his Ship; but he ſent ſome of Truſt: theſe the *Spaniards* murther'd except two; who eſcaped the Sword by leaping into the Sea, and regain'd their Ship.

The *Spaniards* ſailed upon this Treachery; and the *Engliſh*, who found little was to be got by them, and who were too much enrich'd for running idle Hazards, return'd ſucceſsfully to *England*.

The Name of *Merrick* is diſtinguiſh'd in the Tranſactions of the ſame Year. Mr. *Chidley* with three Ships, the *Wild Man*, the *White Lion*, and *Delight*, ſailed from *Plymouth* for the *Magellanic* Streights, and thence for the *South-Seas*. Two Pinnaces attended this Expedition.

Merrick commanded the *Delight*, and he alone made the purpoſed Voyage; the two others ſeparated in a Storm on the Coaſt of *Barbary*, returned to *England*.

Merrick with near a hundred Perſons, thought himſelf able to encounter all the Difficulties, and Dangers of ſuch a Voyage; and not knowing whether the two others were before or behind him, or whether they would keep their Purpoſe, or return: he made the Streight on *New-Year's-Day* 1590, and anchor'd off *Penguin* Iſland.

They had loſt ſixteen of their Men before, by Sickneſs, and here they were deprived of as many by an Accident.

The Boat in which they were ſent on Shore never return'd; probably it was loſt in landing, for a Storm tore them at the ſame Time from their Anchors.

Captain *Merrick* was one of thoſe Men who would take every Precaution to guard againſt an Accident, but he was never diſconcerted at it when it came: he paid a Tear to the Memory of his loſt People, but far from diſhearten'd at the Loſs, preſſed forward: he reached *Port Famine*, and there ſaw one yet left of thoſe miſerable *Spaniards* placed on that Spot to guard the Paſſage.

Captain *Merrick* built there a Boat, and ſent off ſeven Men to the North Shore. He gave them every Caution that could be thought needful; but whether they neglected his Admonition, or whether no Caution was enough, theſe alſo periſh'd.

Heaven ſeem'd diſpleaſed with the Undertaking; and the Conſtancy of the Captain could no longer inſpire the ſame Sentiments into his Men. They were in abſolute Deſpair; and he was obliged on their general Entreaty to return.

They took their Courſe back by the Coaſt of *Braſil*; and there ſaw a large *Portugueſe* Veſſel riding at Anchor.

The Commander of that Ship, knowing what he had to expect from the *Engliſh*, ran her aſhore, where they, who had now no Boat, were obliged to leave her.

From this Place they continued their Courſe homeward in the moſt extreme Diſtreſs, periſhing one after another by Fatigue, Diſeaſes or Hunger. By that Time they approached their Country, there were not enough of them to navigate the Veſſel: ſhe was loſt on the Coaſt of *Normandy*, and her Crew reduced now to four Perſons, ſav'd from the Waves by the People on the Coaſt, and ſent in the next Ship to *England*.

CHAP. CXLIV.

The Condition of the British *Navy at this Period.*

PUblick Precautions were taken in Conſequence of the Attempt of *Spain*; and private Adventurers every Day ſtarted up, inſpirited by the Cowardice of the Enemy, and the Succeſſes of moſt who had engaged in the Deſign of plundering them.

Elizabeth, who had the Spirit and the Addreſs to bring about whatever ſhe ſaw proper to be done, was convinced by the late Tranſactions of the vaſt Importance of a powerful Navy; and the Neceſſity of keeping it on ſuch a Footing, as to defy ſucceeding Attempts from this or any other Enemy.

Hitherto the Neceſſities of the Times had given Birth as it were to Sailors; and Veſſels of Trade made a great Part of the Royal Fleets, hired for that Service when wanted, and diſcharged when the Occaſion ceaſed: but now this Article of our Defence was put upon a better Footing.

She ordered a great Number of the Ships that had been out upon the great Expedition, to be made and kept ready for Service: ſhe appropriated a Sum yearly, and at that Time a very conſiderable one, to the keeping theſe in Condition, and for occaſionally adding to their Number; and ſhe fortify'd more ſtrongly her Sea Ports, and gave every Encouragement not only to thoſe Seamen who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves; but to the Adventurers now ſo frequent on the Sea, from whom ſhe hoped to raiſe a continual Supply.

Such was the State of the *Britiſh* Navy in 1590.

France had become embroiled juſt before by that ſtrange Event, the Aſſaſſination of her King, *Henry* the Third, killed by a Churchman. The Proteſtant Cauſe was concern'd deeply in the Conſequences of this Murder: for a Proteſtant, the King of *Navarre* claimed the Succeſſion under the Title of *Henry* the Fourth.

He knew the Oppoſition a bigotted Zeal would raiſe againſt him; and he applied in Time to *England*; the Protectreſs of every diſtreſſed and virtuous Perſon, and ſupreme Guardian of the Proteſtant Cauſe.

The Oppoſition he expected diſcloſed itſelf, and he was driven by the Duke of *Mayenne* into *Normandy*: here he receiv'd the Aſſiſtance of *Elizabeth* in a double Kind, a vaſt Sum, and a conſiderable Reinforcement of Men, under the Command of ſome of the firſt Families in the Kingdom, and moſt diſtinguiſhed in the Cauſe of their Religion.

While he ſupported himſelf thus againſt the League, *Spain* was at once ſo weakened and ſo terrify'd by the ill Succeſs of her Armada, that the Government neither could protect their Trade, nor had the Courage to attempt it. Here was an Opportunity for making private Fortunes under the Sanction of the Royal Authority; ſuch as perhaps no Age will offer; ſuch as none certainly ever had. The Sea ſwarm'd with thoſe who took the Advantage; and the rich Ships of *Spain* were ſent one by one into the Ports of *England*.

The Queen while ſhe countenanced theſe private Adventurers, became the greateſt herſelf. She ſent out two Squadrons under *Hawkins* and *Forbiſher*, to brave the *Spaniards* upon their own Coaſts, and there to pick up at the Mouths of their Harbours thoſe Veſſels which had eſcap'd her Rovers in the Seas.

Spain had felt ſo much of the *Engliſh* Arms, that ſhe trembled at the Thought of Oppoſition: but it was needful now: not for the Inſult, for that they could have borne, the vaineſt being always the meaneſt of Mankind; but for the Danger of their *India* Fleet and Carracks.

The Wealth of *Spain* was for that Year upon the Sea; the *Engliſh* formed a Line upon the Coaſt, and no Chance appeared but to give them up, or to find out a Man who ſhould dare lead a Squadron out for their Protection. The firſt was deſperate, and the latter difficult; but when all *Spain* was courted, under the higheſt Honours and Advantages, to accept the Commiſſion, a Brother of the fam'd *Santa Cruz* accepted it.

CHAP. CXLV.

The Spaniards *prepare to oppoſe our Fleets upon their Coaſts.*

DON *Alonzo de Baſſan*, accepting the Commiſſion, was reverensed by the People as if he had won a Victory; and the King, to give him Spirit for the Undertaking, loaded him with Favours and Diſtinctions, and gave into his Command a Fleet twice the Number, and more than twice the Strength of ours.

Theſe Things could not be tranſacted in Secret: *Hawkins* and *Forbiſher* had Notice of the Preparation; they conſulted to keep within Reach, and when this Fleet ſhould come up, to attack it both Ways at once, if that were practicable.

Alonſo went to Sea; but he was ſcarce out when the King grew fearful of the Event, and terrify'd himſelf out of his Purpoſe. The Orders to this Commander were, not to fight the *Engliſh* if he could avoid it, but to take the trading Ships into his Convoy, and bring them ſafely in.

The King conſider'd now this was too hazardous; his Invincible Armada had ſhewn him that a double Force did not make a *Spaniſh* Squadron equal to an *Engliſh*, and he thought it would be better to ſubmit to the Inconvenience of not receiving the Trade that Seaſon, than to ſend twenty of his beſt Ships, as it appeared to him, into the Jaws of Deſtruction, and with them to ſacrifice the Trade entirely.

Theſe timorous Politicks now alter'd his firſt Purpoſe: he ordered Don *Alonſo* back, and he ſent out Diſpatches to the *Indies*, directing his Fleet to winter there, and not run into the Mouths of the *Engliſh*, who ſpread themſelves before his Ports expecting them.

Seven Months our Fleets terrify'd their Coaſts; and toward Winter returned, ſatisfied with the Glory of having rode there unoppoſed, and having deſtroy'd half the trading Ships; and ruined half the Merchants in *Seville*; by the Delay of their Effects, and by keeping out the Veſſels deſtined for a ſpeedy Return.

CHAP. CXLVI.

The Spaniards *attempt our* Levant *Traders.*

THE *Spaniſh* Policy that had ordered their own Veſſels to remain in the *Indies*, took next the Precaution of intercepting ours in ſome Part where it was leaſt protected.

They who had hid themſelves within their Ports while but a ſmall Force of ours was on their own Seas, now undertook to make Repriſals.

At the Time our *Levant* Ships were about returning, they lodg'd twelve Gallies filled with the beſt Men they could ſelect, and full arm'd for the Purpoſe, near the *Streights* Mouth.

The *Engliſh* while they were taking the *Spaniſh* trading Veſſels in ſo many Places, were not negligent in the Defence of their own. They added to the Number of their Men in all Ships that went into Places of Danger, and ſent them out well arm'd.

Ten of theſe, belonging to the *London* Merchants, had joined in their Courſe homeward from theſe Seas; and as they were near the *Barbary* Coaſt, advancing to the *Streights* Mouth, they ſaw this Armament, plainly laid there to wait them.

The Notice of Defence was ſent from Ship to Ship. 'Twas with the ſetting Sun they ſaw the Gallies, and the Night was ſpent in Preparation for an Engagement: at early Day they ſaw them bearing down upon them, and found it was the Squadron of the famous Enemy of the *Engliſh*, *Doria*, whom the King of *Spain* had for that Cauſe made Viceroy of the Streights of *Gibraltar*.

As the Gallies advanced, the *Engliſh* form'd themſelves for their Defence: they placed the weaker and ſmaller Veſſels in front, and lay behind in the larger to ſupport them. Thus diſpoſed, they waited the Enemy; every Man at his Gun, and with Direction not to fire a Shot but when they were ſure of ſucceeding.

One Galley led the Way, and came in haſte to the Attack of one of the ſmaller Veſſels in front of the *Engliſh*; as ſhe approach'd ſhe came within the Reach of one of the larger Veſſels, who had ſeveral Guns. Theſe were diſcharg'd when they could not fail to take Place; and at the ſame Time a full Volley of the ſmall Arms from the Veſſel they were coming to attack.

The Galley reeled with the Shock: her whole Side was clear'd of the Men, and pierced through and through in many Places: all ſhe could attempt was Flight; and that not eaſily; for ſhe was in a Condition to ſink rather than to eſcape.

The *Engliſh* ſet up their War Shout, and the *Spaniards* trembled.

Doria, puſh'd on at once by Hate to the *Engliſh*, Revenge for his loſt Men, and the Deſire of Glory, came up in his own Galley, and taking the Place of that our People had diſabled, ſhew'd an Example to the others, that would have become an *Engliſhman* rather than a *Spaniard*. Six Hours he maintain'd a very deſperate Conflict, in all which Time not an *Engliſhman* but behaved as if the whole Effects were his own; and his Country's Honour depended upon his private Courage.

The *Spaniards* about Noon drew off. They had loſt many of their Men; their Veſſels were extreamly ſhatter'd, and they went toward their Ports, leaving to ten *Engliſh* Merchant Ships the wide Sea, and the Glory of the Victory: nor dared they to come out againſt them the next Day, tho' becalmed before their Ports.

CHAP. CXLVII.

Farther Attempts of the English *againſt the* Spaniards.

THE Earl of *Cumberland*, whoſe Spirit more than his Succeſs had diſtinguiſh'd him now in three Expeditions againſt the *Spaniards*, undertook in the Year 1591, a fourth.

Five Ships were fitted out for this Purpoſe, and great Hopes entertain'd of the Succeſs; but Storms and Diſaſters of various Kinds attended them from the ſetting out; and the noble Proprietor after taking ſome Prizes, and loſing them again, and with them ſome of his Men, return'd unfortunate, but not diſmay'd to *England*.

His Prizes which would have very well paid the Expence of the Undertaking, were ſeparated in a Storm from his own Veſſels; and in a ſucceeding Calm attack'd by ſome paultry Gallies, and he not being able to get up to their Reſcue, they were taken.

While this unſucceſsful private Adventure was on foot, the Queen was not idle in her Preparations: ſhe glory'd in having prevented the Return of the *Spaniſh* trading Veſſels the preceding Year; and ſhe determin'd to intercept them now.

A Squadron of ſeven Ships were diſpatch'd for this Purpoſe, and the Command given to Lord *Thomas Howard*. They were well manned, well ſtored, and attended by ſome ſmaller Veſſels.

The Deſtination of this Force was to the *Azores*; where it was to remain to intercept the Ships as they return'd. The *Spaniſh* King heard the Deſtination, and he ſent out another Diſpatch, not to command the Veſſels to ſtay a ſecond Winter where they were, for that could not be borne; but to direct them to come out as late as poſſible, that the *Engliſh*, tired of waiting for them, might give them a free Paſſage of returning.

The Nobleman who commanded in this Expedition, was not to be deluded by Appearances, or weary'd by Delays: he lay ſix Months upon the deſtin'd Spot; and the *Spaniards* ſaw it was in vain to think of Security by waiting.

The Return of theſe Ships was eſſential to *Spain* that Year; and once again there appear'd the ſame Alternative which had threaten'd before, to yield them up to us, or to defend them againſt our Force.

The firſt was too deſperate a Thought, and the latter was reſolv'd. Don *Alonſo* was once more called into the Service; and was diſpatch'd with three and fifty Ships to fight the ſeven *Engliſh* where they lay.

The Lord *Howard* had not imagin'd any Conſideration could make the *Spaniards* valiant; far from ſuſpecting Danger, he was off his Guard; many of his Men on Shore, and his Ships at *Flores*.

The Earl of *Cumberland*, not very fortunate in his own Expedition, was of ſome Service to this. He was near enough the Coaſt of *Spain* to get Intelligence of what was doing there; and juſt before the ſailing of this Fleet, he found their Deſtination.

He diſpatch'd Capt. *Middleton*, in one of his beſt ſailing Veſſels, to give Lord *Howard* Notice; and ſo quick were the *Spaniards* after him, that there was but a Night between the Intelligence, and the Appearance of the Fleet.

Capt. *Middleton* arrived at *Flores* on the laſt Day of *Auguſt*, toward Evening: he found Lord *Howard* unprepared for ſuch an Attack as he had to expect, and he gave him Notice that near eight Times his Number of the *Spaniards* would be immediately upon him.

All Night the *Engliſh* labour'd to get ready; and in the Morning appear'd the Enemy.

Don *Alonſo* from his Superiority, and the Surprize, promiſed himſelf a compleat Victory.

The Vice Admiral Ship, the *Revenge*, waiting for her Men, who were ſtraggling on the Shore, was ſeparate from the reſt, and ſeem'd an eaſy Prey; but the *Spaniards* found Appearances could lie when the *Engliſh* Courage acted againſt them.

This Veſſel was commanded by Capt. *Greenville*, a very honourable Name, diſtinguiſh'd before by many gallant Actions, but by none more than this.

The *Spaniard* ſent twelve Ships againſt him, and taking Advantage of his Situation, ſurrounded him except on the Shore Side, and gave Orders to board him. Two of the beſt Veſſels in *Alonſo's* Squadron grapled him at once, and pour'd their Men in on each Side.

The Captain fought at the Head of his People upon the Deck, and clear'd it as faſt as they came on; and when he had weary'd them, and made them ſheer off, diſcharg'd his Broadſide at thoſe ſent to relieve them; and kept the ſame Defence when they boarded him.

Supplies were ſent in againſt him as faſt as the former were deſtroy'd; for the *Spaniſh* Veſſels were burthen'd with Men; but all anſwer'd no Purpoſe, except to his Glory.

Till Night the Fight was continued in this Place, and through the Night, till at Day-break the Effect of *Engliſh* Reſolution was gloriouſly ſeen, two Veſſels ſunk of the Enemies, and a third floating a Wreck; the Work of this one Ship, whom now four more attack'd.

It was not to be expected the Captain who had hitherto ſtood in the Poſt of greateſt Danger, could have eſcaped unhurt. He had ſeveral Wounds which he neglected; but in this new Aſſault he received a Muſket Shot in his Body; and while that Wound was dreſſing, fell by another through the Head: a Death more to be envy'd than the longeſt Life.

The *Spaniards* continued their Attack upon this Ship in all its Fury; the more as they had now leſs Reſiſtance, for moſt of the People were killed, and but one Barrel of Powder remain'd of all the Stores.

Pierced in many Places, and without a Maſt, ſhe fell into the Hands of the Enemy: the firſt *Engliſh* Ship of War they took, and fatal to themſelves, not only in but after the Fight; they acknowledged they loſt a Thouſand Men in the Engagement with this ſingle Veſſel; and the Hull ſunk afterwards with Two Hundred.

Mean time Lord *Howard* fought with an equal Fury; but the Hydra Enemy ſeem'd the more they were deſtroy'd, the more to encreaſe in Number; weary'd at length, and hopeleſs to make any Advantage of the Action, he reſerved his Men for better Purpoſes, and ceaſed the Engagement.

The *Spaniards* were as ready to deſiſt as he; and it ended a drawn Battle.

The Conſultation among the *Engliſh* was now, what Courſe to take. To anſwer the Deſign of the Expedition was impoſſible; for the *Spaniards* being too numerous, and too ſtrong to be attacked, had it in their Power to receive, and guard home their Convoy.

It was determin'd to cruize for Stragglers; and to return afterwards for *England*.

They pick'd up a great many Veſſels, and ſome very rich ones; and return'd, though without having anſwer'd the Purpoſe of their Commiſſion, yet without Diſhonour.

CHAP. CXLVIII.

More Expeditions of the English at this Period.

CAVENDISH, a Name we have celebrated in ſome preceding Chapters, fitted out in the Year 1591, a Fleet of five Ships for another Voyage to the Streights of *Magellan.* Himſelf in the *Leiceſter* Gallion, commanded in Chief; and he had picked Men, and Officers of experienced Courage in all the other Veſſels.

If prudent Management, and a Courage equal to the moſt deſperate Service, could have ſecured Succeſs to an Expedition, this might have claimed an Exemption from the common Chance of War; but it can only ſtand as an Inſtance, that there are Accidents, no human Force, or human Wiſdom can conquer.

Toward the latter End of *Auguſt* this Fleet ſail'd from *Plymouth*; and purſued a fortunate Courſe to the Line, but in this unfavourable Part of the Globe, it was their ill Fate to lie becalmed a Month.

Their Men grew ſickly ſoon, and in the End a Number periſhed: the reſt were diſpirited; and 'twas with ill Hearts when the Wind ſerved; they continued their Courſe to the Coaſt of *Brazil.*

On the Second of *December*, they took a ſmall Ship off *Cape Frio*, thirty Leagues from *Santos*, the very Place on which they had formed their Deſign.

'Twas from the Pilot of the Prize they learned where they were, and under his Conduct they ſoon reached *Ilha Grande*, only twelve Leagues from *Santos.*

Here they landed, and found Refreſhments of every Kind; but the People were in Deſpair, and their Uneaſineſs among themſelves, gave the Commander an ill Proſpect in his Enterprize. He judged wiſely in the Difficulty; he knew to give them Employment was the beſt Method of quieting their Jars, and he haſtened his Deſign upon *Santos.*

The Pilot they had taken, was acquainted with the Town, and he informed them 'twas out of all Condition of Defence; on this Report the Commander grounded his Expedition, and it was determined, that a Hundred Men in the Long-boat and Shallops ſhould undertake it.

Theſe, when they arrived, were ſelected by the Admiral, and they took an Opportunity of falling upon the Place when the People were at High Maſs in the Church.

Thus all Reſiſtance was foreſtalled, and the Place taken without Blood: thoſe who were not at Church, thought of hiding their Treaſures, not of making Reſiſtance; and in this they did not ſucceed very happily.

The *Engliſh* made a very conſiderable Booty: and took with them ſome of the principal People Priſoners.

The Gold and Silver in the Town of *Santos*, amounted to a very conſiderable Sum, and the principal Part of what the People had hid, was diſcovered by the Inhabitants of the Country, who hating them for their Barbarities, diſcovered alſo their Stores of Cattle, and requeſted Mr. *Cavendiſh* to keep Poſſeſſion of the Town.

The Sailors who had hitherto been mutinous and uneaſy, ſeemed very well ſatisfied with their preſent Fortune: they deſired to ſtay there the Winter.

This, the Admiral would by no Means hear of, for the whole Purpoſe of his Voyage muſt have been overthrown by it; he fear'd however, their relapſing into their mutinous Spirit, and was prevailed with to ſtay two Months: After this, they fired the Out-parts of the Town, and embarking their Plunder, ſailed on the Twenty fourth of *January* for the Streights of *Magellan.*

Near the River *Plate*, a Storm ſeparated them, and ſhatter'd the Admiral Ship, but ſhe was able to keep the Sea, and on the Sixth of *March*, they all joined again at *Port Deſire.*

On the Twentieth, they ſail'd for the Streights Mouth; but bad Weather and the extreme Cold, threw them into great Diſtreſs. Some periſhed, and others loſt their Limbs.

Mr. *Cavendiſh* perſiſted in his Purpoſe, and war'd ſome Weeks, not with the *Spaniards*, but the Elements. On the Eleventh of *May*, he found 'twas impoſſible to make good his Purpoſe. Nothing remained but to return. Here Hiſtory ſtamps a Blot upon the Action, that no Succeſs, no Valour could eraſe.

The Cold was extreme; the Coaſt covered with Snow, and the Admiral Ship burthened with her ſick; when the Reſolution was taken to return. Theſe were ſet on Shore. How much more merciful had it been, to have given them inſtant Death!

Heaven returned it. The Clamours of the reſt, carried him to *Brazil*; and in his Way he loſt the *Deſire*, the *Roebuck*, and the *Black Pinnace.*

Alone, and in a tempeſtuous Sea, he made his Way to the Coaſt of *Brazil*, and anchored with much Difficulty at St. *Vincents.*

Here the Boat with four and twenty Men was ſent on Shore for Refreſhment, and they enjoying by themſelves too laviſhly, what they ſhould have ſhared with their Companions; were ſet upon when drunk, by ſome *Portugueze* and *Indians*; and every Man periſhed.

Cavendiſh was now almoſt reduced to Deſpair: no Veſſel but his own; and that ſtrip'd of the far greater Part of the Men: he had ſome Joy in ſeeing the *Roebuck* come in ſoon after, but battered and helpleſs: and all the Hope of Enterprize being over, nothing was left him but Revenge.

He attempted the Town of St. *Vincent*, but failed with the Loſs of ſome of his People. The Town of *Spirito Sancto* was the next Undertaking, but that was in the ſame Manner unſucceſsful.

Three Veſſels appeared at this Time, which the Admiral propoſed to attack, but the Men were now more Maſters than he: they put it off: 'twas Evening, and deferring the Attempt till Morning, it was then found impracticable, the Veſſels being drawn up into a Place of Security: Some Men were loſt in a deſperate Attempt upon them; and the Remainder being ſcarce enough to manage the Veſſels, there remained no farther Thought, but of returning to *England*.

The *Roebuck* which before had been ſeparated in a Storm, now left him by Treachery; and the Admiral returned; little enriched by the Voyage.

CHAP. CXLIX.

Other Exploits of the English, *in the Year* 1591.

IN the Year 1591, *Raymond* and *Lancaſter*, Seamen of Courage and Experience, fitted out each his Veſſel to cruize upon the Enemies of his Country, and their Deſtination was to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

After taking one Prize, the Admiral Ship, with the principal Adventurer, *Raymond*, was loſt in a Storm. *Lancaſter*'s People diſheartened, would have returned; but his Perſuaſions and the Hope of Plunder, which he ſet before their Eyes in its beſt Colours, at length prevailed; and they conſented to proceed to the *Eaſt Indies*.

Three Years they were abſent, and at the End of that Time return'd loaded with Plunder, but without their Captain; he, with ſome of the Men having been left on the Shore in an Iſland, where they ſtop'd for Refreſhments: they ſaid 'twas the Violence of the Weather forced them, but there was Suſpicion of Treachery.

The ſame Year the gallant Sir *George Carey*, afterwards Lord *Hunſdon*, ſet out upon the ſame kind of Expedition, with three good Ships: he ſaw on the Thirteenth of *June*, ſoon after Sun-riſe, ſix Sail of *Spaniſh* Veſſels.

He gave Orders to attack them, tho' of greater Force each, as well as double Number; and the Sailors obey'd with that Alacrity, which then diſtinguiſh'd even the meaneſt *Engliſh*, engag'd in the Service of their Country.

As they approach'd they found the *Spaniards* were of more Force than they had imagin'd, four of the ſix being Veſſels of very conſiderable Size. This made no Change in their Determination, they bore up cloſe with them, and Ship ſingling Ship, they attack'd the three foremoſt; which were the largeſt of the Enemy, with their full Broadſides, and ſmall Arms.

The *Spaniards* were confounded and aſtoniſh'd at the Boldneſs of the Attack; but they were too ſtrong to be overcome.

The *Engliſh* fought them all that, and part of the next Day; and at length left them, hopeleſs of taking them, but proud to have attack'd, and galled ſo ſuperior a Force of the Enemy. They made ſufficient Prizes before this Action, and ſome after it: they return'd well reveng'd, and enrich'd by the Expedition.

In the Year 1592, the Earl of *Cumberland*, whom no Diſappointments could diſmay in his intended Purpoſe of Revenge upon the *Spaniard*, fitted out three Veſſels at his own Expence.

He took none of the Royal Ships this Voyage, becauſe he would lie under no Reſtrictions in his Conduct; and deſigning to intercept the *Spaniſh* Carracks, he embark'd himſelf on board the Admiral Ship, the *Tyger*.

His former ill Fortune purſu'd him; and contrary Winds kept him three Months upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt: thus the Opportunity of effecting his original Purpoſe was loſt; and himſelf return'd to Shore. He gave the Command to Capt. *Norton*, and with it large Inſtructions. Off *Caſcais* they took a rich Prize, and ſent her home with one of their Veſſels; and after watering at the *Azores*, the others came in Sight of one Carrack of the *Portugueſe*, near *Santa Cruz*.

The *Portugueze* made to Land, and took out the beſt Part of the Cargo. The Night favoured them in this; and in the Morning, to prevent the Veſſel from falling into the Enemies Han s, they ſet her on fire.

Captain *Norton* ſuppoſed they had not been idle the whole Night in unloading her, and told his Men, what they had miſſed at Sea, they might ſtill find on Shore.

He landed at the Head of a large Party, drove the *Portugueze* before him to a little Town, where he had laid up the Cargoe; and when he had driven them and the Inhabitants out of it, and recovered the Gold, burnt the Place.

In *Auguſt* they fell in with another Carrack richly laden, and full mann'd, and after two Hours obſtinate Reſiſtance took her.

Some Veſſels of the Government came up during this Diſpute, and claim'd their Share in the Prize: the Earl of *Cumberland*, however, had a very conſiderable Part; and this fifth Expedition, in which he was not preſent, was better to him than moſt of the former.

CHAP. CL.

Other Expeditions in 1592.

SUcceſs in Cruizes begets new Expeditions. The good Fortune of the laſt Year, ſent out in this, *Newport* with three Ships to the *Weſt Indies*, and *King* to the Bay of *Mexico*, with two of very conſiderable Force.

Newport on the Twelfth of *February* ſailed from *Dover* Road, and in the Beginning of *April*, after a very ſucceſsful Voyage, took a rich *Portugueſe* Ship off *Dominica*; and off *Hiſpaniola* three others.

Spirited by this Succeſs, he fell upon two *Spaniſh* Towns there, *Acoa* and *Yaguana*, both which he plundered and burnt.

On the Fourteenth his People burnt *Puerto de Cavallos*; and with the Plunder of theſe Towns, and their frequent Captures, return'd to *England* extremely rich and full of Glory; having taken and deſtroyed four Towns, and in the whole made Prize of ſeventeen Ships, two of which, with the Treaſure from on board the others, they brought in to *England*.

Mean Time *King* was ſcarce leſs ſucceſsful. He arrived at *Dominica* ſome Weeks after the other, and there found a large Veſſel richly laden for *Puerto Rico*.

At *Puerto Rico* he took another. She had eſcaped the others in the Chace, and put into that Harbour toward Evening; but in the Night Captain *King* ſent in his Boat, and cutting her away, brought her without Loſs to his Veſſels.

After a great many more Prizes taken, they arrived in *May* at the *Havanna*, where they took two ſmall Prizes, and ſtood the Cannon of the Fort in Defiance. The *Spaniards* ſent out two Gallies well mann'd to attack them: but 'twas a Sort of Service the People did not like: they made an Aſſault boldly, but they were repulſed with Loſs; and the *Engliſh*, ſatisfy'd with the Advantage, put to Sea.

Soon after they found in the ſame Seas ſeveral *Engliſh* Veſſels upon the ſame Expedition; and, after taking ſome more Prizes in Conſort, returned to *England*.

CHAP. CLI.

An Attempt of the Government upon the Spaniſh *Settlements.*

THE Queen, who ſaw the Weakneſs of the *Spaniards* in *America* in the Succeſs of theſe ſeveral Expeditions of private Perſons, with little Force, determin'd to make a publick Attempt of the ſame Kind.

A Fleet of fifteen Ships was ordered to be got ready for an Expedition, and the Command was given to Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

His Courage and his Knowledge gained him the Honour of this Commiſſion; but he had before begun to feel the Inconſtancy and Uncertainty of Fortune: the Queen, who had diſtinguiſh'd him for ſome Years in a very particular Manner, now form'd Suſpicions; and 'twas by a Cabal of Council againſt her real Inclination, he had the Command of ſo important an Expedition.

The Ships were well provided, and he embarked with Inſtructions to ſerve the Intereſts of his Country, as Incidents ſhould direct him, either by taking *Panama*, where the Treaſure of *Spain* were laid up for *Europe*, or by intercepting the Flota after it was taken on board.

This Expedition was delayed like the laſt of the Earl of *Cumberland*'s, by oppoſing Winds: three Months theſe Veſſels were kept in Harbour; and in that Time the *Spaniards* had Notice of their Deſtination.

This, the common Deſtruction of great Enterprizes, had its Effect on the preſent. Thus warn'd, they took Order to prevent the Danger: they ſent Diſpatches for fortifying *Panama* in the beſt Manner, and order'd no Ship ſhould depart from *America* without more Notice.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* received Intelligence of this from *England*, when he was at the Height of Cape *Finiſterre*, and upon it he returned, leaving to Sir *Martin Forbiſher* one of his Captains, and to Sir *John Barroughs*, Commander of the Land Forces, the Conduct of the Fleet, which he for that Purpoſe divided into two Squadrons.

'Tis ſaid he was recall'd, and Sir *Martin Forbiſher* appointed in his Room, Commander of the Fleet by the Government; but it rather appears to have been his own Act to return, the intended Purpoſe of the Expedition appearing then impracticable. The Directions given to theſe joint Commanders were, to think no more of the *American* Expedition, where every thing was prepared to prevent their Succeſs; but to wait at the *Azores* the *Eaſt-India* Carracks.

Sir *Walter* gone, the Officers did not think themſelves obliged to ſubmit to his Deputation: they took their ſeveral Courſes where they thought they could do moſt effectual Service; and after ſome few Prizes on the Coaſt of *Spain*, taken in Conjunction, Sir *Martin* was left with about four

Veſſels on the Coaſt. *Burroughs* with about three others ſailed to the *Azores*.

His Fleet thus ſeparated was expoſed to great Danger; for the *Spaniards* had a conſiderable Force then at Sea; but they eſcaped all Hurt.

Sir *John Burroughs*, who followed his Inſtructions, had moſt Succeſs, but few of the others return'd without Prizes.

At the *Azores*, *Burroughs* met thoſe Veſſels of the Earl of *Cumberland* named in the laſt Chapter; and uniting them with his Fleet, he ſpread them out; at a great Diſtance Ship from Ship, to cover as much Sea as they could, and watch the reſt of the Carracks.

Thus lay the *Engliſh* from the Twentieth of *June* to the Firſt of *Auguſt*.

That Day at Sun-riſe a Prize appear'd, and upon the Signal the Fleet join'd and prepared for the Attack. The *Spaniards* did not now ſend out their rich Veſſels ſo defenceleſs as they had done before. Theſe met the *Engliſh* without Fear, and ſtood the Aſſault with ſuch Spirit, as as firſt daunted the *Engliſh*. Sir *John Burroughs* in his own Ship had attacked the principal Veſſel of the Enemy, and his Salute had been returned ſo roughly, that at one Diſcharge his Deck was almoſt clear'd of Men, his Main-maſt hurt, and his Ship pierced under Water.

The Beginning of an Engagement generally determines its Event: and this would have given all againſt the *Engliſh*, but for the good Behaviour of another Commander. This was Sir *Robert Croſs*: his Ship was the ſecond in Strength; and when he ſaw the Admiral hurt, confuſed and in Danger, he ran in between, took the Fire of the Enemy till the Admiral could put himſelf in Order, and returned it with ſo much Fury, that the Fate of the Day turn'd: three Hours he ſtood this ſharp Encounter; and in that Time ſeeing the *Spaniards* weaken'd, though deſperate not to ſtrike, he boarded the Carrack; and obliged the Commander to ſurrender.

This was one of the richeſt Prizes that had been taken many Years, and the Fleet returned full of Glory.

CHAP. CLII.

An Expedition to the South Seas *in* 1593.

THESE we have recorded were not the only Victories of the *Engliſh* in the Year 1592. The private Expeditions of many others were very ſucceſsful; and the Queen declaring herſelf the Protectreſs of the Commerce of her People, this Year granted Patents for the *Guinea* Trade, and eſtabliſhed upon a better Foot than ever the *Turkey* Company.

Thus having ſupported and eſtabliſhed the Merchants Intereſts, her Eyes were turned upon her own; and thoſe of the Publick: ſhe heard that *Hawkins*, Son to the famous Adventurer of that Name, and knighted in her Service, was at his own Charge preparing ſome ſtout Veſſels to cruize upon her Enemies. She ſent for him; commended his Intention, and honoured him with her Commiſſion under the Great Seal, to infeſt the *Spaniards* in *South America*.

Hawkins accepted the Commiſſion with the higheſt Gratitude, and laid down the Plan of his Voyage, which was no leſs than to ſurround the Globe; following the Courſe of *Drake* and *Cavendiſh*; and viſiting through the Streights of *Magellan*, and from the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, *China*, the *Moluccas* and *Philippines*.

At the Mouth of the *Rio de la Plata* he made his firſt Prize a *Portugueſe* Veſſel; her Lading of conſiderable Value.

After taking in Refreſhment, he encouraged his People by a well concerted Speech, and ſailed for the Streights of *Magellan*. By the Way one Ship deſerted him: the Pretence was ſtormy Weather, but the real Cauſe Treachery. This was afterwards proved, and the Captain, whoſe Name was *Thralton*, puniſhed for the Perfidy.

This was a poor Return for the Diſtreſs and Damage he occaſioned to the gallant Commander of the Expedition: alone, and in a boiſterous Sea, he ſuffered great Hardſhips, and his People grew uneaſy: nothing, however, damp'd his Reſolution. He made the Streights of *Magellan*, and paſſed up them to fifty-ſix Degrees with great Difficulty. Afterwards the Weather more favoured him, and after a ſix Weeks Struggle he came into the open Sea.

He ſailed along the Coaſt of *Chili*, and at *Villa Pariſao* plunder'd the *Spaniards* on ſhore, and took five Ships loaden with Gold and Silver: four he let go on Ranſom, and the fifth took with him on the Voyage.

The *Spaniſh* Viceroy heard of this, and he got ready eight ſtout Veſſels: he gave them to the Command of *Bertran di Caſtro*, a Man of experienced Courage, commiſſioning him to take a full Revenge.

'Twas eaſy to gueſs what Courſe the *Engliſh* Adventurer would take, and this bold *Spaniard* made his beſt Sail to meet him. They came in Sight off *Arica*, and the *Spaniards* ſurrounding *Hawkins* thought themſelves ſecure of Victory: but they had fogot with whom they were to fight; with *Engliſh* whom no Odds daunted in thoſe Times, and who had been accuſtomed to combat, and to conquer under all Diſadvantages.

Hawkins harangued his Men, told them what they had to expect, if they fell into the Hands of theſe People; and how eaſy it would be to maintain their Part againſt them. Every one made the Caſe, as indeed it now was his own, and after ten Hours Engagement, the *Spaniards* called a Council;

Council, and retired: not having ſucceeded ſo far as to retake the Prize.

The Elements fought for the *Engliſh*, or they could never have eſcaped this Danger. Moſt of the unweildy Ships of the Enemy were diſabled by a Storm that took them during the Action; and *Hawkins* ſteer'd for the Bay of *Atacama*. In his Way he took a Ship of conſiderable Value. He plundered her of the beſt Effects, ſet the Men on ſhore, and burnt the Veſſel.

Mean Time the *Spaniſh* Admiral was refitting, ſupplying, and reinforcing himſelf; and this done, he followed *Hawkins*. He knew his Purpoſe was to go to *Atacama*, and he came up with him there.

The Engagement began as the former, and the Succeſs was with *Hawkins*. His Example inſpired the meaneſt Sailor, and they were at the ſame Time animated by the Thoughts of Glory and Revenge. The *Spaniſh* Admiral was as reſolute, and his Numbers gave him an unconquerable Superiority: three Days and Nights the Fight continued; in which Time two thirds of the *Engliſh* fell, and half of the poor Remainder were diſabled. The Ship had ſcarce a Maſt ſtanding, and her Sails were torn till they were uſeleſs. The Hull was pierced through in many Places, Water grew upon them in the Hold, and their Pumps were ſhatter'd by the Enemy's Shot, ſo as to be unſerviceable.

This *Hawkins* ſaw, and this the *Spaniard* perceived; but ſuch was the Spirit of the *Engliſh* at that glorious Period, and ſo well was it known to their Enemies, that neither did they conceive Hopes from the Circumſtance; nor theſe admit Deſpair. They continued the Fight, and had no Thought but to ſhare the Fate of their Companions ſinking with the Veſſel.

The *Spaniard*, not in a much better Condition, fear'd every Shot from this deſperate Enemy might deſtroy his Ship; and as he ſaw there was no Hope of conquering them by Force, call'd out and offer'd Terms. The *Engliſh* Captain rejected them with Diſdain. He anſwered, he ſaw their Diſtreſs as well as his own; and they would ſink together.

His Men were now reduced to humbler Thoughts: what Men could do they had; and they now entreated him not to ſacrifice himſelf and them when there was no Hopes, but to accept honourable Terms. Their Voice prevailed, and the Matter was ſoon adjuſted. The *Spaniard* gave them their Lives and Liberty, and engaged to ſend them by the firſt Opportunity to *England*: he ſent his Glove to Captain *Hawkins* as the Gage of his Sincerity, and the *Engliſh* gave up their ſinking Ship.

It appear'd wonderful to many, how the *Spaniards* knew the Purpoſe and Courſe of the *Engliſh* Veſſels; but this was explained to *Hawkins* in his Cabbin. The Commander ſhew'd him from the *Spaniſh* Court, an exact Account ſent thither of their Strength, Purpoſe, and Time of Sailing. *See*, added he, *whether the King my Maſter has not Friends in England.* —— *I do not wonder*, reply'd *Hawkins*, *that he has many Friends, who has ſo much Gold.*

Bertran kept his Promiſe ſo far as himſelf was concerned, with the ſtricteſt Honour: but no Way of ſending his Priſoners back occur'd till they came to Port in *Spain*, and there the Government, leſs honourable than its Officer, detain'd *Hawkins* Priſoner many Years.

CHAP. CLIII.

Other Expeditions of the Engliſh.

THE Year 1593 gave Birth to another Expedition, a ſixth of the great Earl of *Cumberland*'s. He fitted out nine Ships; embarked himſelf on board, and took with him in principal Command Sir *Edward Yorke* and the gallant *Monſon*.

They were very ſucceſsful in our own Seas, and on the Coaſt of *Spain*; after which the Commander in Chief was obliged by Sickneſs to return to *England*, and the Authority devolv'd upon the others; who, according to his Inſtructions, purſued their Courſe to the *Weſt Indies*.

They refreſh'd at *St. Lucia*, and determined to make their firſt Attempt upon the Produce of that Year's Pearl Fiſhery. They knew the Pearls, wherever taken up, were depoſited at *Margarita*; and lying concealed all Day, took the Advantage of the Night, with the Guidance of a *Spaniard* they ſeiz'd for that Purpoſe, to march in a Body for the Town. They had formed the Plan of a regular Attack, but the *Spaniards* ſav'd them the Trouble; they fled and left their Treaſure: the Town was alſo in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and the Choice was ranſom or burn. The *Spaniards* agreed to a very conſiderable Price, and the Place was ſaved.

From hence they fell upon the *Spaniſh* Settlements in many other Places, but the Inhabitants in moſt of them had receiv'd Notice, one Way or other, of their being upon thoſe Seas; and they made no great Booty.

Their laſt Attack was upon ſeven Ships off *Cuba*; theſe after ſome Reſiſtance they took; and filling the principal Veſſel with the Treaſure from all the reſt, they burnt them, and brought the other loaded to *England*.

The ſame Year two Veſſels, one under the Command of a Captain *Drake*, another of Captain *Strong*, ſailed from *Plymouth* for *North America*. The Purpoſe was to load themſelves with the Oil and Teeth of the Sea-Horſe, common on an Iſland *Ramea*, on the Side of *Newfoundland*.

Drake arrived firſt, and found a Veſſel of *St. Maloos* on the ſame Expedition. The *French* fled at the Approach of an *Engliſh* Ship, and they eſcaped with their Veſſel and what Cargo they had taken in; but the greateſt Quantity of what they had prepared was on ſhore, and in their Shallops; and the *Engliſh* found good Part of a Lading ready.

The other was not ſo fortunate; ſhe miſs'd her intended Purpoſe there; and, after an unſucceſsful Attempt upon a *Portugueſe* Veſſel in her Return, came in with little Advantage, and with the Loſs of ſome of her Men.

The other Veſſel did the Kingdom no little Service; it ſhewed the Traffick in that cold Quarter of the World; and the Article was purſued afterwards with Advantage.

CHAP. CLIV.

The Diſcovery of the Bermudas *Iſlands for the* Engliſh.

THIS Year an Accident diſcovered in Favour of the *Engliſh* the *Bermudas* Iſlands; Specks in the vaſt Face of the Ocean; too remote from any Part of the Continent of *America* for the Navigation of the *Indians*, and too much out of the Courſe of any Trade or Buſineſs to have been viſited but by Diſtreſs.

The Advantage we had of diſcovering them, the *Spaniards* had plainly poſſeſſed before; but they were indolent; and we uſed the Incident to great Purpoſes which they neglected. How, when, or by what Means People of *Spain* had ſeen theſe Iſlands before our Knowledge of them, no Records declare; but there were found upon the Place ſufficient Teſtimony they had been there.

So early as the Year 1572 the Name of *Ferdinando Camelo* ſtands noted as their imaginary Lord. That *Spaniard* received them in titular Donation from his King, but he never took Poſſeſſion.

In the Year of which we now treat 1593, *Henry May*, an *Engliſhman*, coming on board a *French* Ship from *Hiſpaniola*, was wrecked on the Seventeenth of *December* on the North Weſt of the *Bermudas*.

Many periſh'd: but the Remainder, one of whom was *May*, got to the largeſt of the Iſlands, now *St. George*'s; and there found the Marks of the *Spaniards* who had ſome Time before been wrecked on the ſame Place; Croſſes and Beads, and *Spaniſh* Money were ſcatter'd about; but with theſe evident Remains of the People, not their Bones, therefore they had got off on board ſome other Ship.

To their Account was probably owing the Donation of the King of *Spain*, but that without Poſſeſſion was vain.

May and his Companions conſulting for their Safety and Return, fell'd Timber; and with what they cut, and the Remains of their own Ship, built one ſufficient to carry them Home.

While they ſtaid on the Iſland, the Palmetto was their great Support. Its Fruit was their Food, its Juice their Drink, and with its huge Leaves they covered their Cabins.

Five Months they were employed in building their Ship; and at the End of that Time ſailing for *Newfoundland*, they found ſome *Engliſh* Veſſels, on board which *May* returned.

The Account he gave of the Iſlands, their Fertility and natural Produce, the Aptneſs of the Soil for Culture, and the Advantages that might reſult from peopling them from *England*, were heard with Approbation; but other Thoughts at that Time neceſſarily employed the Government.

CHAP. CLV.

Condition of England *with reſpect to the reſt of* Europe *at this Time.*

HENRY the Fourth, a Proteſtant, when he claim'd the Crown of *France*, now became a Papiſt, to ſecure himſelf in the Poſſeſſion. This ſtrengthen'd his Intereſt in his own Dominions, and the League declined.

Spain now exerted herſelf in its Support; and *Elizabeth*, though griev'd at the Apoſtacy of *Henry*, yet favour'd him againſt theſe Enemies. In the Year of which we now write, a Treaty offenſive and defenſive was ſign'd by them againſt *Spain*.

The *Spaniards* threaten'd loud; and the Queen, who fear'd them no where, did not condeſcend to regard their Purpoſes, except ſuch as ſhould be level'd at Home.

She eaſily gueſs'd where they would bend their Arms if they came hither, and ſhe prepared againſt them: ſhe garriſoned the *Scilly* Iſles; and thoſe of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, at a very conſiderable Expence: and having in the ſame Manner ſtrengthen'd her Coaſts, wherever they might be endangered, ſhe conſulted with *Henry* to act offenſively againſt the common Enemy.

Mean Time the Earl of *Cumberland* fitted out his ſeventh Expedition, conſiſting of three large Ships, a Caravel and Pinnace. They ſailed from *Plymouth* on the ſixth Day of *April* 1594, and after ſome Prizes of Value, fell in with one of the largeſt Carracks of the *Spaniards*.

The *Engliſh* when they came in Sight, found it would be a deſperate Engagement. The Enemy came on prepared: it was a vaſt Ship, and filled as largely with Men and warlike Stores, as Riches.

The Commander in the Expedition, called together the principal Officers before he proceeded to the Attack.

Two Things, ſaid he, Gentlemen, ſhould be our Aim, the diſtreſſing our Enemy, and the enriching ourſelves; and in my Mind, the firſt is the moſt conſiderable: Whether we have Force enough to do both theſe on the preſent Occaſion, I cannot tell, but of the doing one of them, I am certain; if we cannot take, we may deſtroy this Ship; and if not make our Fortunes, return full of Glory.

The Huzza with which this Speech was applauded, was heard among the *Spaniards*; they prepared for their Defence, and the *Engliſh*, *Davids* to their huge *Goliah*, came up to the Attack.

The firſt of the *Engliſh* as ſhe came in Reach, ſuffered terribly, by a full Diſcharge of the Cannon of the Carrack, and as ſhe continued advancing, notwithſtanding this, loſt many of her Men by a Diſcharge of their ſmall Arms.

The two others preſſed on to her Aſſiſtance, and preſently the huge Veſſel of the Enemy was ſurrounded. The Fire was deſperate on all Sides for two Hours, at the End of which Time, it was determined by the *Engliſh* according to their original Plan, to board, or fire her.

They came up cloſe in three Places at once, and boldly attempted ſeveral Times to board; but that proved impoſſible.

The *Spaniards* were too numerous, too well provided, and too reſolute to ſuffer it: this failing, the laſt Project was ſet on Foot, and the Carrack fired in two Places.

From this Time the Fight grew more deſperate: the *Engliſh* ply'd them cloſe in their Confuſion, and they defended themſelves boldly.

When our Ships came near to take their beſt Advantage of the Confuſion among the Enemy, they threw Pieces of their burning Materials on board them; and it was with Difficulty they eſcaped the Conflagration.

Two of the three *Engliſh* Veſſels, who found they could do nothing more, drew off, to ſee the Event of what they had done: they expected the third would follow, but ſhe remained cloſe fighting, and in the moſt extreme Danger; ſhe was indeed entangled by her Rigging, and could not get away. The others came up to her Aſſiſtance, and in Spite of the fierce Fire of the Enemy tow'd her off.

The *Spaniards* ſaw themſelves out of Hope to quench the Flames, and were for hanging out a Flag of Truce; but this was over-powered by ſome more deſperate among them; and after an Hour longer ſtrugling, with an Enemy more terrible even than the *Engliſh*, they gave up all Hope.

Deſpair now took its Place, and they were determined their Conquerors ſhould have no Advantage from their Deſtruction. They threw their Treaſures overboard, and afterwards themſelves; only two were taken up by the *Engliſh*, the principal Perſons on board, and they were brought in Priſoners here and ranſomed.

The Veſſel continued burning all Day, and the ſucceeding Night; but the next Morning her Powder taking Fire, ſplit her all to Pieces.

The Crew all periſhed, except the two juſt mentioned, and by their Accounts the Number was not leſs than eleven Hundred.

Thus the *Engliſh* accompliſhed what their Commander had expected; they deſtroyed what they could not take, and greatly diſtreſs'd the Enemy whom they could not plunder. Himſelf was one of the wounded in the Action; and that too deſperately to recover: He dy'd two Days after, full of Glory.

On the Twenty-ninth of *June*, after having refreſhed at *Flores*, they came in Sight of a ſecond Carrack.

They ſent their Boat on board, demanding them to yield to the Queen of *England*'s Flag, under the Commiſſion of the Earl of *Cumberland*; and adding, if they refuſed that, he would burn them as he had the others.

The *Spaniard* anſwered, if your Captain burnt the Carrack, tell him I alſo burnt the *Revenge*. Let him do what he dare for the Glory of his Sovereign, I ſhall do what I can for mine.

A deſperate Engagement followed; in which the *Engliſh*, after many bold Attempts to board the *Spaniard*, retired with the Loſs of almoſt all their Officers.

The *Spaniards* who had been remiſs in their Preparations of Defence in the preceding Years, were active now; and we found they were no longer that eaſy Prey they had fallen to the great *Drake* and others, who led the Way to Plunder.

CHAP. CLVI.

An Expedition to the Coaſt of Brazil.

IN the ſame Year the Merchants of *London* by Contribution, fitted out three Veſſels for cruizing againſt the *Spaniards*. The Command was given to Captain *Lancaſter*, a bold and experienced Seaman, and their Deſtination was to the Coaſt of *Brazil*.

The Complement of Men was near three Hundred; and the Ships ſailed on the Twenty-third of *November*, from *Dartmouth*.

A Storm ſeparated them ſoon after their ſetting out; but each was ſucceſsful. Their appointed Rendezvous, in Caſe of ſuch an Accident, was off Cape *Blanco*; and all came in with a long Train of Prizes.

They had together taken no leſs than nine and Thirty Veſſels of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, and with thoſe of them they had reſerved, filled with the Plunder of the reſt, they now met.

Here they put together their Gally, the Parts of which they had brought from *England*; and joining two other *Engliſh* Veſſels, whom they found cruizing in thoſe Seas, they ſet ſail together, deſtin'd to attempt the Town of *Fernambuco*, on the Coaſt of *Brazil*, where they had Intelligence, that beſides common Plunder, they ſhould find the Treaſure of a Carrack wreck'd near the Place.

On the Twentieth-ninth of *March* 1595, they arrived off the Harbour. 'Twas Night; and the *Engliſh* took this Advantage of preparing for the Attack at Day-break.

Fourſcore Men were put into the Galley; the Boats were all mann'd and arm'd; the Commander in Chief placed himſelf at their Head; and an Hour before Sun-riſe the next Day, leaving his Ships without, he prepared to enter the Harbour in good Order and with perfect Reſolution.

The Night had deceived him, and he was too far from the Entrance. Three *Dutch* Veſſels lay off the Harbour alſo, and he ſuſpected they might be troubleſome.

He gave Orders to as many of the ſmalleſt of his, to grapple and fire them if that proved the Caſe; and with this new Preparation he attempted the Entrance.

Some Time was loſt in this; the Sun played upon their Arms, and diſclos'd their Purpoſe; and the People prepared in their beſt Manner to reſiſt them.

The *Dutch* gave no Diſturbance: and about Noon, the *Engliſh* Preparation paſſed them and got Entrance.

The Town was defended by a Fort, whoſe Platform extended to the Shore; here in the Face of that Reſiſtance he ſaw prepared, *Lancaſter* determined to land.

He gave Orders to have the Boats run on ſhore at this Place, and told his Men he would lead them where they muſt conquer or periſh.

They ſhouted Approbation.

Six Hundred *Spaniards* were drawn up on the Platform: When the Flood favoured, the *Engliſh*, according to their Reſolution, ran upon the Shore, and the Admiral leaped firſt into the Water and advanced.

All followed: there was a Battery upon the Platform, and the *Engliſh* were ſaluted on their reaching Land, with a general Diſcharge of them.

The *Portugueze* had pointed them ſo low, that they wounded only the Sand; and on this the Commander waving his Sword, cry'd upon them, all's our own!

The *Portugueze* were terrified, to ſee Men march up in the Face of Cannon. The *Engliſh* were upon the Platform, before they could charge again. They fled, and that and the Fort were ours.

In *Fernambuco* there were two Diviſions, an upper and a lower Town. The Commander when he had got the Fort, gave the Signal for his Ships to come in, and pointing the Cannon of the Fort againſt the upper Town, prepared for an Aſſault of the lower, where the Treaſure lay.

The *Portugueze* fled: the *Engliſh* enter'd: the Place was their own without a Blow, and they found a vaſt Booty.

Good Order was the great Thing now to be obſerved. The Commander faſtened up all the Doors of the Store-houſes, and publiſhed, that any Man who attempted to plunder, ſhould forfeit his Share, and be puniſhed. They fortify'd the lower Town, and hiring the *Dutch* Veſſels, to carry their Booty to *England*, began to ſettle every Thing with Regularity.

At Midnight of this Day, the *Portugueze* having joined with their own Number many of the *Indians*, came down upon them to recover the Place, but the Attempt ended in the Loſs of a great many of their People, without the leaſt Advantage.

The upper Town was at ſome Diſtance, on a Hill; and on the third Day came a Deputation thence, to the *Engliſh* Commander. He returned Anſwer, that he had no Concern with them: what he wanted was in his Poſſeſſion.

While he was loading the *Dutch*, and ſome *French* Ships, that had come in afterwards, as well as his own, with the vaſt Plunder of the Place, his Boats lay out upon the Watch, expecting ſome Attempt againſt the Veſſels: When they had been there three Weeks, five Fire Ships were ſent down with Wind and Tide upon them.

The Boats Crews were of ſignal Service: they met with them in their Courſe, and throwing grapling Irons on board, faſtened to Iron Chains, drew them to Shore, or faſtened them to Anchor, where they burnt at Diſtance from the *Engliſh* Veſſels.

This great Attempt found fruitleſs, about a Week after there appear'd another. The Surface of the Water was covered with floating Fires: theſe were placed on Rafts, and ſent down with the ſame Advantages upon the *Engliſh* Veſſels. The Boats grappled theſe as they had done the Fire-ſhips, and drew them out of Miſchief: the *Engliſh* ſaw them blaze to the Skies; and laugh'd at the weak Purpoſe.

A Month ſerved for the Buſineſs of Embarking all their Plunder; and after a Skirmiſh with the *Portugueſe* and *Indians*, in which ſome of the *Engliſh* and many of the Enemy were loſt, they ſet ſail, and arrived in Safety at their Ports in *England* with ſuch a Booty, as inſpired a thouſand new Attempts.

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C H A P. CLVII.

The English *attempt* Breſt.

BREST, famous in later Time for its Armaments, was ſo early as the Year 1594, of Importance, to demand the Attention of the *Engliſh*.

While *Dudley* was enriching himſelf at the Expence of *Spain* off the Iſland *Trinidada*, and *Jones*, a Seaman of no leſs Courage or leſs Experience, was out in queſt of Prizes, and ſhewing the Advantage of fiſhing on Seas not then frequented by his Countrymen, Sir *Martin Forbiſher* was diſpatched at the *French* King's Requeſt, to prevent the King of *Spain* from making Uſe of the Harbour of *Breſt* to entertain his Ships; whence they could be always in Readineſs to be troubleſome upon our Coaſts.

Sir *John Norris* had three Years before been ſent thither with a large Force to aſſiſt the King of *France* againſt the famous League, and againſt *Spain*, then its real Support.

The Change of Religion in the King gave the firſt Blow to that League, which was this Year diſſolved.

Norris was now recall'd, to give an Account of the true State of the War in *Bretagne*; and the *Spaniards* who were poſſeſſed of the Fort of *Crodon* near *Breſt*, lay fortify'd near that Town with Expectation of great Succour.

This cauſed the *French* King's Requeſt to *Elizabeth*, which ſhe for her own Sake alſo readily obey'd, ſending back Sir *John Norris* to ſeize the Fort of *Crodon*, and diſpatching with a good Force Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, to lie off at Sea, and watch the *Spaniſh* Succours, as well as aſſiſt the Enterprize by Land.

Forbiſher took his Station; and Sir *John Norris* arriving with freſh Forces, joined the Marquis *D'Aumont*, and having taken *Morlaix* and *Quimpercorentin*, came on the Firſt of *November* before the Fort of *Crodon*.

The *Engliſh* were at this Time too courageous. The Place was ſtrong, the Enemy deſperate to hold it out; and our People puſhed in a ſtrange Manner upon Death.

The Queen ſent Orders to Sir *John Norris* to curb this Violence of their Courage; but they were *Engliſh* to whom theſe Orders came; and 'twas againſt *Spaniards* they fought. They were not to be check'd: they followed one Aſſault with another, the Admiral ſupporting the General with all his Force; and after a terrible Slaughter on both Sides, they took the Place. They ſpared the Inhabitants, but put the Garriſon to the Sword, and levell'd the Fortreſs with the Ground.

Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, who contributed greatly to this Succeſs, paid for it his Life. He received a Muſket Ball in his Hip: he juſt liv'd to congratulate his Country with his laſt Breath; and, praying for her future Glory, died at *Plymouth*.

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C H A P. CLVIII.

Drake *and* Hawkins's *Voyage to the* Weſt-Indies *in* 1594.

THIS Year was fatal to the *Engliſh* Admirals. 'Twas not *Forbiſher* alone, whom his Country loſt during its Courſe; nor leſs than he, tho' few could be greater.

This Year Report was current, that the *Spaniards*, in Revenge for the Depredations and Havock of their People from the *Engliſh* Arm, determined to invade that Iſland with a better Preparation than their great Armada.

Elizabeth, attentive to every Notice of Danger, and awake to every Proſpect of guarding againſt it, order'd at once a very conſiderable Naval Force to cruiſe in her own Seas; and a Fleet of no leſs than ſix and twenty Sail to the *Weſt Indies*, to make a Diverſion of the *Spaniſh* Force thither.

This Fleet was given to the Command of two Admirals, diſtinguiſh'd nobly by their Exploits in that Quarter of the World, Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins*.

Theſe were joint Commanders of the Ships: and they had on board a very conſiderable Body of Land Forces under Sir *Thomas Baſkerville.*

Their Deſtination was to *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*, and their Commiſſion to cruize every where to diſtreſs the Enemy. In this particular Place the Queen had Intelligence lay a great Treaſure, the Reſource of *Spain*, which ſhe propoſed to cut off; and by that to diſtreſs, and perhaps delay his Preparations.

Theſe ſail'd: the other Squadrons were to guard our Shores; but let *Britain* learn from that Year's Hiſtory, that it is impoſſible to guard ſo vaſt a Coaſt with any Number of Veſſels.

The *Spaniards* never but once landed upon our Iſland; and 'twas this Year they made the bold Adventure.

Don *Diego Brachan* led to our Shores four Gallies, of great Force, and full of Men. They paſs'd unnoticed by our Fleet, and landing at *Mounts-Bay* in *Cornwall*, burnt *Penzance* and two other Towns.

'Twas but a Bravado; for he ſtaid no longer than to do the Miſchief; and by a better Fortune than ſuch an Enterprize deſerv'd, eſcaped unſeen as he had come.

The Fleet under *Drake* and *Hawkins*, which had left *England* on the laſt of *Auguſt*, came up with the *Canaries* on the Twenty-ſeventh of *September*. They anchor'd off the principal Iſland; and, in Conjunction with the Commander of the Land Forces, formed a Deſign of reducing it, and keeping Poſſeſſion for *England*.

The Attempt was unſucceſsful: an ill Omen to the ſucceeding Voyage.

The Fleet ſailed thence for *Dominica*, and there and at *Guadaloup* ſtaid ſo long in preparing for their Attempt, that the *Spaniards* had Notice, and Time for their Defence.

Spain, hitherto remiſs both in her Ships and Settlements, had begun now to prepare better for the Defence of both: her Carracks we ſee could defy the *Engliſh* Arms, and her Settlements were now no longer what they had been, when theſe Commanders firſt viſited them, a Prey to the leaſt Enemy.

While the *Engliſh* were building their Pinnaces at *Dominica* and *Guadaloup*, the Enemy were preparing to uſe thoſe Arms that had been ſent them from the Mother Country, by a vigorous Defence.

Spain had Intelligence of the *Engliſh* Preparation, and of the Deſtination of this Squadron. Five Ships of Force were ſent to *Puerto Rico*, and they picked up, unluckily for our Enterprize, a ſtraggling Pinnace, from whoſe People they exacted by Torture an Account of the Number, Condition, Purpoſe, and preſent Situation of the Veſſels.

They found *Puerto Rico* was the deſtin'd Place of Action; and the Riches they were ſent to convoy home, the Object. They ſailed with all Speed for the Place. Arriving there before the *Engliſh*, they confirmed the uncertain Intelligence, that 'twas againſt this very Place they came; and promiſing their Aſſiſtance and Support, ſaw all put under Arms.

The Treaſure was buried; the People were all kept upon their Arms; and when the *Engliſh* arrived, they found what they had to expect as their Reception.

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CHAP. CLIX.

The Engliſh *attempt* Puerto Rico.

NO Preparation of Defence could daunt our People; they only gathered new Spirit from the Appearance; and anchored under their Forts.

The *Spaniards* fired upon them with Fury, and not without Succeſs; three Shot pierced the Admiral Ship, and went through his Cabbin; the Seat on which he ſat was ſtruck away by one of the Shot; and by the other fell two very gallant Officers Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and Captain *Brown*.

This was a Shock; but the next Day produced a greater; the Death of the brave and gallant *Hawkins*, not by the Hand of the Enemy, but the Stroke of Grief, a broken Heart. He who had in a Manner ſingly won Laurels from *Spain*, ſaw with ſo great a Force ill Councils followed, his Voice drowned amidſt the Jar of ſlight Opinions, and his Country's Glory and Intereſt at once ſacrificed to Folly or Cabal. He could not bear to be a Party in an Enterprize ſo ill conducted as this now was; and he thanked Death that came ſo welcomely, to prevent his loſing in his Age that Honour which had dignified his Youth.

The Morning of the ſecond Day the *Engliſh* engaged in the Attack, againſt all the Preparations. Within the Haven lay five large Ships, filled with Men, to diſpute the Point with them; and at its Mouth was ſunk a large Veſſel, and from thence, to the Forts on each Side, there were Maſts placed to ſecure the Paſſage.

Sir *Thomas Baſkerville* mann'd five and twenty Boats with ſelect People, and placing himſelf at their Head, led on to the Attack.

The *Engliſh* Courage never ſhone more bright: under every Diſadvantage Men could have, the Fire of great Guns and ſmall Arms from the Forts and Veſſels, he led them up to thoſe Ships and he fired them all.

This was the deſtined Purpoſe, and this he had the Satisfaction to ſee, tho' not without ſome Loſs, fully executed.

The *Spaniards* loſt their Courage at the Sight of this deſperate Valour of the *Engliſh*: they ſaw it, and they took the Advantage, they fought with a Fury unknown even to the *Engliſh* before, and ſold ſome of their Lives dearly to the Enemy.

The Loſs on the Part of the *Spaniards* was very great, but they were too numerous, and too well defended, to give the *Engliſh* even a Poſſibility of Succeſs; after a great Slaughter of them in three repeated Aſſaults, they gave up the Enterprize and withdrew.

CHAP. CLX.

The English *plunder and burn ſeveral* Spaniſh *Settlements.*

FROM the impracticable Undertaking at *Puerto Rico*, the *Engliſh* ſailed for the *Terra Firma*; reſerving their Men for better Purpoſes, than to fall in a Conflict where the Diſadvantages were inſuperable.

Their next Attack was upon *La Hacha*. Here they found ſome Plunder; and tho' the People offered to ranſom the Town at a great Price, refuſed all Terms, and burnt it to the Ground.

Their next Attack was on *La Ranchiera*, which ſhared the ſame Fate. The Plunder here was very conſiderable, Pearls and Gold.

Saint Martha next fell before them in the ſame Manner; and many Villages between and about them, enlighten'd the Night conſtantly for many Succeſſions.

After theſe Succeſſes they attacked *Nombre de Dios*, a Place well known to *Drake* by former Atchievements. Here they found a great Number of Frigates, Barks and Galliots: all theſe they deſtroy'd: they took the Town after a ſlight Reſiſtance; and though the People had by Order removed their valuable Effects from this Place, they found ſecreted ſeveral Bars of Gold and Silver, and a valuable Parcel of Pearls.

Theſe and many of their other Towns fell in the ſame Manner, Sacrifices to the *Engliſh* Reſentment. Much of the expected Booty was loſt, becauſe through the Delays and ill Management of the Enterprize, the *Spaniards* had Notice and conceal'd their Treaſures, as well as prepared for their Defence; but notwithſtanding this, the Spoils were far from inconſiderable.

So much atchiev'd, the next Expedition was for *Panama*.

Sir *Thomas Baſkerville* commanded in Perſon the greater Part of the Forces, who ſet out to march over Land to this great Scene of Action. Alas! the *Spaniards* were no more remiſs, nor were the *Engliſh* as before ſecret in their Enterprizes. The Succeſs that had attended former Undertakings was owing to theſe two Circumſtances, but in theſe larger Expeditions the *Engliſh* loſt their Prudence, and the *Spaniards* gained it.

When *Drake* firſt knew this Country fifty Men might have made their Way unmoleſted to *Panama*, and have done Wonders: but now the Paſſes were guarded; the Defiles planted with Men; and even Forts erected to defend particular Places.

This the *Engliſh* little ſuſpected, though they might have imagined leſs would not have been done upon ſo good Notice. They knew not, nor thought of Oppoſition till they came to the firſt Defile; down which were pointed the Cannon of a wooden Fort: from the Woods they received at the ſame Time the Fire of a large Body in Ambuſh. What was to be done! there was not an *Engliſhman* that ſo diſgraced the Name as to want Courage; but Courage in a Deſart, unfed and unſupported, againſt a numerous Force ſupplied with every Thing, and advantageouſly planted, was vain. To retreat was difficult, as well as diſhonourable; for the Ambuſh had let them paſs, and fired from behind them: to advance was Deſperation. More Firing was begun from the Parts of the Defile beyond them; and the Cannon of the Fort opened their deadly Mouths, though yet too diſtant for Execution. It was determined to go back.

The next Volley from behind ſhew'd exactly whence the Fire came; and *Baſkerville* leading up his People on full Pace, till in better Reach, pointed a full Diſcharge that Way. Many of the Shot were doubtleſs loſt among the Trees, but probably no ſmall Execution was done beſide, for no more Firing from the Enemy afterwards offended them.

Intelligence was obtained from a Deſerter, that there were on the Road to *Panama* two other ſuch Forts, and guarded Paſſes; and nothing appeared now adviſeable but to return. They came back to the Fleet half famiſh'd, and miſerably fatigued.

Sir *Francis Drake* was aſtoniſh'd and confounded at their unſucceſsful Return. He deſpair'd: he ſaw the Errors that had prevented their Succeſs too late; and he died, as his Colleague had done, without a Wound, and almoſt without Diſeaſe, of very Grief.

The Death of *Hawkins* had not much diſconcerted the Expedition, but *Drake*'s utterly deſtroy'd it: there remained nothing for the reſt but to return, and that with little Glory, and much leſs Advantage.

Mean Time the *Spaniards*, proud of the Defence their People had made, fitted out a Fleet of ſixty Sail, to intercept the harraſs'd *Engliſh* on their Paſſage. Happily for our People theſe ſeparated, before they fell in their Way; forty went toward the *Honduras*, and 'twas the other twenty only they met in their Return.

Theſe came in Sight off *Cuba*; and being clean Ships and freſh Men, they had a vaſt Advantage over the *Engliſh*, who were ſickly and in foul Veſſels.

The *Spaniards* came up, and they fought with more Spirit, and with better Judgment than they had ever done: the *Engliſh* ſtood the firſt Shock, and inſtead of fainting before it, were the next Aſſailants: they attacked with a Fury to which the *Spaniſh* Courage never arrived; and when they had fired one Ship to make Confuſion, ſhatter'd ſo many of the others, that two Hours tired and diſhearten'd utterly the Enemy, they ſtood off to Sea, and the Ships kept their Courſe for *England*.

The Nation mourn'd for the Loſs of her two great Defenders. It appeared ſtrange, almoſt beyond Credit, that in ſo ſhort a Voyage as only eight Months, the two Chiefs ſhould fall naturally; and there have been Suſpicions ſince, from various Circumſtances, that one of them died more unhappily than was related.

CHAP. CLXI.

An Expedition to Guiana.

IT had been whiſper'd here from Time to Time, that in *Guiana* there was Gold. There had been *Spaniards* heard to ſay ſo; and many an Eye was bent upon the Expedition; but none was yet found deſperate enough to undertake it.

An Intrigue with a Maid of Honour had at this Time 1595, diſgraced Sir *Walter Raleigh*: he had been impriſoned ſome Months for it; and, though now at large, was not permitted to come to the Court.

Here was the Man deſperate enough, and brave enough to undertake this Adventure. He ſet in Earneſt about the Preparation; and he acquainted thoſe in Power with his Motives: that the Country was rich, and ill defended; and that it would be eaſy to ſubdue and ſettle it for *England*.

The Queen was informed of this, and anſwer'd, ſhe knew Sir *Walter*'s Merit, as well as his Faults.

On the Sixth of *February* he ſet Sail: toward the latter End of *March* he ſaw *Trinidada*; and at *Puerto des Eſpaniolas* waited with one Ship and a Bark for the reſt of his Fleet, who ſhould have joined him ſooner.

Here two Things detained him, the Hope of Intelligence, and a determined Revenge.

The Governor had the preceding Year betray'd ſome *Engliſh*; and Sir *Walter* ſwore Vengeance: when he had informed himſelf as far as poſſible of the Country, whither he was bound, he attack'd *St. Joſephs*, made the Governor his Priſoner, and burnt the Town.

But the Revenge was all: the *Spaniards* were now too wiſe to leave their Treaſures, where an Enemy could ſeize them.

St. Joſephs burnt, the principal People of the Country were called together, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by Means of an Interpreter, told them to whom he belong'd, a great Queen, who was Sovereign of the Seas, and who conſidered all in Alliance with her as her Children. That the *Engliſh* were merciful, and the *Spaniards* cruel; and that he had, by Order of his Sovereign, diſpoſſeſſed them of this Country, whoſe Governor he ſhewed them Priſoner, for their ill Behaviour to its People: he offer'd them all poſſible Advantages under the *Engliſh* Government; and making them many Preſents, diſmiſſed them in Peace.

Theſe made Friends, he left the Place where he then was, and going to *Curiapan*, brought before him the Priſoner Governor: he repreſented to him the Baſeneſs of his Actions in Regard to the *Engliſh* whom he had betray'd; and let him underſtand in what Manner he might be brought to anſwer it: he then told him the Purpoſe of his Voyage, and demanded in ſuch Terms as did not admit Equivocation, an Account of the gold Mines in *Guiana*.

The Governor anſwer'd, as his Fear directed, faithfully: he told him that himſelf had received ſuch Information, but falſely: that ſince he had been placed there, he had made unwearied Search after theſe Mines, but had found none, and was convinced there were none there: that the Place meant was ſix hundred Miles up the Country, and that he believed there was indeed Gold there.

Sir *Walter* eaſily perceived the *Spaniard* anſwered faithfully: he diſmiſſed him better than he had received him; but with a ſtrict Injunction not to repeat to any what he had ſaid to him, reſpecting the Diſtance of the Place. This he knew would have diſcouraged all who were with him; but for his own Part, his Spirit, and the preſent Situation of his Fortune, made him reſolve, if poſſible, to accompliſh the firſt Purpoſe.

To this End he fitted out his Boats for going up the River *Oroonoko*, and determining by Water or by Land, to ſee this diſtant Part of the Country, or to periſh.

His Preparation conſiſted of the Bottom of a Gallion, faſhioned like a Gally, one Barge, one Ship's Boat, and two Wherries. In theſe he took with him a Hundred Men, and laying in Proviſion for a Month, entered the Mouth of that vaſt River.

When they had gone ſome Way, they found the Shores rocky and glittering. The Complexion of the Cliffs was that of the *Madre de Oro*, as the *Spaniards* call it; the white Stone in which Gold is lodged.

From Time to Time they landed and took in ſmall Quantities of it, which thoſe experienced in Minerals and taken upon this Expedition for that Purpoſe, declared not only to be Ores, but rich ones alſo of Gold.

Four Hundred Miles, did this Adventurer puſh his Courſe up the River, defying Hardſhip and deſpiſing Danger; againſt a furious Current, and under a perpendicular Sun.

The Hope encreaſed as he advanced; and beſide gold Ore in the abrupt Rocks, he found, or thought he found, Grains of that Metal in the Sand, upon the River's Edge.

Thus far he was ſucceſsful. The Seaſon forbad the reſt; Rains fell inceſſantly, the River roſe, and what before had been difficult was now impoſſible.

The Fury of the Torrent ſwell'd by thoſe Rains, that poured in Rivers from between the Hills, could no longer be ſtemm'd. They gave that Way to Neceſſity, which Prudence directed, and returned to their Ships, and then to *England*, with many Maſſes of the Ore; which according to Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s own Words, appeared, upon the Aſſay at Goldſmith's-Hall, and elſewhere, by Perſons of Experience, whom he names, worth from twelve to ſeven and twenty Thouſand Pounds a Tun.

The Duſt of the ſame Mines he aſſures us, held eight Pound ſix Ounces of pure Gold, in the Hundred; and that a Copper Image, made there, had no leſs than one Third Gold.

In his Retnrn he fired *Cumana*, and ſome Houſes at St. *Mary*'s, and *Rio de la Hacha*, and after more Depredations on the Enemy, returned ſufficiently recompenſed for the Charge of the Expedition, and determined to purſue what he found to appear the more promiſing of Succeſs, the farther he had ſearched.

CHAP. CLXII.

Some other Expeditions of the English, *in the Year* 1595.

IN the Spring of this Year, *Preſton* and *Somners* ſailed with a ſmall Force from *Plymouth*: their Deſtination was to the *Weſt Indies*, and their Purpoſe, Revenge upon the *Spaniards*, and Plunder.

Some Succeſs attended their ſetting out, and afterwards *Preſton* ſeparated from the reſt in Chace of a Prize, which he took after ſome Reſiſtance, reached alone the Iſland of *Puerto Santo*.

He had on board of him but ſixty Men; and ſome of them wounded in the Engagement with his Prize; yet with theſe, he reſolved to attempt a Place which was defended by five Hundred *Portugueze*, ſtrengthened by Art, and more ſtrong by Nature. That Fortune, which in Favour of true Valour, often gives Succeſs to deſperate Enterprizes, attended the bold *Engliſhman*, who had undertaken this.

He beat the Party that oppoſed his Landing, and leading his Men to the principal Town, attacked and conquered it.

The Inhabitants retired to a Hill, which Nature had made impregnable; and thence looked down upon the Ravages of that Enemy, whom they dar'd not oppoſe.

When they ſaw the *Engliſh*, after plundering the Place, prepare to fire it, they ſent to offer Ranſom, but the Captain refuſed all Terms; Glory and Revenge appeared to him, more deſirable than Gold; and after reducing that and neighbouring Villages to Aſhes, he reimbarked his Men, and joined the Fleet.

The Iſland *Coche*, between *Margarita* and the *Maine*, was the next Attempt; and they ſucceeded in this, as before; pillaging and burning all before them.

Off *Cumana*, they took three *Spaniſh* Carravels, and near the Sea-Coaſt in the *Coracos*, a Fort; where they made the Governor Priſoner, demoliſhed the Fortreſs.

St. Jago de Leon ſhar'd the ſame Fate afterwards, and was burnt in Vengeance as the reſt. The laſt Attack was upon *Caros*, which they alſo ſacked and burnt, with three Ships that lay in the Harbour; and after theſe Succeſſes returned to *England*. Six Months ſaw all this performed, by a ſmall private Force; and the Plunder more than paid the Voyage.

The ſame Year, the Earl of *Cumberland* determined upon an eighth Expedition, built at his own Expence, a Veſſel of Nine Hundred Tuns; the largeſt ever fitted out by a Subject.

This he ſtor'd well with Men and Arms, prepared it for every kind of Service, and adding four other Ships to it; he embarked; determined to purſue the Glory and Intereſts of his Country to the full Height.

The Queen wanted his Service at Home, and he received her Orders before they ſet ſail, to return to Court.

Captain *Monſon*, ſo often diſtinguiſhed, and often to be diſtinguiſhed in this, and the ſucceeding active Period, received the Command from the noble Proprietor, and ſailed for the *Azores*. Off *Flores* they took their firſt Prize, a conſiderable rich one; but the next Morning, they flattered themſelves they ſaw a much more valuable one, a Carrack.

They proceeded to the Attack, but they found preſently their Error; it was a Ship of War, the Vice-Admiral of *Spain*. They redoubled their Fury, when they found they had ſo noble an Enemy, and they drove the huge Veſſel to ſeek the reſt of his Fleet, which though hid by a Fog, was at no great Diſtance.

The Purpoſe of this *Spaniſh* Armament, was to convoy home the Trade from the *Indies*; and the *Engliſh* ſeeing them a Force very much ſuperior to their own, did not preſume to encounter Impoſſibilities; but ſailed unmoleſted for the Coaſt of *Spain*.

Here they made Prize of ſeveral Veſſels of the *Dutch*, laden with Stores for *Spain*, and thus returned to *England*, ſucceſsful in general, but not to the Degree they had promiſed.

* * *

CHAP. CLXIII.

The Expedition of the English *to* Cadiz *in* 1596.

SPAIN gloried in the Defence ſhe had made during the laſt two Years in her *Indian* Settlements; and finding the *Engliſh* Adventurers leſs numerous there, than in Times when the Weakneſs of their Forts gave them eaſier Succeſs, they determined once again to invade *England*.

Elizabeth, who never wanted Intelligence, or the Means of providing againſt the Dangers ſhe foreſaw, ſoon heard this purpoſed Expedition, and armed againſt it.

Her Ships were ready, and her Officers eager for Employment: ſhe took the Advantage; and to remove the Seat of War from her own Kingdom, ſent with the Earl of *Eſſex* and the Lord High Admiral *Howard* a great Force for *Spain*, commiſſion'd to attack and to deſtroy.

The Fleet ſhe gave into their Charge amounted to no leſs than an hundred and fifty Veſſels; many of them Ships of War, the reſt hired from the Merchants, and properly fitted for the Service, and from the *Dutch* and other Powers.

The Number of Seamen amounted to ſix Thouſand ſeven Hundred beſide the *Dutch*; the Land Force was between ſeven and eight Thouſand; and of theſe, about a Thouſand were Volunteers, principally Men of Family.

The Earl of *Eſſex* and the Lord High Admiral had joint Command; and were aſſiſted by a Council compoſed of the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Conyers Clifford*.

The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons, one under the immediate Command of the Lord Admiral; a ſecond under the particular Direction of the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe proper Commiſſion was Commander in Chief of the Land Forces; the third was given to the Command of the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the fourth to Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

Theſe ſeverally received the Queen's Inſtructions: and thoſe ſo proper, ſo ſpirited and wiſe, that they are worthy to be perpetuated as an everlaſting Memorial of her Conduct; and an Example to ſucceeding Time.

Inſtructions for the Earl of Essex, *and the Lord* Howard, *Lord High Admiral of* England, *for Execution of the Commiſſion given to them from Her Majeſty, by Her Letters Patent.*

“FIRST, You both are to remember, that Our firſt Intention for making ready of Our Navy, to be ſet to the Seas, was upon common Report, that the King of *Spain* had made, and was making ready a greater Navy to come to the Seas, than was made in 88, and that the ſame Navy ſhould come to Our Seas, to invade Our Realm of *England*, and with Part thereof to give Aid to Our Rebels in *Ireland*.

“But afterwards, hearing, that the Preparation made by the ſaid King was not ſo great, as was before reported, and yet of that Number that were ſo prepared, a good Number was ſent to purſue Sir *Francis Drake*, and ſome others who were ſent to the *Indies*, whereby We had no probable Cauſe to doubt the coming of any great Navy to attempt any Invaſion of Our Realm, and yet had Cauſe to doubt ſome Number of Ships to be ſent with Men and Money into *Ireland*, about the Month of *May*, which was the Time that the Rebels *Tyr-Oen* and *Odonnel* did, by their Letters to *Spain* limit, to be aided and not before; And farther conſidering, that the Stay thereof was moſt certainly to be made by Burning of the King's Ships of War in his Havens, before they ſhould come forth to the Seas, and therewith alſo deſtroying his Magazines of Victuals, and his Munitions for the Arming of his Navy, ſo as neither the Rebels in *Ireland* ſhould be aided and ſtrengthened, nor yet the Navy of *Spain* be able, by Reaſon of the Burning of ſome good Number of the King's Ships, and by the Deſtruction of the great Proviſions, without which he ſhould not be able, of long Time, to repair unto, and to have any great Navy in Readineſs to offend Us, We did, upon the Motion of you two, in offering your Service to this Purpoſe, and finding the Opinion of the reſt of Our Council to allow of Our Preparations of Our Navy, with the Aſſiſtance of ſundry Ships of Our Subjects, and that the general Charge ſhould be given to you two jointly for the Service herewith, both by Sea and Land, We have therewith given you Our Commiſſion for theſe Services, both by Sea and by Land, not without Our Grief for adventuring of your Perſons, and for Want alſo of your Attendance on Us, as principal Counſellors. And, therefore, We do now think it convenient, not only in this Sort, to remember you of the Beginning and Proceedings herein, by Us; But alſo to inform you, by Way of Inſtructions of Our Pleaſure, in what Sort, and to what Ends, you ſhall direct your Actions.

“Firſt, you ſhall, by all good Means ſeek to underſtand the Truth of the King's Navy,

“ of what Number and Strength his Ships are, in what Ports they are, what Proviſions are in Readineſs to furniſh his Navy, and therewith alſo to ſeek to underſtand, whether there be any Intention now this Summer, to ſet his Navy to the Seas, for invading any Part of Our Realm, or that any Number of them are intended to be ſent into *Ireland*, or to come by the narrow Seas to *Calais*, there, with other Shipping of *Flanders*, and with the Forces under the Command of the Cardinal of *Auſtria*, to attempt ſome hoſtile Action againſt Our Coaſt of *England*, oppoſite to *Calais* and *Flanders*.

“ In the ſearching to come to the Knowledge hereof, We adviſe you, not to give ſudden Credit to ſingle Reports, but circumſpectly to compare your Intelligences together; and to admit ſuch as you ſhall find, either very certain, or moſt agreeable to Truth.

“ And hereupon you ſhall direct your firſt Actions to deſtroy ſuch Ships, as You ſhall underſtand to be provided to repair to *Ireland*, or to come by the narrow Seas to *Calais*.

“ And, if you cannot underſtand of any ſuch particular Purpoſes, of any Navy prepared to be ſent to *Ireland* or *Calais*, You ſhall direct your Courſe to ſuch Ports, where you ſhall moſt probably underſtand what the greater Number of the King's Ships of War, are, and where his Proviſions are in Store, and there you ſhall uſe all good Means poſſible, to ſpoil and burn all the ſaid Ships, that are for Foreign Service, or as many of them as conveniently you may: And alſo, you ſhall deſtroy or get into your Poſſeſſion, to Our Uſe, as many of the Victuals, Powder, Ordnance, Cordage, and all other Apparellings for War, as you can. And yet, in theſe your Actions, you ſhall avoid the manifeſt Danger to Our own Ships, or to the hazarding of Our People, in any deſperate Action, to loſe their Lives, that ſhould be ſpared rather for Our Service, in Times of Defence of their native Country, than by attempting, in deſperate and doubtful Actions of Offence, in a ſtrange Country, to ſpend their Lives, without any publick Benefit, anſwerable to ſuch Loſs; Of which Our Admonition, We hope you will have the more Regard, you well knowing how loth We are to have Our Subjects waſted, or hazarded in any Foreign Actions.

“ And if you ſhall have the good Fortune ſo to deſtroy the ſaid Ships, and the Staples and Magazines of the Naval Proviſions, in any Port, which We charge you ſhall be firſt attempted, before any other Service, except ſuch as We Charge you ſhall be for your own Defence, and that the ſaid Deſtruction of Ships ſhall be, where any Town is belonging to any ſuch Port that hath great Riches, and that you ſhall probably underſtand that the ſaid Town is not able to defend itſelf againſt you, and that the Riches thereof is not wholly carried away into the Inlands, where you cannot recover the ſame, in ſuch Caſe, you may attempt the taking of ſuch a Town, and poſſeſs yourſelves of the Riches thereof, ſo as ſuch Attempt may firſt, by good Deliberation of Counſel, be found ſperable to be atchieved, without hazarding either of your own Lives, or the Lives of Our Subjects, ſerving under you; For otherwiſe We charge you both, jointly and ſeverally, not to attempt any ſuch doubtful Action, in Hopes of Gain, to the manifeſt Danger of the Lives of Our Subjects. And, in the Execution hereof —— You ſhall take Order, that no Slaughter be made of any People, except they ſhall, with Force, withſtand you, and put Our Subjects Lives in manifeſt Danger. But abſolutely, We forbid the Slaughter of any Women, Children, and aged Men, not able to bear Arms.

“ And for the Riches that may be there found, you ſhall give alſo ſtrict Order, to have as much ſaved as poſſibly may be, towards ſome Recompence of the great Charges ſuſtained, both by Us and by yourſelves, and ſundry of your Company, whom We think worthy to be remembred in convenient Meaſure, according to their Charges. For which Purpoſe, We will, that you authorize under your Hand in Writing - to take the Care and Charge to enquire, by all good Means that you may give them, what Goods of any Value ſhall be by any that ſhall ſerve in this Voyage, taken, either upon the Seas, or in any Port, or in any Magazine, or in any Port-Town, that you ſhall enter into, and of the ſame to make due Regiſters in Writing, containing the Nature of the Goods taken, the Names of the Takers, the Time, Perſon and Place, where the ſame was taken, and upon Knowledge thereof, the ſaid - ſhall take into their Cuſtody the ſame Goods, or commit ſuch of the ſame as ſhall be of any Bulk to be ſecurely kept, in ſuch Ships, as by your Diſcretion ſhall be therefore appointed, ſo as hereby alſo the Takers may be therewith rewarded, as Reaſon ſhall require.

“ Now, for the better and more orderly Execution of this your Commiſſion, and of theſe former Articles, compriſed in thoſe our Inſtructions, We do ordain, that there ſhall be two Perſons, ſerving for the Seas, and two that are appointed to ſerve with the Forces for Land Service, to be as Counſellors to you in Our Name, that is, the Lord *Thomas Howard* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and Sir *Francis Vere*, and Sir *Coniers Clifford*; And to theſe four, We do add Sir *George Carew*, Lieutenant of Our Ordnance, to make the Number of five, whom alſo We charge, by theſe Preſents, that they will, as they will anſwer before GOD, give their Counſels to you both, without any private Reſpect to either of you, for Love or Fear, in all Actions, to be put in Queſtion, or taken in Hand, and the ſame deliberately to debate, as the Weight of the Matter ſhall require, before that any Reſolution be made, and before the putting of the Matter in Action.

“ And if you, the two Generals, ſhall differ

“ in your ſeveral Opinions, and that the more
“ Part of the aforeſaid five Counſellours ſhall aſ-
“ ſent to the Opinion of any one of you, then;
“ We ſhall allow to have that Opinion followed
“ by others, as by Advice found moſt pro-
“ bable.

“ And if ſuch of you two, or five, as ſhall
“ diſſent from the ſame, notwithſtanding the O-
“ pinion of the more Part, ſhall not by Perſua-
“ ſion be moved to conſent thereto, and yet ſhall
“ have any two of the ſaid Counſellors concur
“ with him, if th--- ſhall be executed with any
“ Number of Our Subjects, with Force of Arms,
“ whereby their Lives may be in Danger, then,
“ conſidering the Doubtfulneſs in the Deliberation,
“ We think it good rather to forbear, in Favour
“ of Our Subjects Lives, from the Action, ex-
“ cept by forbearing thereof any manifeſt Danger
“ may enſue.

“ Of all which Our Adviſes, We charge you,
“ Our two Generals, to have dutiful Regard, and
“ without moſt manifeſt Cauſe, not to diſſent betwixt
“ yourſelves, nor in your Diſſention to labour
“ with any of the foreſaid Counſellours, by Way
“ of Factions, to aſſiſt you in your partial Opi-
“ nions.

“ And to the Intent We may be ſatisfyed
“ of your Proceedings, in the Voyage, from
“ Time to Time, and of your Manner of De-
“ liberations and Reſolutions, and of your
“ Actions thereupon taken in Hand, and
“ the Succeſs thereof, We have appointed our
“ Servant *Anthony Aſhley*, one of the Clerks of
“ our Privy Council, to attend upon you, to
“ keep a Regiſter of your Voyage, and of all your
“ Conſultations and Actions, and of your Con-
“ currences in Opinions, or your Differences, with
“ the Cauſes thereof, whom We require you to
“ allow in ſo doing, and to comfort him with
“ your Countenance in that Service.

“ And yet, nevertheleſs, tho' We have ap-
“ pointed the foreſaid five to be Counſellors to
“ you, and that the Cauſes may be of ſuch Diffi-
“ culty, as both yourſelves, and the ſaid Coun-
“ ſellours may think it good, for farther Advice
“ to have the Opinion of ſome more Perſons,
“ not having Charge with you, We think it rea-
“ ſonable, that either of you two the Generals,
“ ſhall make Choice and call to your Conſultation,
“ two, three, four, or more of others, as you
“ ſhall think good, either of you in that Choice
“ calling an equal Number, for more Indifferency,
“ and ſo to make ſome final Reſolution.

“ If, after this Service done, in Deſtroying of
“ the King's Ships, and of his Staples of Provi-
“ ſions, you ſhall hear of the Likelyhood of the
“ coming from the *Indies* of any of the King's
“ Carracks, laden with Riches, you ſhall ſend
“ away as many of the Ships and Men, as you
“ ſhall not have Need of, to be uſed to the taking
“ of ſuch Carracks, which we muſt leave to
“ your Conſideration, not doubting but you will
“ think it convenient, not to continue the Charge
“ thereof longer than ſhall be needful.

To this under the Hand and Seal of the Miniſter, the Queen added,

A Letter to the two Lords GENERALS; *with her own Hand.*

“ *THO all the careful Heed that can*
“ *be poured on one, and Thoughts full*
“ *bent to ſave from Ill, that may befall in*
“ *the ſcorning all good Hopes, and Treading on*
“ *all Charge, be not enough to graceleſs Thank-*
“ *fulneſs to yield but* gratias *for ſuch uncouch-*
“ *ed, yea unheard of Goodneſs; I cannot but*
“ *wonder how our Soil ever brought forth ſuch*
“ *Fruit, and could not (till now) have believ-*
“ *ed to find ſuch* Guerdon *for ſuch Meat.*

“ *But* paſſi graviora, *which no ſober Silence*
“ *may be thought, tho' not imputed, yet for all*
“ *this, to verify that our Revenge is ſo likened*
“ *to earthly* GOD'*s, who ſhew more Benignity*
“ *than they find Cauſe, I make this humble Bill*
“ *of Requeſt to him that all makes, and does,*
“ *that with his benign Hand he will ſhadow*
“ *you ſo, as all Harm may light beſide you,*
“ *and all that may be beſt, hap to your Share,*
“ *that your Return may make you better, and*
“ *me gladder.*

“ *Let your Companion, my moſt faithful*
“ Charles, *be ſure, that his Name is not left*
“ *out in this Petition. God bleſs you both, as*
“ *I would be, if I were there: which whether*
“ *I wiſh or not, He alone doth know.*

Theſe are taken from the authentick Manuſcripts in the *Cotton Library*; and 'tis proper more than thoſe who can have Opportunity of peruſing the Papers in that great Collection ſhould know them.

Every Thing thus underſtood and thus regulated, the Fleet ſailed on the firſt of *June* from *Plymouth*; and the Wind happily favouring them, they arrived with more Speed than could have been expected, off the North-Cape of *Spain*.

Here they rendezvouſed together, and here the Commander of every Veſſel received a ſeal'd Inſtruction, with Charge not to open it, till they were paſt Cape St. *Vincent*, unleſs they ſhould be ſeparated from the Fleet in bad Weather: and in Caſe of Danger, to throw it overboard with ſome Weight ſure to carry it to the Bottom.

The ſeal'd Inſtruction was for the general Rendezvous, and the Place, *Cadiz*.

The Commanders in this Expedition had ſeen enough, and had been warn'd enough by the Council, of the Danger of letting an Enemy have Intelligence. They now took all Care to preſerve Secrecy, and as they approached the Enemy's Coaſt, ſent Scouts before. Theſe they ſelected from among the beſt ſailing Veſſels in the Fleet, and filled them with Men deſperate enough to undertake any Thing, at any Hazard.

It was the Cuſtom of *Spain*, to ſend out Carravels from her Coaſt, on the Notices of naval Armaments in *England*; and theſe gave the Intelligence, which had in the late Years diſappointed ſo many reaſonable Hopes of Vengeance. Againſt ſuch the Scouts were deſtined, and they were commiſſioned: they were at all Adventures, to intercept the Return o any ſuch Veſſels of Intelligence to the Shore.

The full Purpoſe was, to fall by Surprize upon *Cadiz*, and Secrecy of their Intention was the great Hope of their Succeſs. Themſelves kept off the Land; and ſo judiciouſly were their Scouts diſpoſed, and ſo well their Crews acquitted themſelves of their Commiſſion, that not a Ship of *Spain* got in to give them Notice.

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CHAP. CLXIV.

The English *advance toward* Cadiz.

THE good Fortune of the *Engliſh* was not comprized in their preventing all Intelligence of their Force getting to the Enemy; the ſame Means gave them Knowledge of the State in which the Place was, that they were going to attack, and greatly forwarded their Undertaking.

Three *Hamburgh* Ships which had ſailed from *Cadiz* ſome Days before, fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh* Veſſels of Intelligence: They were brought into the Fleet, and their Commanders examined ſtrictly, but civilly, as to the Condition of the Place.

Their Accounts confirm'd each other, and the Admiral found the Town was ſtrong, and could be very eaſily put upon a powerful footing of Defence, but that at preſent they were remiſs; no Knowledge having been there, while they remained, that the *Engliſh* were upon thoſe Seas.

On the Twelfth of *June*, appeared among the *Engliſh* Scouts, a Veſſel which threatened hard for a Diſcovery. It was a *Flemiſh* Fly-Boat from the Streights, bound homeward; but now deſtin'd to another Port.

The Maſter, when he ſaw the *Engliſh* Fleet, ſhap'd his Courſe for *Liſbon*, knowing, if 'twas his Fortune to give the firſt Intelligence, his Reward would be much more than would pay the Diſappointment of his Return.

Sir *Richard Weſton*, in the *Swan*, ſaw at once the Veſſel and her Purpoſe, and he gave Chace; toward Evening he came up, and the Maſter ſeeing his a ſmall Ship, and no other near, fought him, 'till the Evening gave him an Opportunity to eſcape.

Here had the whole Secret been diſcloſed, had not there been more Care and Caution taken, and more Wiſdom ſhewn in the Diſpoſition of the Scouts than has been often ſeen.

The *Fleming* who eſcaped Sir *Richard*, fell in the Way of Sir *Marmaduke Darell*, who took him within a League of Shore. On the Eighteenth, an *Iriſh* Veſſel immediately from *Cadiz*, fell into their Way, and the Account the Maſter gave of the State of the Place, perfectly confirmed all they had heard before. That the People were without all Thought of Danger, and the Forces little more than the common Garriſon. The Port full of Veſſels of War and Commerce, and every Thing favourable for a Surpriſe.

This Veſſel diſmiſſed, the Reſolution was taken of making for the Place with all Diligence, and landing at St. *Sebaſtian's*, the moſt Weſtern Part.

On the Twentieth, at early Morning they arrived, and the Fleet anchored in the intended Place.

The Day that promiſed ſo happily, was loſt. The Sea ran high, and the Enemy prepared to diſpute with the *Engliſh* their Landing.

Four Gallies were placed to intercept the Boats; and 'twould have been Madneſs to have thought in the preſent Situation of forcing them.

One whole Day was ſpent, in a debating what Courſe to take; and the Advice of Sir *William Monſon* at length was followed: this was to attack the Ships, and poſſeſs themſelves of the Harbour, before they attempted landing.

This much reſolved; the great Point remained, who ſhould firſt bear in: not who ſhould be expoſed to ſo great a Danger, but who ſhould have ſo great an Honour: 'twas not evaded, but deſired; ſuch were in theſe Days the Nobility of *England*.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, bold, and full of that true Spirit, which diſtinguiſh'd his Country, claim'd for himſelf this Privilege. The Lord High Admiral perſuaded him from it by all Arguments; he did not name the Danger; that would have been to make the Thing irrevocable; but urged, that it was the proper Duty of others, and indeed their Right.

When all elſe fail'd, he took that Nobleman aſide, and opening his Inſtructions, ſhewed him the Queen's Special Command, and ſtrict Charge, that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould not raſhly expoſe himſelf to Danger.

This could not be reſiſted: he kiſſed the Writing, and gave up his Deſire. I wiſh, ſaid he, for once, my Queen lov'd me leſs.

CHAP. CLXV.

The Engliſh *enter the Harbour of* Cadiz.

NO one Perſon had the Honour which *Eſſex* was not permitted to enjoy. A Number of the lighteſt ſailing Ships were ſelected for entering together, and the greateſt Officers in the Fleet took their Command; the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Robert Croſs*, and others.

At Evening this was determined, and the *Spaniards*, as if they had known our Councils, prepared with the ſame Diligence during Night for their Defence, as our People for the Attack.

At Day-break the Batteries of Fort *St. Philip* were mann'd; and the Gallies placed to intercept thoſe Ships which ſhould attempt a Paſſage. The *Engliſh* paſſed the Fire of the Fort undiſturbed, and as they went returned with Intereſt the Diſcharges from the Gallies.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* placing himſelf in the midſt of the Channel, bore directly againſt the *Spaniſh* Man of War placed there to oppoſe him, and drove him back: this gave the firſt Turn to the Action; the reſt of the *Engliſh* puſhed on, and thoſe of the Enemies Veſſels, who had ſeemed boldeſt in the Oppoſition, now made their beſt Speed under the Shore to the Bottom of the Bay, where the Iſland of *Cadiz* is joined to the Continent by the Bridge of *Suaro*; thence by a Machine they were conveyed into the Sea on the South Side of the Iſland by a narrow Channel. Many had eſcaped, when the *Engliſh* ſtop'd the reſt.

The Gallions and Gallies lay at the Puntals all this Time, and fought with a deſperate Courage. Six Hours they continued the hopeleſs Oppoſition; but in that Time they were reduced almoſt to Wrecks; the Sides pierc'd, the Rigging ſhatter'd, and their Men reduced to leſs than half the Number. They found it was Madneſs longer to oppoſe a conquering Enemy, but they determined not to yield up their Veſſels: ſuch as could ſink them did, the reſt ſet them on fire, and as well as they could eſcaped to Land. The Sea was in a few Minutes covered with Wretches, endeavouring to ſave their Lives by ſwimming: the *Engliſh* took up many who cried for Quarter; and ſome gained their own Shores, but the greater Part periſhed.

At Two in the Afternoon the Admiral Ship of *Spain* blew up with a dreadful Report, and ſhatter'd three other Veſſels that lay near her.

The *St. Matthew* and *St. Andrew*, two other principal Ships, not yet fired, were taken by the *Engliſh*; and a very conſiderable Number of leſs Conſequence.

The *Dutch*, in the mean Time, attacked the Puntals, and in the Confuſion and Terror of the *Spaniards*, took them without much Oppoſition: ſoon after the Earl of *Eſſex* landing Eight hundred Men at a League Diſtance, attacked the City on the Land Side, while the Ships battered it from Sea.

The Bridge of *Suaro*; and the Engine that had ſecured the Flight of the Gallies, were at the ſame Time attacked by another Body of the *Engliſh*, and the *Spaniards* aſſaulted in ſo many Parts at once, fought languidly in all.

This, which is the preſent Method of the *French* in War, (witneſs *St. Philip* and *Oſwego*) once was ours; and we then obtained from it thoſe Advantages we now yield to others.

All was ſucceſsful; the Bridge was taken, and the Machine ſecured: Acceſs was thus cut off from the Continent to the Iſland of *Cadiz*: and in the midſt of this general Conſternation, *Eſſex* marched with that compoſed Valour, which uſed to terrify the Enemies of the *Engliſh*, up to the Town. The Attack was irreſiſtible; he enter'd, and the Lord High Admiral with the Seamen followed.

Cadiz, with its Harbour, were in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. Few were loſt in this Enterprize, compared to what might have been naturally expected from it; and thoſe of the *Spaniards* who toward Night retired into the Town Houſe and the Caſtle, at early Morning ſaved the *Engliſh* an Aſſault, by ſurrendering the Places and themſelves.

The Honour of our Commanders was as much diſtinguiſhed in this Action as their Courage. Orders were immediately given by Proclamation, that no Violence ſhould be offered to the Perſon of any *Spaniard*. The Ladies had Leave to depart with many Things of Value, the *Engliſh* Veſſels carried them to *Porto Santa Maria*; and the Lord *Eſſex*, as they embarked, ſtood by the Water-ſide in Perſon to prevent Indignities.

CHAP. CLXVI.

The Spaniſh *Ships deſtroyed at* Puerto Reale.

DUring the Heat of this Action, many of the Merchant Ships, and thoſe of the moſt Value, had eſcaped; and upon Intelligence that their Rendezvous was at *Puerto Reale*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* received Commiſſion to go after them, with ſome of the lighteſt Ships, before they could unload their Treaſures.

Reſiſtance was at an End, and the *Spaniards* now thought only of Ranſom. Two Millions and a half of Ducats were offered for theſe Ships; and Sir *Walter* diſpatched the Propoſal to the Lord High Admiral. His Anſwer was, we came to deſtroy, not ranſom. And Sir *Walter* haſtened to execute his Orders.

The Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, Commander of the invincible Armada, was preſent, and directed among the *Spaniards*. Some Advantage he made by unloading what they could in the ſhort Time the propoſed Ranſom was tranſacting, and ſeeing the Deſtruction of the reſt unavoidable, fired them himſelf.

This compleated the Expedition; and if the Thoughts of Glory, and the diſtreſſing an Enemy, could give the *Engliſh* Satisfaction, they had both in the ſtrongeſt Light.

The Stores and Force intended againſt *England* periſhed in their own Ports; and beſide the Loſs of two Gallions, thirteen Ships of War, eleven large Veſſels freighted for the *Indies*, and thirteen of equal Size richly laden, were loſt to the King of *Spain*, with innumerable Merchant Ships of leſs Conſideration ſunk at *Cadiz*, or burnt at *Puerto Reale*. Twelve hundred Pieces of Cannon compleated the Loſs on the Side of the Enemy; which at a modeſt Computation, had been calculated at twenty Millions of Ducats.

The *Engliſh*, now Maſters of the Town and Caſtle of *Cadiz*, demoliſhed the Forts, levelled the Walls and Towers; and plundering the Iſland, left it, and embarked with their Booty, after the Lord High Admiral had knighted upon the Spot ſixty Perſons who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Action.

Titles were then honourable: The Family might glory for Ages, who could ſay their Anceſtor received that Honour for his Service in ſuch an Expedition. —— Reverſe the Medal, Reader!

CHAP. CLXVII.

The Return of the Fleet.

THE *Engliſh*, leaving theſe Marks of their Revenge and Glory, went from the Place on the Fifth of *July*, and ſailed for *Faro*. They prepared for an Attack of the Place, but they found it deſerted. The Inhabitants, who had conceived Miracles of the *Engliſh* Courage, fled with their Effects; and the ſole Prize made there was a very valuable Library, which devolved to the Earl of *Eſſex*.

This Nobleman propoſed then to ſail for the *Azores*, and wait the *India* Carracks, then upon their Return, and a moſt certain Prey. The *Dutch*, concern'd in the Expedition, applauded the Propoſal; and ſo did one of the *Engliſh* Commanders, the Lord *Thomas Howard*: the reſt were too rich to be ſo valiant. They wiſhed for nothing but to get Home with their Booty; and the Propoſal was over-ruled.

When the Earl of *Eſſex* found his Opinion had no Weight, he deſired that himſelf with a ſmall Force might take his Station there; but even this was refuſed: thoſe who did not chuſe the Danger themſelves, would not give the Glory to another.

His next Propoſal was to attack the *Groyne*; and when that was received as coldly; he would have led the Force to deſtroy the *Spaniſh* Ships in *St. Andrews* or *St. Sebaſtians*: in theſe, as in the former Propoſals, only the hardy *Dutch* agreed with him.

The Lord High Admiral, ſupported by the Opinion of all the Officers, was againſt any new Undertaking; and the Fleet returned, leading, as Conquerors of old, their Captives at their Chariot Wheels, the two vaſt Gallions as their Marks of Triumph.

We ſhall add no Praiſe, for ſhe who was moſt concern'd, has done it better.

The following is Queen *Elizabeth*'s Congratulation.

A Copy of Her MAJESTY'*s Letter to the two Lords* GENERALS.

“IF my Pen had as many Tongues as the
“ Flock of Owners had Feathers, they ſhall
“ ſcarce expreſs the Lauds, that my Soul yieldeth
“ to the HIGHEST for this great Victory, which
“ His Graceful Hand hath given Us: And that
“ You, as his Inſtruments, have ſo admirably, in

“ ſo few Hours, with ſuch Valour, Order, and “ Reſolution, performed ſo great an Action; Of “ which Sort I ſuppoſe has not been found or ſeen “ a Fellow. My Head can ſcarce invent Words “ ſufficing my thankful Acceptance, nor Thanks “ enough for ſuch Demerit. This only yet re- “ mains - - - - - - - - - - - that my ſingle Care of “ your Lives and Surety hath made me drink ſo “ deep of *Lethe*'s Flood, that I neither cared nor “ reeked of what might elſe befal, which though “ not the beſt beſtowed, when it was ſo neglect- “ ed, yet it approves my - - - - - - - - must “ abide; Since for ſuch two I did it. You have “ made me famous, dreadful, aad renowned, not “ more for your Victory, than for your Courage, “ nor more for either, than for ſuch plentiful “ Liquor of Mercy, which may well match the “ better of the two. In which you have ſo well “ performed my Truſt, as thereby I ſee I was “ not forgotten amongſt you. You have ſo “ pleaſed my Mind therewith, as if I had a great “ Treaſure I would leave it for it. Never was “ there heard in ſo few Days ſo great a Gain ob- “ tained, which though I do attribute moſt to “ the Fore-runners, yet I charge you let the Army “ know, both of Sea and Land, that I care not “ ſo much for being Queen, as that I am the “ Sovereign of ſuch Subjects, that blaſt my Fame “ with their Worth, and paſſeth not, nor wiſheth “ not more Days to breathe, than while ſuch “ People may flouriſh, and deſires to end afore “ any Diſaſter or Diſhonour fall on ſuch a Nation. “ This tell them from Her, whoſe Thoughts and “ Words never diſagreed, and yield them ſuch “ due Praiſe, as Papers cannot utter, but my “ Heart, while it laſteth, ſhall keep from Ob- “ livion. Among all Divine Bleſſings, I count “ it not the leaſt, that your Healths nor your “ Harms may ſlack your ſafe Return, for which “ who ſo hath prayed moſt, hath never gained “ a Straw-breadth of me. Some other Things “ material you ſhall receive from others, which “ look you well to; For, among much to do, “ much may be undone; But yet look to the “ Stake. And ſo I end, with my never leaving “ my Oraiſons for your beſt.

CHAP. CLXVIII.

Expeditions of the English in 1596.

THIS Year was open'd a new Expedition of the Earl of *Cumberland*; the ninth in which he had engaged his private Fortune; and in this, as in moſt of the others, he ventured with his Money his Perſon.

Storms toſſed the Veſſels at their ſetting out, and the Preparation was for the preſent rendered fruitleſs: he ſent however a ſingle Ship, that could be firſt repaired, out upon a Cruize, commiſſioning the Captain, *Slingſby*, to wait the Veſſels from *Liſbon*.

The Heavens ſeemed to frown upon the Enterprize; for this Ship was again driven back by Storm; but the Proprietor, who was now in *England*, ſhew'd he maintain'd to the laſt that Spirit which defy'd ill Fortune.

He ordered her out again; and in this Attempt ſhe gained the Rock of *Liſbon*, and there cruiſed in the Face of many ſuperior Veſſels.

Seriago, Admiral of *Spain*, ſent out ſix Ships againſt her, and himſelf following in one much larger than any of them, laid her on board on the Bow, while one of the others did the ſame upon the Quarter.

The Odds were terrible, but the *Engliſh* behaved with a ſurprizing Reſolution. 'Twas in vain the *Spaniards* from Time to Time attempted boarding her: they were driven off with ſuch Loſs, that in the laſt Aſſault the Officers of the *Spaniards* were forced to drive their Men up with Threats of Death, and Swords drawn to execute it, behind them.

Theſe were repulſed as the former; and the *Engliſh* taking the Opportunity of a ſtrange Confuſion, which appeared upon the half Deck of the Admiral Ship, threw in ſome Caſe Shot; and added to the Conſternation by a large Deſtruction.

This drove the Enemy off: but in half an Hour they returned to the Charge, and were coming up with Spirit. The *Engliſh* huzza'd at their Approach, and they retired terrify'd: they little expected to have found the Enemy in ſuch Spirit to receive them; and the whole Force drew off.

'Twere well if the Advantage of this Expedition had equal'd the Glory; but this was all the noble Proprietor had in Return for his Expence. The Ship cruiſed off the Rock till her Proviſions were barely enough to bring her home: and ſaw no Prize.

The ſame Year produced a ſecond Expedition in Search of the gold Mines in *Guiana*.

Captain *Kemp* embarked in it; and took beſide the Ship in which he went only one ſmall Veſſel. This Adventurer had the Benefit of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Experience; for that great Man made no Secret of the Advantages or Particulars of the Voyage.

They ſailed from *Portland* Road on the Sixteenth of *January*, ſhaping their Courſe for the *Canary Iſlands*. Thence they made their Way to the *Cape Verd Iſlands*: but unhappily in the very ſetting out they loſt Sight of the ſmaller Veſſel, which they in vain expected eight Days at the appointed Rendezvous, in Caſe of ſuch an Accident.

The Sixth of *April*, with two Boats to ſupply the Place of the loſt Pinnace, they anchored off the Mouth of *Oroonoko* River.

They ſpent ſeveral Days upon the Coaſt; where they found the Natives averſe to *Spain*, but full of Reſpect to the *Engliſh*, and of Reverence for *Raleigh*.

Here a good Omen offered for the Voyage; the long loſt Pinnace join'd them: but the Hope of Advantage from this ſoon diſappeared. The Storm that had ſeparated, had alſo ſhattered her; and they took out the Men, and what elſe could be uſeful, and finding her too bad for Reparation, burnt her.

They ſailed hence to *Puerta de Gabra*, thence to St. *Lucia*, and thence to *Dominica*.

Here they purſued their other Buſineſs of Traffick; and returned not Loſers by the Expedition, and with ſome Hope of the great Purpoſe.

They brought a farther Account of the Coaſts of the River; the Quarries and their ſeveral Veins, and all that could lead others to purſue the ſame Purpoſe: this was but a Voyage of Diſcovery, and the Succeſs of it ſo well anſwered the Deſign and Expectations of Sir *Walter*, that he fitted out a Veſſel, for the ſame Service, not attempting the Mines, but ſolely that Diſcovery of the Country, which might at a proper Time open the Way to them.

The Voyage brought in all he wanted, a great Fund of Knowledge of the Place, and with the Papers of this and the preceding Voyage, he ſat down deliberately to plan a greater Expedition.

CHAP. CLXIX.

Shirley's *Expedition to the* Weſt-Indies.

THE ſame Year, 1596, brings upon the Theatre of the World, in the important Buſineſs of Plunder and Revenge, Sir *Anthony Shirley*; a Man worthy the Country where he was born, and of the Honours it had conferred upon a reſpected Anceſtry.

Nine Ships were fitted out for the Service; and the Iſland of St. *Thomas* was the great End of the Voyage: but there was a Force able to effect a great deal, and at its Head the great Undertaker of the Voyage, who had a Spirit to puſh that Power to its extream Service.

Toward the End of *April* they left *England*, victualled for ten Months, and ſparing three of the Ships to the great Expedition under the Lord High Admiral and the Earl of *Eſſex*, Sir *Anthony* proceeded with the reſt, to the Coaſt of *Spain*; and thence to the *Canaries*.

Their firſt Prize was off theſe Iſlands; a Fly-Boat of *Spain* of little Value, but in the taking of a *Flemiſh* Pilot, who readily quitted the Service he deteſted; and engaging with Sir *Anthony*, was employed to conduct the Veſſels to St. *Thomas*'s.

From the *Canaries*, they went to the *Cape Verd* Iſlands, upon Intelligence of a Fleet, which they might probably intercept from that Place.

They lay off *Malo* ſome Days in this Purpoſe; but no Fleet appearing, they purſued their Courſe to the Iſland of St. *Jago*; and on the Thirtieth of *Auguſt*, landed at *Praca*.

This they took without much Oppoſition, and in the Port a ſmall Veſſel loaded with Proviſions.

The Plunder was inconſiderable; and the Proprietor of the Voyage wearied with ſo tedious an Expectation of Gain, and almoſt deſpairing of any adequate Advantage from it, undertook the bold Enterprize of falling with his ſmall Force upon the Town of St. *Jago*.

The Place was at ſix Leagues diſtance from where they were; now well defended with Works, and planted with three Batteries, that ſecured the three principal Streets.

Sir *Anthony* deſpiſed all Diſadvantages, and drawing up his Soldiers to the Number of about three Hundred, ſet out at Evening on the March.

All Night they travelled for the Place, and in the Morning ſaw it. They had loſt their Way, and from where they now were, no Paſſage opened to it, but down a ſteep Hill, by a very narrow Alley.

The *Spaniards* now had Notice of the Attempt; the Cliffs which overhung this Path, were crowded with Soldiers; and others were drawn up towards the End of the Defile next the Town, to face them if they paſſed it.

The *Engliſh* had not come ſo far upon their Expedition, to be now drove from it by Fear; they threw themſelves precipitately into the Paſs; and they were immediately attacked behind by a Body of the Enemy, and from the Cliffs, by thoſe who were lodged there for that Purpoſe.

They made their Way againſt all this Force: they turned upon thoſe who attacked them in the Rear, and while the main Body drove thoſe back, the beſt Markſmen had their Office to fire at thoſe upon the Cliffs.

Courage and good Fortune went together: they paſſed the Defile with little Loſs, and at its Opening into the plain Country, found they were but half a Mile from the Town.

They haſtened thither, drove before them all who pretended to reſiſt, and became Maſters of the Place; which the *Spaniards* deſerted.

Three Forts were ſtill to be reduced, and Sir *Anthony* found no Difficulty with two of them; but the Third was ſituated to Advantage, and well provided. From this he was harraſs'd extremely, and his ſmall Number being conſiderably reduced, while the Enemy gathered Strength; he ſaw it was impoſſible to take that Fort, or to ſecure what he had taken. He prepared for a Retreat: He gave Commiſſion for all his People to plunder; and when he had as much Booty as they could carry off, and his Ships were come into the Harbour, he ordered all the Boats to be ready, and under the Pretence of a general Attack of the upper Fort by a Diſcharge of all the Cannon from the two lower, he drew them to the Defence there, and embarked without the Loſs of a Man.

Sailing hence, they made for the Iſland of *Fuego*, which they took and kept in Poſſeſſion, till ſupplyed with what it afforded. In *October*, they reached *Dominica*, and ſtaid there to refreſh, till the latter End of *November*; thence, they ſailed to *Margarita*, to meet the Pearl Fiſhers; but they had loſt ſo much Time, that they miſſed the Seaſon.

A ſmall Frigate they took there, was ſome Conſolation in the Diſappointment, having Money, beſides valuable Commodities on board.

On the Twelfth of *December* they arrived at St. *Martha*'s, and againſt a vigorous Oppoſition took the Town.

They plundered it of every Thing worth Carriage; but there were no longer in theſe Places thoſe Booties, which had enriched the better Fortune of the firſt Adventurers.

From St. *Martha*'s they went for *Jamaica*, and having miſſed their Courſe, ſailed round the Iſland, the firſt who had ever done ſo.

They had but an ill Beginning of their Fortune here, for one of their Ships, the *Wolf*, left them; and with the Prize Bark, ſailed to *England*.

CHAP. CLXX.

The Succeſs of Sir Anthony Shirley *at* Jamaica.

ON the Twenty-ninth of *January* the bold Adventurers arrived in the Road of *Jamaica*, and landed their whole Force. They marched directly for the principal Town, ſeven Miles from the Shore; and when they came in Sight, halted to put themſelves in Order for the Attack.

The Enemy ſaw this, and thought it Fear: they drew up all their Men able to bear Arms, and mounted as many as they could. Every one was ready to take the Field againſt an Enemy they thought already terrified; but when they found their Error, they changed their Sentiments.

Four Times the Number of the *Engliſh* were in Arms; and they marched againſt them: the Foot in Front, and the Horſe behind to ſupport them.

The *Engliſh* were by this Time in Order; and advanced.

For every Step they came on, the Enemy drew back ten; they made no Reſiſtance; and the Town, and in Conſequence the Iſland of *Jamaica* was *England*'s without a Blow.

Soon after the Arrival of Captain *Parker*, gave Birth to freſh Undertakings. Sir *Anthony* join'd with him, and they determined for the Bay of *Honduras*, where every Thing promiſed a conſiderable Advantage.

CHAP. CLXXI.

The Expedition of Captain Parker.

THE Commander with whom Sir *Anthony* joined, came in with two large Veſſels and a hundred healthy Men: his Purpoſe was the ſame; and their united Strength promiſed them Succeſs.

'Twas on the Sixth of *March* they ſailed together on the new Expedition; and purpos'd to ſurprize the Town of *Truxillo*, on the Bay.

Some Way the Enemy had Intelligence, and they found them too well prepared, to attempt any Thing: They ſailed farther up the Bay, and took *Puerto de Cavallos*; but the Booty here was trifling, and the Sailors grew diſſatisfied.

Their Commander had determined upon a Journey over Land to the *South Sea*, and they got them unwillingly to work upon a Pinnace in ſix Pieces, fit for putting together, when they came there.

When the Veſſel was ready, the Men refuſed to go; and ſo ended the Deſign.

Sir *Anthony* ſaw the Cauſe of this Diſquiet, and he parted Company: what they could not do together over Land, he purpoſed alone to effect by Sea; and form'd a regular and well concerted Plan of ſailing to *Newfoundland*, thence through the Streights of *Magellan* to the *South-Seas*, and thence by the *Eaſt Indies*.

In Purſuit of this Courſe they arrived on the Thirteenth of *May* at the *Havannah*; and hence Sir *Anthony* diſpatched one of the ſmaller Veſſels with their beſt Plunder, and with Letters to *England*.

The Name of *England* deſtroyed all the Project: every Man burned with a Deſire to ſee his Country again; in one Night all except one ſmall Veſſel left him, following the *George* home.

He had no Courſe left but to follow them; and he returned with ſome Booty, but nothing to his Expectation.

Captain *Parker*, who had joined Sir *Anthony* by Accident, was not greatly diſconcerted at loſing him. Diſappointed in his firſt Deſign, he undertook to ſurprize *Campechy*. He carried his Point againſt twenty Times the Number; and became Maſter of the Town, by falling upon it at Midnight. The Governor and the Commander of the Forces fell alſo into his Hands.

Succeſsful as this Enterprize was at firſt, it threatened heavy Conſequences. The *Spaniards* in the Morning bluſh'd to ſee how few had conquered them; and drawing up their beſt Force, advanced toward them.

The *Engliſh* Commander found nothing was left but to retreat; and that very difficult. The *Spaniards* were now within Muſket-ſhot, and they made their firſt Fire. Several fell; and the Commander himſelf was wounded, but not mortally. He placed the Governor and Commander of the Forces bound, between his People and the *Spaniards*; and throwing in all the *Spaniards* he had taken, into the ſame Situation, began to retreat.

The Enemy ſaw his Purpoſe, and they let him go. Their own People muſt have fallen firſt, if they fired; and they peaceably let *Parker* and his Company return to their Veſſels.

After this he took ſome Prizes of Value, and burnt the Town of *Sebo*; but the ſmaller Veſſel fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*. They hang'd the Commander as a Pirate, and ſent the Men to Slavery; but *Parker* returned in his larger Veſſel, not much enriched, though with ſome Glory. The *Spaniards* were no longer the eaſy Prey the firſt Adventurers had found them.

CHAP. CLXXII.

The English *attempt a Voyage to the remoteſt Parts of the Eaſt.*

ADventurers encreaſed, though the Succeſs of their Expeditions ill repaid them. They ſaw now that the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies* were no longer the Scene of eaſy Plunder, or of vaſt Advantage; and they began to think of other Expeditions.

The *Eaſt* became the Subject of their Thoughts, and they prepared for the longeſt Voyages that Way.

Sir *Robert Dudley* was the firſt great Adventurer in this Courſe, and his ill Succeſs, for ſome Time, deterr'd others.

He told his Purpoſe to the Queen, under whoſe Patronage and Approbation he built three Veſſels; received her Letter to the Emperor of of *China*, and commiſſioning Captain *Wood* with the Command, ordered him to ſee *China* in his Return, and make the beſt Uſe of the Royal Favour.

Nothing was ſpared in ſetting out this Expedition, but nothing afterwards favoured it. The Veſſels all periſhed miſerably; and 'tis only in the Hiſtory of other Nations we read the leaſt Account of them.

Three *Portugueſe* Ships from *Goa*, richly laden, fell in their Way very unexpectedly, and after ſome Reſiſtance ſtruck to them. The Sailors rioted in their Succeſs; and from Exceſs grew ſickly: the Diſeaſe became contagious, and one by one they periſhed, till of the whole Company only four remained, who could do any thing to ſerve themſelves.

Theſe, flying the Fate of their Companions, threw themſelves with the beſt Treaſure from the Prize into their Boat, and after many Dangers were thrown upon the Iſland *Ulias*, three Leagues from *Porto Rico*.

'Twas ſome ſtrange Fate that could carry the Veſſels, from which this miſerable Remnant of a Crew eſcaped, into this Part of the World, ſo remote from their firſt Courſe; but we have ſufficient Proof they came thither, and there told the Story; never contradicted afterwards.

The Veſſels left to the wide Sea periſhed, unknown where, for no Account of them ever reached their own, or was received that we know in any other Country. The Treaſure fell into the Hands of *Spain*.

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CHAP. CLXXIII.

A Royal Fleet equipped againſt the Spaniards.

IN 1597 *England* was again threatened with Invaſion. The King of *Spain* having negotiated a ſeparate Peace with *France*, found himſelf at Leiſure to undertake a new Expedition againſt *Elizabeth*, whoſe Succeſs among his Subjects, and Deſtruction of his great Armada, had placed her in the worſt Light in which an Enemy could be ſeen.

He purpoſed firſt an Invaſion of *England*: but when his recruited Fleet was put on its beſt Footing, he found it not of Force for ſuch an Undertaking: *Ireland* was then made the Scene of Action; and he engaged in haſty Meaſures to fall upon it.

The *Engliſh* Government had ſoon Intelligence of this; and the Queen, following her former ſucceſsful Policy, fitted out a very conſiderable Fleet, not to oppoſe the *Spaniards* here, but fight them upon their own Seas, or ſeek them in their Harbours.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was in chief Command. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and many other illuſtrious Names, ſwell the Account of the Officers under him; and the whole Force amounted to forty Ships of War, a vaſt Number of ſmaller Veſſels, and ſix thouſand Land Forces.

The *Dutch*, equally concerned in ſuch an Enterprize, added ten Ships of War under Mynheer *Van Duvendvord*: and the whole Force being divided into three Squadrons, the Earl of *Eſſex*, General and Commander in Chief, took the firſt; the Lord *Thomas Howard*, with the Rank of Vice-Admiral, the ſecond; and the third was given to Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Their Purpoſe was to deſtroy the *Spaniſh* Ships in the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*; thence to ſail for *Tercera*, and taking it to keep Poſſeſſion; and there wait to intercept the *Indian* Fleet.

In the Beginning of *July* the Fleet ſailed from *Plymouth*, but unfavourable Weather drove them back, and 'twas the Middle of *Auguſt* when they ſailed for Service.

The Proviſions laid in for the Expedition were very conſiderably diminiſhed by this: to have made them up again would have ſo far lengthen'd the Delay, that all Hopes of Succeſs would have vaniſhed: the only Courſe was to diſcharge Part of the Men; and this Chance fell upon the Land Forces. Theſe were ſet on ſhore, except ſome Veterans; and the Fleet now got out to Sea again.

A Storm ſcattered them before they reached the Coaſt of *Spain*: in this the Admiral Ship received great Damage; and but for the reſolute Conduct of Sir *George Carew*, one of the principal Veſſels in the Expedition, had been loſt. This was the *St. Matthew*, which after the Loſs of Main-maſt and Yards, floated little better than a Wreck, and was carried near the Rocks. The Crew would have deſerted her, but he detained them, and ſaved the Ship.

The reſt came up; and the Fleet purſued its Courſe, but not with that Secrecy and Expedition which had given Succeſs to the preceding Undertaking. They came too near the Shores of *Aſturias* and *Galicia*, and they kept but indifferent Watch for their Enemies.

The News of their Intent reached the *Groyne* and *Ferrol* long before them; and what would have been eaſy, was then impracticable; the Time they had for Defence had been ſo well employ'd, that nothing but Diſtraction could have thought of forcing into the Harbours; and the *Spaniards*, who found themſelves ſecure there, laughed at the *Engliſh*, who invited them out to Sea to fight.

This great Point being now given up, the Care remain'd to be beſtowed upon the latter. The lingering there might give free Paſſage to the *India* Fleet; and next to cutting off the Veſſels, was the intercepting of the *Spaniſh* Treaſures; the other Hope in War.

The whole Force ſailed for the *Azores*, and each Squadron had its appointed Station: *Fayal* and *Gratioſa* fell to the Commander in Chief, and the Lord *Howard*; and Sir *Walter Raleigh* was the Guard of *Rio*.

Sir *Walter* was but arrived at the Place of Deſtination, when he received Orders from the Earl of *Eſſex* to join him at *Fayal*. He followed with his Squadron: he found the Enemy in a State at once of Terror and Defence; but the Earl of *Eſſex* not there. The People were carrying off their Effects; and the Garriſon fortifying themſelves in their Entrenchments.

Sir *Walter* called a Council of his principal Officers, and it was determined to wait the Arrival of the Commander in Chief four Days; but not coming, they were then to attack the Place.

Nothing could be more wiſe or brave than this Reſolution of Sir *Walter*; but it was interpreted againſt him afterwards by Creatures of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

CHAP. CLXXIV.

The Attack of Fayal.

THE four Days paſſed in unwilling Inaction on the *Engliſh* Part; but on that of the Enemy in taking every Precaution to defend themſelves: they were twice their firſt Number by the Expiration of the Time; and more than twice their Strength.

The allotted Period paſſed, and no News of *Eſſex*, Sir *Walter* led his People on ſhore four Miles from the Haven; and by a very prudent and reſolute Conduct made himſelf Maſter of the Town.

The Glory was all he gain'd, for the *Spaniards* had removed every thing of Value; and this Glory coſt him dear; for the Earl of *Eſſex*, who arrived the Day after, never forgave Sir *Walter* the robbing him of ſo much Honour.

A Council of War was held upon him: and there were thoſe who talked of Death; the leaſt

Thought was of diſcharging him from the Service; but he confounded them by his Anſwer. He ſaid Captains were under the Earl's Command in every thing; but not the Commanders of Squadrons: that to them was left the judging what was beſt: and that he had in this determined neceſſarily, and fought ſucceſsfully: that his People were obliged to land for Water; and being landed, it was right to make the Advantage he had made, after waiting too long before. To this he added, in gentler Words, a decent Apology, and he was acquitted with a Reproof in Place of the imagin'd Puniſhment.

The *Engliſh* were under no Neceſſity of attacking the Fort, for the Garriſon quitted it precipitately, leaving behind them Marks of their Cruelty. Two *Engliſh* had been there; and the firſt Object that occur'd, when it was enter'd by our People, was theſe Perſons with their Throats freſh cut.

The Earl of *Eſſex* gave Order for plundering the Iſland, and carrying on board the Ordinance taken in the Fort and Town, and after that he reduced the Town to Aſhes.

Gratioſa was the next Iſland the *Engliſh* purpoſed to attack; but the Inhabitants ſubmitted on their Approach.

The Earl of *Eſſex* propoſed to wait here for the *Indian* Fleet: but he was eaſily perſuaded from his Opinions; and this Time unhappily ſo. His Pilot told him 'twas an inconvenient Harbour, and upon that Advice he ſailed.

He had not been gone two Hours, when the Flota from *America* appeared: forty-ſix Sail loaded to the full Depth with Plate, and the moſt valuable Articles of the *Indian* Produce.

They ſoon had an Intelligence how vaſt a Force of the *Engliſh* waited for them in thoſe Seas, and bore with their beſt Sail for *Tercera*. They arrived there in Safety, except three ſtraggling Veſſels, of which the *Engliſh* made but a poor Account; and anchoring under the Fort, that defended the Port of *Angra*, laughed at Danger.

The Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Francis Vere* and Sir *William Monſon*, left to the Weſtward of *Gratioſa*, followed to *Tercera*, and made an Attempt at Midnight to cut out ſome of the Veſſels, but in vain; the *Spaniards* were alarm'd, and they were powerful: the Forts were ſtrong, and the Garriſon numerous. A few of the *Engliſh* were loſt in the Attempt, but nothing of Advantage gained againſt the Enemy.

Theſe Ships however lay off the Port, and ſent Advice to the Earl of *Eſſex*, with Offers to keep them in where they were.

Eſſex came up: he held a Council, and the Officers deſperate from the Croſſneſs of the Accident, and from the Proſpect of Plunder, propoſed to attempt at once the Town and the Fleet; the Earl of *Eſſex* joined in this Opinion, but the Seamen thought it impracticable: they delivered their Reaſons; and then added, that they were ready to obey his Commands, and undertake any Thing he propoſed.

This moved the Commander; he ſaw at once their Courage and their Prudence, and he declined the Attempt. They returned to *St. Michael's*, and anchored before *Puerta Delagada*.

Here they propoſed to attack the City, the Chief of the Iſland; but they found, upon better Examination, that the *Spaniards* were too well prepared for them, and this, like the other Deſign, impracticable.

So much did the *Engliſh* in this great Expedition ſacrifice to the Want of Intelligence.

CHAP. CLXXV.

The Attack of Villa Franca.

DIſappointments now taught the Earl of *Eſſex* a Conduct he ſhould have held before. He determined to attack *Villa Franca*, a Town ſix Miles diſtant; and to preſerve the Secrecy of this Purpoſe, he left Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a large Force to amuſe the Enemy with an Opinion he was about to land.

This ſucceeded: he found the Town not utterly unprovided; nor yet in ſuch a Poſture of Defence as it would have been put, upon Intelligence of his Deſign.

They did not ſurrender upon his appearing before them, but ſtood one rough Aſſault; after which the Place fell into his Hands.

He found here the farther Advantage of a Surprize, that the People had not removed their Effects: the Place was full of Plunder, and he very generouſly diſtributed the greateſt Part of it among his People.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* waited ſix Days the Return of the Commander in Chief off *St. Michael's*; and was called off upon a fair Occaſion.

He ſaw two Veſſels, one a Carrack of *Spain*, the other a ſmaller Ship from *Braſil*. He gave Chace; and there was ſome Hope of Succeſs, when a *Dutch* Ship ſent after the Carrack fired, long before ſhe was in Reach, and only ſhewed the Commander that he was ſurrounded with Enemies. He followed the only Courſe that was left him: he run his Ship on ſhore, where the People ſoon unloaded her; and then to prevent her falling into the Enemy's Hands, ſet her on Fire.

This Carrack had water'd at *St. Helens*, put over to the Coaſt of *Braſil*, and thence came Weſtward to the Place where ſhe was chaced. The *Braſil* Ship did not eſcape; ſhe fell into the Hands of Sir *Walter*, and not being in a Condition for Service, the Cargo was taken out, and ſhe was turned adrift.

On the Return of the Earl of *Eſſex*, a Council was held, and the Queſtion cooly put, what ſhould be done.

Every Man bluſh'd at what had been done hitherto; but no Voice propoſed any thing for the ſucceeding Exploit. It was determined to return.

They were unpardonable, who by ill Advice and private Quarrels had prevented the Succeſs of ſuch an Expedition; but the Reſolution they now took was not imprudent. The *Spaniards* were too well prepar'd to be ſurpriſed, and too ſtrong to be forced. They were indeed ready by this Time for offenſive not defenſive War; and were out from *Ferrol* by the Day the *Engliſh* ſailed.

The ſame ill Fortune that had attended the *Engliſh* Fleet in the Expedition, purſued them home: they were ſcattered and diſtreſſed by a very ſevere Storm: they weather'd it, however, without the Loſs of a Ship; and in the End of *October* returned to *England*, notwithſtanding their great Names, deſpiſed by the People.

CHAP. CLXXVI.

The Spaniards *Expedition againſt* England 1597.

THE *Spaniards* gathered Spirit from the ill Succeſs of our Fleet; and inſtead of *Ireland*, their former Deſtination, now talked again of *England*.

The Fleet from *Ferrol* was deſtin'd to the Coaſt of *Cornwall*, there to ſeize and keep ſome good Port, that they might find the *Engliſh* Buſineſs at home, and facilitate the ſending their Troops to *Ireland*, by having a Port to retreat to in bad Weather.

The Storm which ſcattered the *Engliſh* diſtreſſed theſe in the greateſt Degree. Many of the Ships were loſt: and one was driven upon that Coaſt to which all were deſtin'd. One of our Ports received the miſerable Crew famiſh'd and dying.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was too much in Favour with the Queen to be called to that Account another would have been on ſuch an Occaſion; but while her Tenderneſs ſpared the Man, her Prudence diſpoſed better of the Office he had ſo ill ſuſtained.

The Lord High Admiral *Howard* was diſtinguiſhed with peculiar Honours: he was created Earl of *Nottingham*, and had the principal Command in the Navy.

There was alſo a Stroke in the Preamble to his Title, which galled the Earl of *Eſſex* extremely: he claim'd the ſole Honour of taking *Cadiz*, and 'twas there ſaid, that theſe Honours were confer'd upon *Howard* for his Services againſt the Armada, and in taking *Cadiz*.

This was put in at the Queen's ſpecial Command; and ſhe did it purpoſely to mortify the Man whoſe Conduct had diſpleaſed her: ſhe knew alſo, that by the Creation and Commiſſion ſhe had given *Nottingham* Place and Precedence over *Eſſex*; which his light Mind held as a capital Misfortune.

The Anger of *Elizabeth* againſt *Eſſex* was not of long Duration: ſhe ſaw him too much grieved at the Precedence, and ſhe created him Earl Marſhal of *England*, to quiet him again.

Theſe are the Foibles of great Minds: the Spots in that Sun of Glory which in her Reign gilded the *Britiſh* Iſle: we ſee by them, that the greateſt are not above Error, and even Weakneſs.

CHAP. CLXXVII.

The tenth Expedition of the Earl of Cumberland.

THE Earl of *Cumberland* ſtill breathed nothing but Glory and Revenge: he had experienced various Fortune in nine Expeditions, and upon the Event of the whole, another Man would have been wearied out of his firſt Spirit; but 'twas not ſo with him: he grew the more earneſt, the more Accidents ſeemed to controul his Purpoſe: and in the Year 1598 fitted out the greateſt Armament that ever had been ſent forth by leſs than the Government.

This conſiſted of no leſs than twenty ſtout Ships. Beſide the common Complement of Men, there went on board theſe a vaſt Number of Volunteers, and among them ſeveral of Family and Faſhion: the ſecond in Command was Sir *John Berkeley*; and for the ſeveral Ships there were ſelected Captains, the leaſt of whom had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many Expeditions.

Early in Spring they ſailed from *Plymouth*; and they received Intelligence, ſoon after their ſetting out, of five rich Carracks that were going very ſpeedily for the *Indies*, and with them five and twenty Ships for *Braſil*.

This was a Booty worth attempting: the Earl of *Cumberland* took every Precaution that they ſhould not eſcape him: but the *Spaniards* were beforehand with him: they had Intelligence of ſo conſiderable a Force of the *Engliſh* being at Sea; and they ſent Orders to the Ports where theſe lay, and all along the Coaſt, that no Ship ſhould ſail till farther Orders.

While the *Engliſh* waited here, they took ſome Prizes; and hence ſailed for the South Cape.

Having made the *Canaries*, they came up with *Lancerota*, an Iſland, where a bold Adventurer had ſeveral Years lived as King. This Man, who called himſelf a Perſon of Diſtinction, had a fortified Caſtle, and a Body of Guards; but they fled at the Approach of the *Engliſh*, and the Iſland fell into their Hands. They burnt the principal Town, and demoliſhed the Caſtle; and afterwards re-embarked with the Booty.

Hence the Fleet held its Courſe for *America*; and on the Twenty-firſt of *April* came up with *Dominica*. They landed here, and ſtaid a Month; and hence ſailed to the *Virgin Iſlands*, where the noble Commander in the Enterprize called all his People together, and declared his Deſign upon *Puerto Rico*.

CHAP. CLXXVIII.

The Earl of Cumberland *attacks* Puerto Rico.

ON the Sixth of *June* the *Engliſh* landed on the Iſland of *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*; and the Earl of *Cumberland* placed himſelf at the Head of the Party, amounting to a thouſand Men, all reſolute to conquer or to periſh. The Attempt was daring, almoſt to Deſperation: the Place was guarded by a ſtrong Fort, and ſupported by ſeveral Caſtles well planted with Cannon.

The *Spaniards* were not leſs than four Thouſand in Number; and well provided with every Thing.

The *Engliſh*, who knew nothing of the Ground, took a Negro for their Guide; and they found their Path lay among craggy Rocks, and almoſt inacceſſible Hills; and that having paſſed theſe, there ſtill was a ſmall Arm of the Sea between them and the Town; which was built upon a Kind of Iſland.

There are People to whom Danger only gives more Courage; ſuch was the Earl of *Cumberland*, and ſuch were the Perſons who attended him in this Enterprize. They marched after their frighted Guide, and paſſing the Cliffs arrived at the Water. Here the Want of Boats appear'd at firſt an inſuperable Diſadvantage; but they ſoon eſpied a Cauſeway leading to a Bridge, and making a Communication, though the Entrance was barricaded by a ſtrong Gate.

The Officer who firſt diſcovered this, deſired they might at once attack the Place; but the Earl of *Cumberland*, who ſaw they had a Battery that ſcoured the Cauſeway; and that they had planted a Body of Infantry to fire upon him as he advanced from another Quarter, would have repreſs'd their Ardour: 'twas in vain: they marched up, and they were repulſed.

Beſide the Cannon, and the Fire of Small Arms, the Tide oppoſed them. They were obliged to return unſucceſsful; and had like to have loſt their Commander in the Aſſault, for he fell from the Cauſeway into the Sea, and was difficultly ſaved.

When they were at ſafe Diſtance, the Earl of *Cumberland* repreſented to them the Raſhneſs of their Enterprize; but told them, the Place was yet to be taken by a better Plan of Operations.

He prepared the Attack, and placed his Men ready to take the Advantage of the falling Tide.

Thoſe who marched up the Cauſeway carried Axes and Bills; and on each Side were planted a numerous Corps, one of theſe fired continually upon the Infantry of the *Spaniards*; and the other upon thoſe who ſerved the Artillery. The Conflict was between theſe Parties; and under their Fire the Body advanced unreſiſted up the Cauſeway.

When they reached the Gate that barricaded the Bridge, the foremoſt fell to work upon it with their Bills and Axes, while the reſt kept a continual Fire upon the *Spaniards* who defended it. Thus they alſo worked under the Diſcharge of their Comrades; and in five or ſix Minutes the Gate fell.

All now burſt in together: there was no Time to draw their Swords: they fought with their Axes, and what Weapons were in their Hands; and the *Spaniards* fled.

The Fort thus given up to the *Engliſh*, the Town could not propoſe Reſiſtance; it fell to them as a Conſequence of their firſt Valour; and three other Forts, which might have held out if the Garriſon had dared defend them, fell in the ſame Manner.

With the Town the Port fell into the Hands of the Earl of *Cumberland*; and he, conſidering the Nation's Advantage as well as his private Fortune, thought ſeriouſly of keeping it for *England*. The *Spaniards* with Reaſon called it the Key of *America*.

The Commander of the *Engliſh* told his Officers and Men his Purpoſe: and for the preſent he propoſed making it a Place of War for the Expedition, whence he could go out to cruiſe upon the Enemy in thoſe Parts.

All applauded: it was neceſſary to leave a conſiderable Body there; and all courted the Office: it was eſteemed a Favour to be added to the Number.

The *Spaniards* were ſhock'd and confounded: they expected this would have ended like other Expeditions of a like Kind; and that the Place for a Ranſom would be put into their Hands again.

They waited with Impatience the Departure, or Preparations for Departure of the Enemy; but inſtead of that, they received Notice to quit the

Place. They offered large Sums for Permiſſion to ſtay, but they were refuſed; and a Day was fixed for their quitting the Place on Pain of Death.

What they could not obtain, Accidents compell'd: the *Engliſh* fell into a bloody Flux, which proved contagious as a Peſtilence, and little leſs fatal. They died Day after Day; and the Commander ſaw 'twould be impoſſible to make good his Purpoſe. He had not enough to fully man his Ships, much leſs to leave a Colony behind him.

Of the Thouſand he led to this fatal Shore, three Hundred only remained: the Diſtemper ceaſed; but that did not reſtore the dead: 'twas neceſſary to leave the Place, but he thought to make the beſt of it. He now ſent to the *Spaniards* to offer them the Terms of Ranſom for the Iſland, as well as City. They pretended to liſten to him, but they knew as well as himſelf what were his Motives: they ſaw his People reduced to a very weak Number; and while they entertained him with an imaginary Propoſal, ſought Reinforcements to cut him off.

He grew reſerved and ſuſpicious; and his Apprehenſion of their Deſign aw'd them from the Purpoſe.

While he lay on this Iſland, a Veſſel with ſome Treaſure in Plate and Pearls, put in from *Margarita*; this became his Prey: and by the Intelligence gained from thoſe he took on board of her, he found there was Room for ſomething to be done in that Quarter. The Pearl Cheſt on that Iſland he learned was full, and very ſlightly guarded.

It was not the Character of the Earl of *Cumberland* to loſe Time: he ſent out three of his beſt Ships, ſufficiently mann'd, to make the Booty: but the Winds forbad; the Veſſels, after long toſſing in a tempeſtuous Sea, returned without Succeſs.

CHAP. CLXXIX.

The End of this Expedition.

WHILE the Fleet lay at *Puerto Rico*, there fell in their Way from Time to Time other Veſſels; and they made alſo a very conſiderable Booty on the Place.

The Proprietor, when he found the *Spaniards* fear'd as well as trifled with him, held them at once in Contempt and Defiance. He determin'd to hold Poſſeſſion of the Place, though himſelf was about to depart; and Sir *John Berkeley* readily accepted the Commiſſion of ſuch Force as he ſhould leave behind.

On the Fourteenth of *Auguſt* a due Diviſion of the Fleet was made; and the Earl of *Cumberland* with the leſſer half came for *England*.

At *Flores* he ſtay'd ſome Days; and here Sir *John Berkeley* joined him: the Men would not be perſuaded to remain longer upon the Iſland, and he had obtain'd ſome Terms from the *Spaniards*. The whole Fleet, now join'd, after great Diſtreſs by Storms, return'd to their native Country.

The Publick gained more by this Expedition than the Proprietor. His Prizes were indeed conſiderable; but the Expence of the Expedition was alſo great.

The *Spaniards* ſuffered vaſtly by it: his Force terrify'd their Veſſels of Commerce; and one Fleet lay the whole Year in the Ports of *Spain*, though deſtin'd to the *Indies*; and another remain'd there, which was to have returned Home.

This ſerved the Government, as it diſtreſſed their Enemies: and it was a Service the more acceptable, as the private Peace with *France* gave *Spain* at this Time Opportunity to have bent her Arms againſt us with double Fury.

CHAP. CLXXX.

The State of England *at this Period.*

THE *Dutch*, who as they grew more powerful, became leſs manageable, gave their great Protectreſs ſome Trouble at this Period.

The Treaty with them expired; and they had entertained Thoughts of demanding other Terms. To this ungrateful and diſingenuous Conduct *Elizabeth* oppoſed her uſual Addreſs. The Peace of *Spain* and *France* was much ſpoken of; and ſhe cauſed it to be reported as currently, that *England* was about to agree with *Spain* in the ſame Manner.

Down fell at once the mighty Edifice of *Dutch* Perfidy. They ſaw their Ruin if they loſt this Nation for their Friends, whom they were attempting to delude; and they gave up their Scheme.

Elizabeth, who knew how far to purſue her Fortune, and where to ſtop, made this an Opportunity of obtaining a more advantageous Treaty than before with the States, and ſo this Matter drop'd.

Another very eſſential Point in Reſpect was, that in this Year 1598 the King of *Spain*, *Philip* the Second, died: he had been the conſtant and rancorous Enemy of *England*; and with the Severity of his Temper had in him great Ambition.

His firſt Views had led him to no leſs a Purpoſe than the Conqueſt of *Portugal*, *France* and *England*: but our Fleets had taught him a Truth he had learn'd alſo from the Arms of *France*, that Conqueſts of Kingdoms are eaſier plan'd in Cabinets, than accompliſh'd in the Field.

Againſt *Portugal* he ſucceeded: but he died no more powerful than before; for the Loſs of the *United Provinces*, as Things then ſtood, was more than equal to this boaſted Conqueſt.

This was the Year diſtinguiſhed by that remarkable Incident in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, of a Diſpute in Council between a Subject and his Sovereign; and a Blow from a Queen to one of her principal Officers.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, who, preſuming upon Circumſtances beſt known to himſelf, thought the Queen dared not quarrel with him, ſpoke roughly to her; and received this Indignity. 'Twas ſomething rude and unpoliſhed in a Queen, but it foretold, what the ſame Infatuation would not let him believe; his Death.

Elizabeth, much too artful for this inconſiderate Man, found Means to make him keep his Secrets, if he had any, depending even upon the Block, that he ſhould have her Pardon.

CHAP. CLXXXI.

A fruitleſs Expedition.

ENGLAND had in theſe better Days as well as worſe and later, her *Spithead* Expeditions: and honourable Names, and mighty Preparations, ſerved ſometimes to the famous Purpoſe of marching up the Hill and down again.

In the Year 1599, a Fleet of twenty Ships of Force of the Government; and twice as many Merchant Veſſels ſailed for the *Downs*, commanded by the Lord High Admiral *Howard*; and breathing nothing but Vengeance.

The *Dutch* this Year alſo ſent out the firſt Fleet they ever equip'd on their own Account. The *Spaniards* at the ſame Time drew their Force to the *Groyne*; whence they had always purpoſed to invade *England*.

Thus ſtood the Force on both Sides; while the *Hollanders*, following the Example of the *Engliſh*, puſhed their Fortune with ſeventy-three Ships to the *Canaries*, and did the *Spaniards* great Hurt; enriching themſelves with the Spoil of many plundered Towns.

Elizabeth had never in ſo ſhort a Time drawn together ſo great a Preparation: the Coaſts were covered with Soldiers, as well as the Sea with her Navy: *France* admired; and *Spain* wonder'd and feared.

The *Dutch*, of whom *England* with good Cauſe grew ſuſpicious, were alſo terrify'd when they ſaw a Force ſo very much ſuperior to their own: and found by this Inſtance that it would be always ready to puniſh that Ingratitude and Inſolence, their preſent Conduct ſeemed to threaten.

Spain, upon the News of this great Preparation, ſent Overtures of Peace; and the Earl of *Eſſex*, in fear of whom perhaps this Buſtle had been made, more than from any Thoughts of that Kingdom, grew reconciled. He made ſome Way his Peace with the Queen, and for this Time, as had always been the Caſe hitherto, was diſtinguiſh'd by new Honours.

He was now appointed Deputy of *Ireland*; and entruſted with a vaſt Preparation to ſtop the Progreſs of the Earl of *Tyrone*, who had drawn the Province of *Munſter*, and a great Part of the adjacent Country, to revolt.

Here the Earl of *Eſſex* ſlighted his Inſtructions according to his Cuſtom: but he paid dearly: he ſacrificed his Life to his Folly.

THE

THE NAVAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK XVII.

Containing the Tranſactions of the ſeventeenth Century.

CHAP. I.

Expeditions of the Engliſh *in* 1600.

THE Seventeenth Century opened with an Expedition of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Spaniards*; not of the moſt capital Kind, but well deſigned. The Government equipped the Veſſels; the Command fell upon Sir *Richard Leviſon*, Admiral of the narrow Seas; and the Queen who had ſeen ſo much of the fatal Effects of Intelligence in preceding Undertakings, made in this a firſt Charge of Secrecy.

Only three Ships of the Queen's were engaged in this Expedition; but private Adventurers were ready enough to contribute to its Force; and the whole Number were ſufficient for the Enterprize they undertook; which was to ſurprize off the Iſlands the Carracks and the *Mexico* Fleet.

All this Time a Treaty of Peace was negotiating between *England* and *Spain*: the Queen, who was in Earneſt on her own Part, ſuſpected Treachery from the *Spaniards*; and in this, and other Particulars, was preparing for War all the Time.

It was indeed as ſhe ſuſpected; the *Spaniards*, while they amuſed, or attempted to amuſe her with Propoſals, were fitting out their Ships; and when the Negotiation broke off as expected, this Fleet ſailed for the Interception of the Carracks, and the *Spaniards* ſent out a ſuperior Force for their Protection: no leſs than eighteen Sail of large Veſſels.

Thus ſtood the Chance of the Undertaking; and all Eyes were upon the Event: but leſs happen'd, than the Hope on one Side, or the Terror on the other figur'd.

The *Engliſh* and the *Spaniſh* Fleets were bound to the ſame Place; and both reached it nearly, but not exactly, at the ſame Time. Neither ſtay'd, ſo that they did not meet there; nor did they chance to fall in one another's Way, going or coming home.

The wide Sea, which kept the Combatants aſunder, ſaved alſo the Veſſels, the intended Prey of the one, and Buſineſs of Protection for the other: they ſaw neither their Guardians, nor their Enemies, but arrived ſafely at their Ports.

The *Engliſh* having lain paſt all Time of Expectation, and conſumed their Proviſion, ſet ſail homewards.

One Good they did to others, though nothing for themſelves: two Veſſels of the *Dutch* from the *Eaſt Indies*, the two firſt that had ever been thither, were relieved by this Fleet, when dying with every kind of Want. Had theſe miſs'd the *Engliſh*, probably they had periſh'd, and the *Dutch* diſhearten'd by ſuch an Event, might perhaps never have ſent thither any others; the Conſe-

quences

ſequences to *England* are very obvious; and by this, as from a thouſand other Inſtances, we learn on how ſmall and accidental Circumſtances depend the greateſt Events.

This Year fell the Earl of *Eſſex*, by Proceſs of Juſtice, as a Rebel. That there was nothing unfair in his Sentence is evident: but the Conduct of the Queen on that Occaſion is covered by a Veil of inextricable Perplexity: certainly he depended upon Mercy till the Axe fell.

CHAP. II.

The Spaniards *invade* Ireland.

THE Year ſucceeding to this was deſtined to more Action; and the two Commanders, who had ſo ſtrangely eſcaped one another farther off, were doomed to be employed nearer our Coaſt.

The Beginning of the Year 1601 we defended *Oſtend*, beſieged by the Arch-Duke; and the *Spaniards* returned the Enmity, by fomenting the Rebellion yet unquelled in *Ireland*; and aſſiſting the Party with Money and with Stores. They promiſed more, and at a Time when it was leaſt expected they kept their Word.

They let the Summer paſs, becauſe they ſaw we expected them; but when the Seaſon of Action was ſuppoſed elaps'd, the Admiral who had commanded the eighteen Ships ſent out the Year before to fight the *Engliſh* off the Iſlands, Don *Diego de Borachero*, was commiſſioned with near fifty Veſſels, and with four thouſand Land Forces, beſide his Complement of Sailors, for *Ireland*.

The Vice-Admiral in this Expedition, *Siriago*, had ſeen ſo much of the *Engliſh* Courage, that he embarked with an ill Stomach: he found Means to loſe his Principal: and an Excuſe to return to the *Groyne*.

The King of *Spain* ſaw the Cauſe, and was offended extremely: he commanded the Vice-Admiral, on Pain of his higheſt Diſpleaſure, to ſail again with his beſt Speed and find the Fleet, or follow them to *Ireland*.

He ſaw now the Choice was, fall by the *Engliſh* or fall at Home; and muſtering up ſo much Courage, as repreſented his Deck more honourable than a Scaffold, he followed.

The *Engliſh* had Notice of this Invaſion too late to ſtop its firſt Progreſs: the firſt News the Government received of it was, that the Veſſels under *Borachero* and *Siriago* rode in the Ports of *Ireland*, and that their Land Forces had diſembarked and joined the Rebels.

The Queen, who ſeldom betrayed Surprize, concealed her Anxiety at this: ſhe ſaid, ſince we could not prevent theſe *Spaniards*, we muſt puniſh them: and ſhe commiſſioned Sir *Richard Leviſon*, with a conſiderable Force, to follow them to *Ireland*.

That Admiral, as brave a one as ever commanded an *Engliſh* Fleet, came up with them, and without Preparation enter'd the Harbour where they rode, and pour'd in all his Thunder.

The Admiral of *Spain* ſtood aſtoniſhed and confounded at the *Engliſh* Courage. He had raiſed Forts, but the Hurry of the Aſſault gave them little Time for Service. From Nine, when he enter'd, to Dark, *Leviſon* deſtroyed againſt all Oppoſition their beſt Veſſels, and the Return of Day-light ſhew'd him the miſerable Wrecks he had made.

Siriago, who found exactly what he had preſaged, fled early in the Evening, and getting over Land to another Harbour, embarked in a *French* Ship privately for *Spain*.

CHAP. III.

The Operations on Land.

DON *Juan de Aquila* commanded the Land Force. He lay this Time at *Kinſale*, waiting with all the Impatience of Fear the Forces of *Tyrone*.

Lord *Mountjoy*, who commanded in our Army, came up in Time. He ſaw the Impatience, and read in it the Fear of the *Spaniard*: and the Importance of the Service carried him in Haſte by all Meaſures poſſible to prevent their joining. He marched to *Kinſale*, ſat down with a conſiderable Force before it, and cut off at once all Hope and all Communication.

It was a diſmal Seaſon for a Siege, but the *Engliſh* Force ſaw the Neceſſity, and they took their cold Lodging chearfully. They ſuffered extremely for want of Conveniencies; but it was their Comfort, that the Enemy muſt endure much more: if the Time was dreadful to the Beſiegers, what muſt it be to thoſe impriſoned by the Siege.

Deſpair made them valiant: they ſallied often; and they fought boldly, but with ill Succeſs. They leſſened their own Number very conſiderably; but the *Engliſh* Party ſuffered little.

Tyrone this Time, though backward, was not idle: he ſaw what Force he had to encounter; he knew the Conſequence of an Action; and he prepared for it as one who was to diſpute the Fate of a Kingdom. He uſed all his Intereſt to procure more Men; and on the Eighteenth of *December* appeared with a very great Force off the Place.

The Beſieged ſhewed Rapture in all their Actions; their Colours waved, they fired inceſſantly, and their Huzzas ſeem'd Echoes to the Ordnance.

Lord *Mountjoy* had expected the Approach of *Tyrone*, though he had not imagined he would have brought with him ſo conſiderable a Force. He went the Rounds, he encouraged his Men, and prepared for an Engagement.

He waited near a Week: *Tyrone* would undertake nothing till he had found a Way of ſettling with the *Spaniards* the Plan of Operations. They fixed on the Day before *Chriſtmas* for the Action.

That Day the Fate of *Ireland* hung ſuſpended. Every one knew this Battle muſt decide it; and *Mountjoy* for ever annex it to the *Engliſh* Crown, or the *Spaniard* give it a temporary Independance.

Heaven ſeem'd to interfere in the Deciſion; for that Day an Earthquake ſhook *Britain*, and was felt, though with leſs Force, in *Ireland*, and as far as *Jerſey*.

Each Side thought it an Omen for themſelves, but the *Engliſh* found it ſo. *Tyrone* fought valiantly; but the Fortune of *Mountjoy*, or ſhall we ſay of *England*, prevailed. The Battle, which was continued obſtinately more than ſeven Hours, determined abſolutely for *England*. The Loſs on the Rebel Party was very great: on ours, tho' ſuch Advantages are not to be obtained but with ſome Blood, it coſt leſs than could have been expected.

Tyrone being beat, the *Spaniards* deſpaired: Remote from their Country; ſtarved where they were, and without all Hope of Supply, what remained for them! they demanded a Parly, and Lord *Mounjoy* granted it.

He could not have expected ſo much as they offered: they acknowledged they were hopeleſs, and threw themſelves wholly on his Mercy. He gave them Conditions that became a Conqueror in ſuch an Action; and ſent them back in *Engliſh* Ships to *Spain*.

CHAP. IV.

The Eſtabliſhment of the firſt English East-India *Company.*

ENGLAND while engaged in War, had yet Attention for the Intercourſe of Peace. The Merchants who furniſhed Veſſels for the Defence of their Country, and Support of its Rights, had at the ſame Time their Deſigns in Commerce; and thought it juſt that while they render'd the Crown theſe moſt important Services, they ſhould enſure to themſelves its Protection.

The Government thought the ſame; and the Queen ſpoke and acted as one who felt the Obligation Subjects might confer in this Conſtitution on their Sovereign. Theſe were Times in which all acted as they found Reaſon dictate.

More than two Hundred of the principal Merchants petitioned the Queen in a Body to protect and countenance them in a new Traffick: they had learn'd from the *Dutch* the Profit of the *Eaſt-India* Goods, and they had joined to raiſe a Capital ſufficient to undertake the Trade in a Manner ſuited to the Intereſt and Dignity of the Kingdom.

Elizabeth always conſidered the Wealth of her Subjects as her own: ſhe gave them the Protection and Encouragement they requeſted; and much more: ſhe erected them into a Company, under the full Power of a royal Charter, and gave them ample Privileges. They were formed into a Body politick and corporate, and commiſſioned to trade for fifteen Years to *Aſia* and *Africa*, and to *America* to the Streights of *Magellan*, by all Ways and Paſſages then known, or any others that ſhould be diſcovered. They had a Common Seal allowed them, and a Power of making Bye Laws; and altering them at Pleaſure. Twelve Veſſels, ſix larger and ſix ſmaller, they were allowed to ſend yearly to the Eaſt, but with a Proviſion in Caſe of Exigencies of State, both with Reſpect to Ships and Seamen.

Theſe were their Privileges; and they were granted to them by the Charter excluſively: no Subject of *England* might trade to the ſame Places, unleſs by their Permiſſion and Authority.

The Company were obliged, ſix Months after the Return of every Voyage, the firſt excepted, to bring in as much Gold and Silver Coin as they carried out: the Privilege, if found hurtful to the Kingdom, was to be null'd, under the Privy Seal, with certain Conditions after two Years; and, on the contrary, if found as expected profitable, it was to be continued with more Advantages, after the Expiration of the Term.

The Royal Privilege was granted the laſt Day of the Year 1600; and the Company immediately ſettled themſelves to Buſineſs.

They raiſed a Capital of ſeventy-two thouſand Pounds: they ſent out five Ships with every thing that could be uſeful to the Infant Commerce, and with Letters from the Government to the Sovereigns of the Kingdoms where they ſhould touch. Thus commenced that great Article of commercial Hiſtory, the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company.

The five Ships carried four Hundred and fifty Men; and they were furniſhed with Proviſion for twenty Months; and Money and Goods to the Amount of twenty-ſeven Thouſand Pounds. The reſt of the Capital had been expended in the Preparation.

CHAP. V.

The firſt Voyage of the Eaſt-India *Company.*

ON the Thirteenth of *February* 1601, they ſailed from *Woolwich*, under the principal Direction of a Man diſtinguiſhed for his Capacity and Courage, Captain *John Lancaſter*: the Perſon we ſome little Time ſince celebrated for his Exploit at *Fernambuco.*

Nothing particular attended the ſetting out of their Voyage; but on the Twenty-ſecond of *June*, two Degrees North of the Line, they ſaw a *Portugueſe* Ship bound for the ſame Part of the World: they took this Veſſel. When they had paſſed the Line their Crews grew ſickly: the Diſtemper encreaſed; and the Number of the diſabled was at length ſo great, that the Merchants who went as Conductors and Managers of the Voyage, were obliged to perform the Duty of common Sailors, labouring at the Helm, and ſtanding Tempeſts and Thunder.

On the Ninth of *September* they arrived at *Soldania* miſerably reduced in the Number and Condition of their Men. They ſaw themſelves when on ſhore an eaſy Prey to the Natives with whom they propoſed to traffick; and their firſt Care was, to pitch Tents and fortify themſelves in the Spot they had choſen.

The freſh Air did Miracles in reſtoring them; they ſoon became in a Condition to attend to their Buſineſs; and they fell into an Intercourſe with the Natives, of whom they purchaſed Refreſhments, and what elſe the Country afforded.

On the Twenty-ninth of *October* they put to Sea again: they had loſt an hundred and fifty of their Men by this Time, but thoſe who remained were healthy. They doubled the Cape on the Firſt of *November.*

The Twenty-fifth of *December* they anchor'd in the Bay of *Autangil*, and there alſo trafficked freely among the Natives.

On the Sixth of *March* they ſailed again for the *Indies*, and on the Fifth of *June* came to an Anchor in the Road of *Achen.*

CHAP. VI.

The Intercourſe with the Sovereign of Achen.

HERE the *Engliſh* had their firſt Thought of important Buſineſs. 'Twas the deſtin'd Purpoſe of their Voyage to eſtabliſh themſelves in theſe Parts; and the Queen had given them a Letter to the King of *Achen*, offering an Intercourſe of good Offices, her Friendſhip, and the Goods of *Europe* in Exchange for the ſuperfluous Product of his Dominions.

This Letter the Chief in Command ſent with ſix of his principal People to the Court; and, according to the Cuſtom of the Eaſt, accompanied it with a Preſent.

The King received thoſe who brought it with Favour; he deſired that the Principal, of whom they ſpoke, and in whoſe Name they came, would come to his Court. In the mean Time, he gave his Royal Word for the perfect Security of his Ships, and of the Lives and Effects of all the People while they remained in his Dominions.

The Admiral waited on him; he was received with Magnificence, and the next Day the King ſending for him again, delivered into his Hands a Paper, in which he allowed the *Engliſh* free Entry and Trade, Permiſſion to ſettle a Factory, an Exemption from Duties, a Security to their Perſons and Effects, and a Right of diſpoſing of their Effects by Will. He engaged for fair dealing from his Subjects, and promiſed Juſtice in all Diſputes: to theſe Articles he added a Power of Judicature among the *Engliſh*, who ſhould ſettle themſelves there, without Appeal to the Courts of Juſtice of his People; and Liberty to worſhip God according to the Religion of their Country.

While the *Engliſh* were thus eaſy in their Reception, the *Portugueſe* who wiſhed to have the *Eaſt* to themſelves, grew jealous: they bribed the People about the King to defame them, but he ſaw the Purpoſe, and deſpiſed the Artifice: and they laid ſome treacherous Deſigns againſt them, which when he had diſcovered, he gave the *Engliſh* his full Protection, and ſaid, "The *Portugueſe* have taught me to believe of "themſelves all the Ill they have reported of the "*Engliſh.*"

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Concluſion of the Voyage.

THE Year preceding this had not favoured the Growth of Pepper; and the *Portugueſe* took every Method of adding to the Difficulty the *Engliſh* found from this Scarcity, of making up their Cargo.

Captain *Lancaſter* diſpatched the *Suſan*, one of his ſmaller Veſſels to *Priaman*, an hundred and fifty Leagues farther up the Coaſt, where he heard one Veſſel might be loaded with that Commodity; and on the Eleventh of *September* ſailed for the Streights of *Malacca*, to cruiſe in the other Capacity of hoſtile Veſſels on the *Portugueſe*.

The King took under his eſpecial Protection thoſe who were left to maage the Trade; and Captain *Lancaſter*, at the Requeſt of a Commander of a large *Dutch* Ship which lay there, joined him in the Expedition, with an allotted Part of the Plunder.

On the Third of *October* they ſaw a Sail: they knew whom they were to expect in thoſe Seas; and this proved, as they had expected, a large and rich *Portugueſe* Veſſel.

The *Engliſh* ſpread out into a Creſcent, that ſhe ſhould not eſcape them; and when ſhe came nearer cloſed in upon her.

The *Portugueſe* fought bravely againſt all the Odds, but in the End the Ship fell into the Hands of the Enemy: and there was no longer any Fear of their returning without a Loading. This Veſſel, which was of nine hundred Tons, was full.

On the Twenty-fourth of *October* they returned ſafe to the Port of *Achen*. Here they had the Satisfaction to find every Thing in the moſt pleaſing Condition: the King had, according to his Promiſe, made himſelf the Guardian of the Merchants left there, and they had very honourably carried on an advantageous Traffick. Captain *Lancaſter* made his Acknowledgments for theſe Favours, and preſented him with the beſt Spoils of the Prize.

Lancaſter now ordered every Thing on board, and prepar'd to depart: at his Audience of Leave the King preſented him with a Ring, a large Ruby; and commiſſioned him to deliver a Letter to the Queen, with another Ring much finer than his own, and ſome of the beſt Products of his Dominions.

On the Ninth of *November* they ſailed from *Achen*; and *Lancaſter* diſpatching one of the Ships to *England*, went with the other for the Coaſt of *Sumatra*. At *Priaman* they met the *Suſan* loaded with Cloves and Pepper; and ordering her for *England* alſo, they ſailed for the Streights of *Sunda*, and came to an Anchor three Leagues from *Bantam*.

Here they met with the ſame free and favourable Reception they had at *Achen*. The King ſent for *Lancaſter* to Court, gave them his Protection in all Reſpects, and they traded ſucceſsfully.

From thence the Admiral ſent a Pinnace to the *Moluccas*, to begin a Trade there, and ſettle a Factory againſt the Return of the Ships from *England*; and leaving Merchandize for Traffick, and Factors to manage it at *Bantam*, he had his Audience of Leave; and here alſo received Preſents for the Queen, and a Letter of Complement.

On the Twentieth of *February* he ſailed for *England*; and on the Eleventh of *September* 1603, after having ſtaid a Month to refreſh at *Saint Helena*, arrived in the *Downs*.

Thus was the Foundation for the *India* Trade laid happily in one Voyage.

CHAP. VIII.

An Expedition of the Engliſh *to the* Weſt-Indies *in* 1601.

THE Oppoſition which the royal Force had met in its late Attempts upon the *Spaniſh* Settlements, did not diſcourage private Adventurers. What they failed to effect with a very conſiderable Force, a private Subject, Captain *Parker* of *Plymouth*, this Year undertook with only two Ships and a Pinnace: his Pilots Courage and Diſcretion.

This bold *Engliſhman* ſaw, that the ill Succeſs of all the late Enterprizes had been owing to the Knowledge the Enemy obtain'd of their Deſtination. His firſt Care therefore was Secrecy: his Ships could be fitted out without giving Umbrage to *Spain*; and he ſailed toward the latter End of *November* from *Plymouth*.

The Voyage ſet out unluckily, for the Pinnace was loſt off the South Cape.

They ſaved but three of the Men; and taking them on board the *Prudence*, the Admiral's Ship, they ſailed for the *Cape Verd* Iſlands.

At *St. Vincent* they landed an hundred Men, and made themſelves Maſters of the Iſland. They found ſome Plunder in the principal Town, and after carrying that on board burnt it.

After this Succeſs they ſailed to *Cabagua*, in the Pearl Fiſhery, and landed in the Face of a regular Body of Troops, whom the Governor of *Cumana* commanded in Defence of the Place: they beat this little Army, poſſeſſed themſelves of every Thing, and after letting ſome of the Boats go on Ranſom, ſailed for *Cape de la Vela*.

Near this Place they took a *Portugueſe* Ship carrying Negroes to *Carthagena*, and let her go on Ranſom; and after landing at the Iſland *des Baſtimentos*, and taking in ſome Negroes for their Guides, on the Seventh of *February*, at Midnight, entered the River of *Puerto Bello*.

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CHAP. IX.

Puerto Bello *taken by Captain* Parker.

SEcrecy, the Soul of Enterprize, had carried *Parker* into the River at dead Midnight; but unfavourably the Moon, which had from Evening been obſcured under Clouds, burſt forth in her meridian Brightneſs, as they approached the Caſtle of *Saint Philip*.

This diſcloſed at once the *Engliſh* to the Enemy, and the Enemy to them.

The *Spaniards* from their Ramparts ſaw a very numerous Force advancing in great Order; and the *Engliſh* perceived no leſs than thirty Braſs Cannon; and Soldiers enough to manage them.

They kept on undaunted. The Watch hail'd them; and ſome who ſpoke the Language anſwer'd without Confuſion. The Commander of *St. Philip* demanded next who they were? They replied *Spaniards* from *Carthagena*. Anchor, ſays he, there under the Caſtle. They did ſo: and all Suſpicion ceaſed.

When the diſturbed Guard had got to Sleep again, Captain *Parker* man'd his two Boats, and placing himſelf at the Head of the Party, in Number about thirty, left the Pinnaces under the Caſtle, and ſilently got off. The ſmall Town of *Triana* was an Inlet to *Puerto Bello*, and to this he went directly. He landed his thirty Men, and ſet the Town on Fire.

This was his ſole Purpoſe there: it was not worth his while to think of Plunder, when the rich Town of *Puerto Bello* was before him: he enter'd; and marched directly up to the King's Treaſury.

This was expected, and the Soldiers were drawn up there to receive him: they ſtood in a firm Body, and had two Braſs Field Pieces planted before them.

Parker had given his Orders before he ſet off in the Boats: the firing of *Triana* was to be the Signal for the whole Force to follow him; and the King's Treaſury the Place of Rendezvous.

He knew the Courage and Fidelity of his People; and he ſaw the *Spaniſh* Guard encreaſing continually. He determined to make the Attack with his little Company; and the *Spaniards* ſtood to oppoſe him.

The Engagement was bloody: the *Engliſh* fought with their uſual Courage, and the *Spaniards* were inſpired by their Superiority. After a few Minutes came up the reſt; to the Number of an hundred and twenty, and then the Enemy fled.

All now fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. The Money from the Treaſury was ſent on board; the Plunder of the Town was given to the People; and with the reſt, and two Frigates he found in the River, he returned to *England*.

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CHAP. X.

An Expedition of the Government in 1602.

ELizabeth heard with great Satiſfaction the Succeſs and Glory of her Subject's Enterprize. She ſent for Captain *Parker*, and diſtinguiſhed him by Rewards and Favours.

Still it was whiſper'd *Spain* would renew her Attempts on *Ireland*: and there were Diſcontents and Murmurs there, which made it dangerous.

The Queen obſerved her uſual Conduct: ſhe formed a Reſolution of giving them Employment at Home; and having a perfect Senſe of the Diſcretion as well as Courage of Sir *William Monſon*, ſhe joined him with Sir *Richard Leviſon* in the Command of a Squadron of eight Men of War, and ſeveral additional Veſſels, and gave them Orders to act offenſively upon the Coaſt of *Spain*.

Holland engaged to ſend twelve Ships after theſe; and the Queen recommended to the two Commanders, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, Harmony between one another, and Secrecy.

On the Nineteenth of *March*, *Leviſon* ſailed with five of the Ships, and a Meſſage was diſpatched to acquaint the *Hollanders*, that Sir *William Monſon* waited behind with the reſt to join them, and proceed together.

In this Time News arrived, that the Plate Fleet of *Spain* lay off *Tercera*. The Queen ordered Sir *William Monſon* to loſe no Moment in joining

Sir *Richard*, that they might attack this Convoy together.

He ſailed on the Twenty-ſixth of *March*. The Plate Fleet had been indeed at *Tercera*, but the News was too long in coming. They were on their Way to *Spain*; eight and thirty large Veſſels, well provided for their Defence; and in this Strength they met Sir *Richard Leviſon* with his ſmall Force.

He wiſhed for his Colleague and the *Dutch*, that he might conquer; but he knew his Duty, and that he could fight alone.

He made the Attack in the beſt Order poſſible with his five Veſſels; and did all Valour could againſt inſuperable Odds. Had but the whole Force been together, there would have been a Chance of Victory; and had the *Dutch* been joined, according to their Engagement, the whole had fallen into their Hands: a greater Treaſure than was ever taken upon the Sea; and an irreparable Loſs to *Spain*.

All went unfortunately. Sir *Richard*, unable to ſucceed againſt Impoſſibilities, made for the Rock, the Place appointed for their Meeting; and Sir *William Monſon*, having waited there a Fortnight for him, went round to the Southward Cape. Here three of Sir *Richard*'s Ships joined him; and he received Intelligence, at the ſame Time, that five Gallions were ready to ſail for the *Indies* from *St. Lucar*; and that two others had ſailed the Day before.

Sir *William* joining the three Ships to his preſent Force, ſailed for the Latitude where he ſhould moſt likely meet the *Spaniards*.

He ſaw five Veſſels: theſe proved to be *Engliſh*. But the next Evening he gave Chace to a ſingle Ship, a *Spaniard* from the *Indies*: this he took, and with it no ſmall Treaſure; but while he followed this ſingle Ship, the Gallions eſcaped, never afterwards to be overtaken.

Upon the Firſt of *June* the two Commanders joined off the Rock, and they then took two Veſſels of the *Portugueſe*.

A Caravel appeared at the ſame Time; and they brought her up: the Intelligence ſhe gave them was important, that a Carrack of fourteen hundred Tons was juſt arrived at *Coimbra*; and that there were eleven Gallies in the ſame Harbour, three of them *Portugueſe*; the other eight going to cruize upon the *Dutch*. Two *Engliſh* Veſſels, the *Nonpareil* and *Dreadnought*, who lay off that Port, diſpatched the Caravel with this Advice.

An Enemy and a Prize ſo near fired all the Sailors: they were eager to attack, and Sir *Richard*, who received the Intelligence, ſent the Caravel to Sir *William Monſon* to join him inſtantly, and proceed to *St. Ubes*.

At Midnight they made the Cape, and ſoon after ſome random Shot were fired on both Sides.

At Day-break the Commanders view'd the Place, and their own Force; and as nothing could be loſt by a few Hours Delay, they called a Council.

The Attack of the Carrack was the firſt Object of their Attention; but there were ſome who declared this impracticable; the Caſtle and all the Gallies guarding her. This cold Advice was near prevailing, when Sir *William Monſon*, repreſenting to them the Diſappointments that had hitherto croſſed them; the great Expence and Expectation of the Enterprize, and the little yet done to counterbalance one, or to anſwer the other, told them, that it became them to be deſperate: not that he thought the Attempt ſo hazardous as they imagined; but if it was that, it ſhould not be declined. The Spirit with which he ſpoke, his Earneſtneſs to expoſe himſelf to the greateſt Hazard, and the Weight of his Reaſons prevailed; the Remainder of the Day was ſpent in Preparation; and it was determined to attack the Carrack next Morning.

It was agreed, that Sir *Richard* and Sir *William* were to anchor as cloſe as they could come to the Veſſel, and the reſt were to make the beſt Uſe of their Guns.

That Evening Sir *William Monſon*, having all in Order, ſingled himſelf from the Fleet a League, and bade the Gallies Defiance. The two Commanders made a Feint to come out to him; but returned.

The Diſpoſition of the Carrack and the Gallies was very advantageous. The Carrack lay cloſe to the Shore, under a very ſtrong Fort well ſupplied. The Gallies lay flanked with a Neck of the Rock, to the Weſtward of the Road; and they were ſo diſpoſed, that the *Engliſh* could not annoy them, till they came within Reach of all the Cannon from the Fort and Town.

The Gallies thus ſecured and well arm'd with large Guns on their Beak and Prow, promiſed themſelves great Advantages againſt the *Engliſh*: mean Time Boats were paſſing inceſſantly from the Carrack to the Shore, and there appeared a little Army there: they were unloading her, and ſtoring her Treaſure in their Tents. It appear'd difficult to take the Veſſel; and they ſaw ſhe would be in moſt Part ſtrip'd of the Treaſure firſt; but at the leaſt it appeared that they could burn her, and this they reſolved, if they could obtain no farther Advantage.

The Reſolution taken, the ſeveral Poſts were allotted to all the Ships; and, at the Signal, the Town, the Fort, the Carrack and the Gallies, were all attacked in the ſame Moment. The Confuſion helped the *Engliſh*: they fought with their uſual Fury, and with Succeſs: the Admiral led the Way; and the Vice-Admiral threw himſelf into ſuch a Poſition, that both his Broadſides could take Place: theſe he fired inceſſantly, and the Enemy ſtrove only to get out of his Way. Sir *Richard Leviſon* came on board to congratulate him on his Service; he embraced him, and told him, *England* ſhould know the ſignal Courage he had ſhewn that Day.

The ſmall Veſſels the *Engliſh* had taken off the Rock were ordered in to board the Carrack; but they trembled at the Office. Sir *William Monſon* propoſed to board her himſelf; but *Leviſon* would by no Means ſuffer him, after a Day of ſo much Glory, to expoſe himſelf to ſuch needleſs Hazard.

They held a Conſultation, and ſent a Meſſage to the Carrack, ſtopping all Firing till the Anſwer. They were offered honourable Terms if they would yield; if not, no Quarter.

The Commander of the Carrack ſent ſome Gentlemen on board the *Engliſh* Admiral to treat, and ſome *Engliſh* went on board of him.

Sir *William Monſon* followed; and the Terms demanded by the Captain being rejected, Sir *William* propoſed his, which were accepted. The Carrack was ſurrendered to the *Engliſh*; and the *Spaniards* loſt beſides two of their Gallies; and ſeveral of the others were diſabled.

CHAP. XI.

A ſecond Expedition to the Coaſt of Spain.

SIR *William Monſon*, who had ſhared the Command in the preceding Expedition, was commiſſioned alone for this.

He had received News of a Reinforcement ready in the Ports of *England*, and of the *Dutch* Force at length waiting the Service: and returning, he received Command to lie before the *Groyne* till he could learn whether the *Spaniſh* Fleet was deſtined againſt the *Engliſh* Coaſt, or in Defence of their own; and if the latter only were the Caſe, to join the *Dutch* at an appointed Rendezvous, and act at his Diſcretion.

Sir *William* in his Way to the Rock ſent a Caravel to reconnoitre off the Iſland of *Bayonne*; and he received ſwift Intelligence, that ſhe ſaw there the *Spaniſh* Fleet, of four and twenty Sail, waiting his Squadron.

Sir *William* held on his Courſe, and waited the *Hollanders* ſome Time in vain.

On the Twenty-ſixth of *September* a Light was diſcovered in the Night, and Sir *William* chaced; he found in a few Hours he had fallen in with the *Spaniſh* Fleet. In the Morning three of their Veſſels chaced one of the *Engliſh*, ſeparated a little from the reſt; but on the Admiral's throwing himſelf between, they made off with their beſt Sail. Their Admiral made the Signal: they all ſtood in for the Shore, and Night parted them entirely.

On the Twenty-firſt of *October* he chaced a Gallion of the King of *Spain's*. She got under the Caſtle of Cape *St. Vincent*; and Sir *William* attempted her againſt the Fire of their great Guns, but vainly: not by his own Fault, but the Cowardlineſs of the Man at the Helm, who bore up when he was ready to board.

After this the Admiral for ſome Time braved the Coaſt of *Spain*, and took ſome Prizes; but without any farther memorable Incident, returned to *England*.

CHAP. XII.

The Death of Elizabeth.

ENGLAND reſcued from Danger of Enemies, was deſtin'd this Year 1603 to feel a heavier Blow than all they had been able to inflict.

Spain was humbled; *Ireland* reduced to Obedience; and the famous Rebel *Tyrone* Priſoner on his own Submiſſion: every Thing promiſed the moſt full Glory and moſt perfect Felicity to *England*, when the Queen began to feel an univerſal Decay: her Nerves grew feeble, her Limbs faint, and her Voice failed her. The Help of Medicine palliated the Symptoms; but Seventy was not an Age at which to recover from ſuch a State.

On the Twenty-fourth of *March* ſhe died; lamented and honour'd, and never to be named but with Reverence by *Britons*: the Protectreſs of Liberty, and Guardian of Commerce; diſtinguiſhed by her Wiſdom, not leſs than by her Spirit: an Example to ſucceeding Sovereigns.

CHAP. XIII.

The Acceſſion of King James.

THE neareſt Relation to the deceaſed *Elizabeth* was *James* King of *Scotland*. He was the natural Inheritor to the *Engliſh* Crown; his Right was eſtabliſhed by that Act which ſecured the Throne to *Henry* the Seventh and his Heirs, and the late Queen's Will declared her Senſe of this, and her good Wiſhes to *England* under his Government.

The Council who met upon the Death of the Queen declared *James* King of *England*; and he was proclaimed with the uſual Solemnity.

On the Fifth of *April* he left *Scotland*, and arrived on the ſeventh of *May*; and ſending honourable Meſſengers to *Scotland* for his Family, he and the Queen were crown'd upon *St. James's* Day.

England reverenced her deceas'd Sovereign; and it was with Regret they ſaw the new King, whom her dying Breath had named with Favour, and her Will with Honour, treat her Memory diſreſpectfully.

The great Sir *Walter Raleigh* was too loud in her Applauſe to eſcape unnoticed. He was accuſed of a Plot to dethrone the King; try'd for it, and condemn'd to Death.

His Innocence appear'd even to the Voices that condemn'd him; and thoſe who had procured, dared not to execute the Sentence. He was confined twelve Years in the Tower, and there devoted to ſtudy thoſe Talents which had diſtinguiſh'd him in the great World before.

This true *Briton* ſaw what the Nation had to expect; or in better Words, to fear from her new King; and he propoſed, that at his Acceſſion certain Articles might be ſign'd to ſecure the Government.

This *James*, who knew his Purpoſes, and burn'd with Rage to ſee them diſcover'd, held as an unpardonable Crime; and ſought the Life of him who had dared propoſe the Means to obviate them.

A written Evidence of Lord *Cobham*, indicted with him, was all that appear'd againſt him. The Circumſtances were too groſs, and the World acquitted, while the Court condemn'd him.

The *Eaſt India* Company this Year very well ſatisfied with the Returns from their firſt Expedition, encreas'd their Capital; rewarded their Officers; invited Perſons of Abilities to join them; and laid the Foundation of that vaſt Trade they have ſince manag'd with ſo much Prudence and Integrity.

The other trading Companies follow'd their Example, and the *Levant* and the *American* Seas ſwarm'd with Ships of Commerce.

One Thing alone prevented the full Succeſs and Glory of theſe Undertakings: this was the Temper and the Conduct of the new King.

The *Engliſh* had riſen to this Eminence in Trade, as well as Arms, by being free: they ſought to preſerve a Conſtitution which enſured their Liberties, againſt the Arms of abſolute Sovereigns; and they ventured every Thing in Commerce, becauſe they knew the Wealth which it procured was ſecure to them, and to their Children,

This Spirit in the People, the late great Queen, who ſaw the Juſtice of the Thought, and ſaw its Conſequences, ſupported in all its Force: ſhe knew herſelf placed at the Head of a People who had Rights, and ſhe never attempted to infringe them. She held it more glorious to govern a free People than ſo many Slaves, and ſhe found it alſo more profitable.

Theſe were her Sentiments: none ever poſſeſſed them more truly, or acted more uniformly according to their Dictates: it requir'd a great Mind to harbour ſuch, and 'twas not the Diſpoſition of her Succeſſor to obſerve them.

King *James* ſet out upon a Principle of more extenſive Powers: he thought the greateſt Sovereign was he who moſt perfectly commanded; not he who govern'd the moſt diſtinguiſh'd People: the deareſt of all Things to him was the Prerogative, and he held all the Privileges of the People as Uſurpations on the Royal Power.

'Twas more unhappy that he not only thought thus, but took no Care to hide his Sentiments: he ſeem'd to underſtand that the People of *England* could have no Rights or Privileges, but by Conceſſions from the Crown; and that theſe Conceſſions were revocable at Pleaſure.

I ſhall make no Comment on this Conduct; for I write to *Britons*. He who does not paſs his own free Sentence on it, has got the Name by Accident.

CHAP. XIV.

The Conduct of King James *at his Coming to the Crown.*

Elizabeth, dear to her People for her Virtues, became more endear'd by the Conduct of her Succeſſor.

The Writs and Proclamations by which the King call'd his firſt Parliament, directed what kind Perſons ſhould be elected for that Office; and this in the Stile of Command, with Penalties on ſlighting it.

The Place for which they were choſen, and the Repreſentative elected, were both liable in caſe of ſlight Evaſion or Diſreſpect to this Order; the Place to Fines, and the Perſon to Fine and Impriſonment. None could be admitted into the Houſe, but under theſe Regulations, and the Privilege of the Commons to decide the Validity of Elections, never till this Time queſtion'd, ſhook.

During the Sickneſs of *Elizabeth*, a conſiderable Fleet had been equipping for the narrow Seas: her growing Danger engroſs'd all Attention; and this Preparation came to a Stand ſome Weeks; but at her Death the Haſte was doubled: no Time could more require a Naval Force than that of the Acceſſion of a new Sovereign: Sir *Richard Leviſon*, and Sir *William Monſon*, before appointed, had the Command, and the Fleet ſailed from *Queenborough*.

The *French* were ſuſpected to have miſchievous

Deſigns; and Danger was ſuſpected alſo from the *Low Countries*. Theſe Admirals hung continually upon the Coaſts whence it was expected; and frighted them from all their Purpoſes.

King *James* who had expected *France* would queſtion his Right, and *Flanders* annoy his Subjects, was pleaſed to find no Buſtle in the firſt Country, and to ſee the Duke in the other recall the Edict which had forbid Commerce between *Flanders* and *England*. He grew deſirous of a Peace, which ſeemed to court his Acceptance, and declared his Sentiments freely.

He avowed himſelf free from all Animoſity againſt thoſe with whom *Elizabeth* had been at War: and he called in the Fleet. He ſpoke of War with Deteſtation, and promiſed to his People all the Advantages of ſettled Peace.

CHAP. XV.

Voyages to Virginia *in* 1603.

THE uncertain Condition of Affairs abroad turn'd the Minds of our Adventurers toward Plans where they might be ſecure from Accidents of Peace and War: and *Virginia* became a Place of principal Reſort.

The firſt who now undertook the Expedition was Captain *Pring*; he obtained a Licence from Sir *Walter Raleigh*, whoſe dear-bought Right in *Virginia* none preſumed to queſtion; and his Purpoſe was, to diſcover and trade farther Northward than any yet had gone.

Captain *Pring* put himſelf on board a Veſſel of about fifty Tons; and gave the Command of a Bark he took with him to Mr. *Wood*.

They ſailed from *Milford Haven* on the Twelfth of *April*, and were victualled for eight Months. They took with them whatever might ſerve them in a Traffick with the Natives; and paſſing the *Azores*, they continued their Courſe for *Virginia*, where they arrived about the Middle of *June*.

They came into a great Gulf; on the North and South Side of which they found Inhabitants; and anchor'd in about forty-one Degrees at a Place till then un-named, but by them called *Whitſun Bay*.

Here they trafficked with the Natives; and finding a great Quantity of Saſſafras, loaded the Bark firſt, and ſent her off to *England*; and ſoon after the larger Veſſel, which arrived ſafe and ſucceſsful in *October*.

Captain *Pring* had conducted himſelf with great Prudence among the People. He ſaw them greedy and ſuſpicious; and by a well moderated Liberality, and Openneſs of Behaviour, he gave them ſo good an Idea of the *Engliſh*, that they were diſpoſed to all friendly Intercourſe with them.

Soon after the Departure of this prudent Voyager, arrived *Gilbert* in a ſingle Veſſel upon the ſame Coaſt. He had cut Guaiacum at *Mevis* to ſome Value; and he was following the Saſſafras Trade thither: but he had more of the Adventurer, and much leſs of the true and cautious Spirit of the Trader, than the other.

He was deſirous to learn what was become of the laſt Colony left on this Place; and to that Purpoſe he made for *Cheſepeak* Bay.

'Twas fixteen Years ſince the People of whom he went in Search had been placed there; and he wanted all the Conduct needful to have found them.

Himſelf with four Men were rowed to Shore by two others, whom they left in the Boat while they went up the Country in Search of the Place and People.

Near the Shore, and in Sight of the two left in the Boat, they were accoſted by eight *Indians*. 'Twas in their own Choice to turn the Meeting to Friendſhip or Enmity, and they prefer'd the latter; they fired upon theſe People, who running in upon them, deſtroyed them all. The Boat got back with the News, and the Ship ſailed for *England*.

Thus ſtood the Account of *Virginia* at the Cloſe of the Year 1603. The Country was found to produce valuable Articles of Commerce, and the People to be friendly if well treated; but to the rude or raſh, cruel.

More were frighten'd from the Thought of adventuring thither by the Death of *Gilbert*, then were invited by the Succeſs and ſafe Return of *Pring*; and for the preſent the Diſcovery ſlept.

CHAP. XVI.

Voyages to the Eaſt-Indies.

THE Attention of Adventurers thus diverted from *America*, turned on the *Eaſt*; and many talked of Voyages of Diſcovery that Way.

Mean Time a Treaty of Peace and Commerce were ratify'd with *Spain*. The People were diſſatisfied: and as the *Spaniards* were the Gainers by it, the Miniſtry were hardly ſuſpected. *Suffolk*, and other the greateſt Names, were treated on that Occaſion with an indecent Licence; little leſs than has diſtinguiſh'd the Railers of the preſent Time: and it was ſaid the Gold of *Spain* blinded them to the Intereſts of their Country.

A ſtrange Monopoly follow'd this Peace; a Company of Merchants prevail'd (perhaps by the ſame Means that *Spain* had got her Peace) upon the Adminiſtration, to grant them an excluſive Privilege of trading thither, and to *Italy*.

Thoſe who allow'd this forgot the Nature of ſuch Grants. Here was no Capital rais'd on an uncertain Project, and hazarded in its Proſecution; nothing new to be obtain'd for the Kingdom: only Men had the Raſhneſs to aſk, and probably the Wickedneſs to buy, an Advantage to themſelves, at the Expence of their Countrymen.

The Impropriety of this Meaſure was repreſented ſo ſtrongly, that it was revok'd next Seſſion of Parliament; and the Money, ſquander'd among thoſe who promoted it, was loſt, as it ought to be.

This Year, 1604, the *Eaſt-India* Company committed the Command of a conſiderable Fleet, and Care of a vaſt Stock for the *Eaſt-Indies*, to Sir *Henry Middleton*. He ſail'd from *Graveſend* on the ſecond of *April*, and arriv'd the *December* following, with all his Ships, at *Bantam*.

Sir *Henry* was honour'd with a Letter and Preſents from the Government to the King; and, after a gracious Reception at his Court, refreſh'd his Men, and ſent his ſeveral Veſſels to the deſtin'd Ports, where they might get their Loadings.

In a little more than two Years Sir *Henry* return'd ſucceſsful, except for the Loſs of one of the Veſſels, which it was ſuppos'd founder'd at Sea; for none ever receiv'd News of her afterwards.

The *Dutch* envy'd this Trade to *England*, and ſpar'd no Bribes nor Fraud to diſpoſſeſs our People; but they yet found it impracticable.

The Sovereign of *Bantam*, a Perſon of Candour and Integrity, related to Sir *Henry Middleton* what ill Things had been told him of his Countrymen; but added, delivering him at the ſame Time a Letter and Preſents to King *James*, "Tell "my Brother of *England*, I will believe no Ill of "his People, till I find it in their Actions."

The Company found their Intereſt ſtrengthned in the *Eaſt*, and their Trade encreaſing; but the Voyage prov'd deſtructive to the Sailors: the Number that had dy'd on board theſe Ships was terrible; and yet no Way was found of preventing the Miſchief.

A few Months after Sir *Henry Middleton*, ſail'd for the ſame Place Captain *John Davies*. He had a Veſſel of two hundred Tons, and a Pinnace: to his Conduct the Voyage was committed, but the Proprietor, Sir *Edward Michelbourn*, went himſelf on board, to act in Caſes of Importance.

There was an immediate Occaſion for it, on his reaching the Deſtination of his Voyage, which was at *Bantam*. He found the *Dutch* in Poſſeſſion of the Road; and when the Factors of the *Engliſh* Company came off to him in Boats, they told him theſe People had continued to inſinuate Calumnies of every Kind into the Ears of the King; and had declared no *Engliſh* Veſſel ſhould come into the Road again.

Sir *Edward* now took the Command upon himſelf, and ſhew'd, that tho' a Merchant, he would have done Honour to the Office of an Admiral. He ſaw the vaſt Ships of the *Dutch* ſpread purpoſely over the Sea, to prevent his Entrance; and he order'd Captain *Davies* to weigh Anchor and bear in among them.

He ſent his Boat before to demand Room, and commiſſion'd the Officer who went in her, to tell them, "He would ride cloſe to the proudeſt of them: and if they dar'd to inſult his Country, by pointing one Gun at him, he would ſink the Veſſel that did it, tho' he ſunk with her."

The People of *Bantam*, as well as the *Engliſh* Factors, were Witneſſes of this, and they expected a dreadful Iſſue; but the *Dutch*, by their Meanneſs, prevented Miſchief: they gave Sir *Edward* Way; and by many Meſſages attempted to palliate their intended Inſolence. To theſe he return'd no Anſwer; but aw'd them all the Time he ſtay'd, ſo thoroughly, that they ſcarce dar'd appear out of their Veſſels.

The King of *Bantam* heard of this; and it confirm'd him in his good Opinion of the *Engliſh*. The Relaters of theſe Voyages record Things of this Prince that would have honour'd *Greeks* or *Romans*. Their Talent is not Invention of this Kind, therefore they may be credited. They ſay he obſerv'd on this Occaſion, that probably all the *Dutch* had ſaid was falſe, and all the *Engliſh* true; for that Truth dwelt with Courage.

CHAP. XVII.

An Engagement with ſome Japoneſe.

'TWAS well Sir *Edward Michelbourn* poſſeſs'd the Qualities of military as well as peaceful Life; for no Merchant had ever more Occaſion to diſplay them. The *Dutch* he had aw'd thoroughly, and he had been honour'd for it as he deſerv'd at *Bantam*; but there remain'd for him a harder Tryal.

He ſail'd; and on the Twenty-ſeventh of *December*, off *Panbange*, he ſaw a Junk or Veſſel of the *Japoneſe*, full of Perſons, whoſe Habits ſpoke them of Diſtinction. He came near them, and, by his Interpreter, aſk'd them if they were in Want of any thing his Ship could ſupply. They return'd an obliging Anſwer, and ſent him ſome very valuable Preſents. Theſe were accepted with Civility, and ſomething equivalent return'd; an

Intercourſe of good Offices followed, ſeveral of the *Japoneſe* came on board Sir *Edward*, and ſeveral of his People viſited them. Himſelf was invited with much Ceremony; but he very rationally anſwered, that he could not quit his Ship.

The Morning after, ſeveral of their People were at Breakfaſt with Sir *Edward*, and near thirty of his People were on board their Junk, when upon a Signal the *Japoneſe* fell upon theſe, and murder'd all but a few who jumped overboard. All this was a concerted Scene.

The *Japoneſe* who were with Sir *Edward* drew their Weapons on the firſt Buſtle, and he found the Junk cloſe at his Side, and the People boarding him.

He ſet an Example which animated the meaneſt Sailor. They fought with as much Fury as the Enemy; and after a great Slaughter drove them off. In this Action Sir *Edward* received two Wounds, one upon the Shoulder, the other in the Breaſt: and Captain *Davis* fell.

The *Japoneſe* were Thieves, though Thieves of Quality. They were a Party of young Men of Note, who had gone out in a ſtout Ship to rob upon the Coaſts of *China* and *Cambaya*: They had loſt their Veſſel, and were returning in this Junk when they met the *Engliſh*; whoſe Civilities had no other Effect upon their barbarous Tempers, than to inſpire them with a Deſign to ſeize their Ship, and murther all on board. This the Courage and Conduct of Sir *Edward* prevented; and the greater Part of them periſhed.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Concluſion of the Voyage.

THE Succeſs in this Engagement raiſed ill Thoughts in the *Engliſh*; and we are ſorry to ſay in the Breaſt even of their brave Commander. From an honourable Merchant, he took up a Reſolution of commencing little better than a Pirate; and had nearly involved in Ruin the *Engliſh* at *Bantam*, who had before been ſo much honoured on his Account.

A Week after this Engagement they received Intelligence that the *Chineſe* Veſſels were put to Sea richly laden for their Country's Commerce: the Commander enquired the Courſe they would moſt naturally follow; and placing himſelf in their Way, met the two firſt, whom he took, and plunder'd of Silk and Silver to a very conſiderable Value.

The News of this reached *Bantam*, and with it an Account that he lay in wait for all the reſt. The King upon this call'd the *Engliſh* Factors before him. He told them, he had thought more honourably of their Countrymen than to ſuppoſe they could have been guilty of Robbery; that this was the worſt Kind, and ſtruck at the Traffick of Nations with whom they had wiſhed to live in Friendſhip: He concluded, that as King of *Bantam* it became him to protect the *Chineſe* in this Voyage. He ordered them to ſend to their Countryman, who was acting thus unworthily; and to tell him their Lives muſt anſwer his Depredations.

The terrify'd Factors ſent this Meſſage: and Sir *Edward*, ſeeing all was at Stake, not only his Countrymen's Lives, but the Trade of the *Engliſh* in that Part of the World, deſiſted from his Intentions.

He returned to *England* in the Month of *July* following very well loaded; and with the Spoils of the two *Chineſe* Veſſels. In this he was wrong: it ſhould have been returned to *Bantam*.

CHAP. XIX.

A Voyage this Year to Guiana.

WE have informed the Reader of the univerſal Opinion that prevailed toward the End of the preceding Century, that there were Gold Mines in *Guiana*, and of the Enterprizes thither, the firſt of which ſeemed greatly to countenance that Opinion.

In this Year 1604, Captain *Leigh*, a younger Brother of a good Family, undertook a Voyage thither.

The Expedition was at the Expence of his elder Brother Sir *Olave Leigh*; and he failed from *Woolwich* in the Beginning of *April* in a ſingle Veſſel, for diſcovering valuable Lands, and for poſſeſſing what he ſhould diſcover. He took People for a Colony, and he determined to ſtay among them.

On the Twentieth of *May* they reached the Town of *Wiapoco*, upon the Coaſt of *Guiana*. He landed, and he fell into an immediate and friendly Intercourſe with the People. They agreed to allow him in the Neighbourhood a good Space of Ground, and ſome Houſes for the preſent; and he in Return was to aſſiſt them againſt the *Caribees*, their inveterate Enemies.

All now promiſed fairly; the People meant what they propoſed, and were ſenſible they ſhould be Gainers by the Exchange of ſuch Friends for deſperate Enemies.

The *Engliſh* on their Part prepared for a Settlement: the Place was on a pleaſant Slope of a Hill, to the Weſt of the River's Mouth, and the People gave Hoſtages of their Fidelity.

Captain *Leigh* ſeated himſelf quietly with his People; and their Name frighted the *Caribbees* from more Attempts. But when all began to proſper moſt, the *Engliſh* grew diſcontented, they mutinied againſt their Commander, and he was reduced to make himſelf their Servant, not their Maſter, to live upon any Terms with them.

He traded with the Natives, and continued upon the beſt Terms with them. The ſucceeding Year he ſent back his Ship for more Men, and Neceſſaries; and ſhe returned in Time, and the Merchandize ſhe brought was very acceptable to the Natives.

The People grew contented: and the *Engliſh* found a very profitable Trade growing up in Woods for Dying, Wax, Drugs, precious Stones, and many other Commodities.

The Year ſucceeding a Flux carried off Captain *Leigh*; and all the Project drop'd. The People immediately talked of returning to *England*; and 'twas in vain the Natives would have ſtay'd them. They were Sheep without a Shepherd; and they got back as well as they could; ſome in their own, others in *Dutch*, and ſome in *French* Veſſels.

So perfectly may the Fate of an important Expedition depend upon the Life of one Man.

CHAP. XX.

Conſequences of the Peace with Spain.

ENGLAND ſoon found that *Spain* was no more capable of laſting Friendſhip, than of hurtful Enmity. The Peace King *James* had ſo formally made, ſerved only to tie up the Hands of his Subjects, who now ſtood as Marks for an inveterate Enemy to ſhoot at, while they dared not vindicate their Rights.

Thus it fared every where upon the Seas: the Merchant Ships of *England*, who under Sanction of the Peace went out unarmed, were attacked wherever they were met by the *Spaniards*, whoſe Veſſels were all ſent out, as in a Time of War, with ſupernumerary Men and Arms.

Our People complained, but none liſtened: the Government ſpoke, and the Anſwer of *Spain* was, that ſhe knew nothing of it; that theſe were the Acts of private Subjects, not authoriſed by the Government; and that they ſhould be puniſhed wheresoever they were found: with ſuch paltry Excuſes it was expected the *Engliſh* were to be content: but whether they were or not, the Depredations continued.

While this was paſſing on the Seas, there was diſcovered at Home the moſt fooliſh, as well as wicked Plot, that ever diſgraced Bigotry. A few Perſons undertook to deſtroy at once the King and his Family, the Lords and Commons. What they propoſed to themſelves if they had ſucceeded, does not well appear; and the Circumſtances are ſo wild and unreaſonable, that it is ſcarce to be conceived Men with the common Share uf Underſtanding, could ſuppoſe there was a Poſſibility they ſhould.

The famous Powder Plot is what we ſpeak of. This Year was its Æra, and it was diſcovered as oddly as contrived.

Fawkes, who was found upon the Spot, prepar'd for all the Miſchief, defy'd the Accuſation; but at the Sight of the Rack his Courage failed him: he confeſſed the whole, and betrayed his Accomplices.

Several Perſons were executed on this Occaſion: the Lords *Mordaunt* and *Stourton* were fined ten thouſand and four thouſand Pounds, becauſe being abſent from the Parliament, they were ſuppoſed to know of the Plot.

Theſe were Star-Chamber Proceedings — The Virtuous ſhook their Heads, and thought on *Raleigh*.

CHAP. XXI.

A Voyage to Virginia.

THE Products of *Virginia* began to appear every Day in a more deſirable Light to the mercantile World; and the Nobility of thoſe Times thinking it an Honour to encourage their Country's Commerce, engaged in Expeditions with no other Purpoſe.

The Earl of *Southampton* and the Lord *Arundel*, in 1605, fitted out a Ship for the *Virginia* Trade, the *Archangel*, and ſetting Sail the laſt Day of *March*, ſhe reached, after ſome rough Weather, an Iſland on the Coaſt the Sixteenth of *May*.

This was what we now know under the Name of *Long Iſland*. They fell in with the *Eaſtern* Coaſt of it, and found it well ſupplied with Wood, Water, and wild Proviſion. Near this they ſaw many Iſlands of leſs Size, and examining their Products, found ſome Woods for dying, Barks for the Service of Medicine, and Pearls, not in the proper Pearl Shell, but in large Muſcles.

They took Note of the Places where theſe ſeveral Articles were produced, and then purſued their Voyage.

Toward the Middle of *June* they arrived in a fine Harbour, to which they gave the Name of *Pentecoſt*; and here anchoring for ſome Time, they invited the Natives to traffick.

Theſe People came off readily in their Canoes, and gave them in Exchange for Trifles, Furs and other Products of their Country. They were very well pleaſed with the Bargain if they gave to the Amount of Forty Shillings for what in *England* had coſt Eight Pence. Knives and other Iron Ware were what they moſt readily took in Exchange for their beſt Products.

In the Courſe of this Voyage was firſt diſcovered to *Europe* the *Connecticut* River. The People were ſo charmed with the Country on its Banks, with the Behaviour of the Natives, and with the vaſt Profits that offered from Trade with them, that they would willingly have ſettled themſelves there as a Colony: but this their Commander did not permit: it was not the Purpoſe of the Voyage.

When he had finiſhed the Time of his Stay, he returned to *England*, where his noble Proprietors delivered to the Merchants the accurate Remarks they had made, and deſired them to reap the Fruit of their Diſcoveries. The Cargo the Veſſel brought home paid the whole Expence; and the Noblemen ſaw how eaſy it was to promote their Country's Commerce; and how ſafe, if the Command were given to an experienced Perſon.

Colonies were propoſed at the Return of this Veſſel for the Banks of the River whereof they ſpoke, and for many other Places of which they related the Conveniencies: but when it was brought to an Iſſue, thoſe who were to be ſettled there naturally enquired what became of an hundred and fifteen Perſons left near twenty Years before. Alas! none had enquired. No Wretches had ever been ſo devoted. Thoſe who placed them there ſent no Supplies the ſucceeding Years; nor had later Voyagers, though often near the Place of their Settlement, enquired after them. It was enough to have damped the Spirit of Colonies for ever.

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CHAP. XXII.

A Voyage deſigned to Guiana *in* 1605.

THE People who by various Ships returned from the *Guiana* Expedition under Captain *Leigh*, gave ſo favourable an Account of the Place, the People, and their Manner of Living, that all perceived the ſole Cauſe of that Colony's breaking up was the Death of the Chief. Many propoſed to renew the Settlement, and Meaſures were taking for doing it effectually, when the News of Captain *St. John's* Fortune ſtop'd the Preparations.

This Commander had been ſent out from *Woolwich* by Sir *Olive Leigh*, to ſupply and ſupport his Brother; of whoſe Death he had not received Intelligence.

An ignorant Maſter of the Veſſel deſtroyed the very Intent of this Expedition: the Ship ran out of its Courſe, and touching at *Barbadoes*, the whole Purpoſe was then to go to *St. Lucia*, and thence return to *England*.

Arrived at *St. Lucia* they found their Stores exhauſted very far, and no Hope of ſupplying them. The Number was too great to be ſupported upon them home; and Neceſſity planted one Colony. Sixty ſeven of the People choſe to be ſet on ſhore, and the Captain with them: they had Ammunition and Arms; and they found no Want of Food. The Shore every Night afforded Turtles, and the Natives brought them Fowls and other Proviſions, which they gave largely in Exchange for Trifles.

Six Weeks they lived there, without attempting any Diſcovery, but it occurred to them at length, that certain Plates of Metal they ſaw upon the Arms of the Natives were Gold. One of the *Engliſh*, who underſtood Minerals, confirmed this upon more Enquiry; and Captain *St. John* then began to think of more than ſubſiſting till a Return from *England*: he treated the People with more than ordinary Civility, and he by Degrees introduced his Queſtion, whence that Metal came. They told him from a diſtant Mountain, to which they pointed as they ſpoke. And he, determined not to loſe ſo great an Opportunity of enriching himſelf and his Country, put himſelf with a Party of his Men under their Direction, and went for the Place.

The Thirſt of Gold had here its uſual Conſequence: the Natives led this Company into an Ambuſh, where they cut every Man to Pieces.

The reſt ſuſpecting nothing, continued their friendly and commercial Intercourſe: they treated the *Indians*, and were in Return treated by them: one Day a Party were invited, larger than ordinary, from among the *Engliſh*, and, after two Hour's Abſence, one returned cover'd with Wounds, to tell the Fate of the reſt, murthered upon the Way.

The *Engliſh* now gueſs'd what had happened to the other Party, who went in Search of the Gold under their Conduct. They prepared for their Defence, in Caſe of an Attack, but not a Moment too ſoon; for they ſaw the *Indians* advancing in a large Body. They fought bravely, and repulſed them; but with Loſs. After a ſecond Attack, in which their Houſes were reduced to Aſhes, they fled: they made the Shore, and got into a Canoe with a few Days poor Proviſions.

About four of the Company, after various Accidents, reached *England* in a *Spaniſh* Ship; and this Story, added to the Deſertion of the *Virginian* Colony, terrify'd all from the Thought of ſuch Adventures.

While this paſſed in the mercantile World, the Concerns of the Government were not unaffected. The *Dutch*, whom *England* had raiſed from the Title of poor diſtreſſed States, began to aſſume Authority againſt their Guardians. The Reſpect to the *Engliſh* Flag was very ſtrictly demanded at this Period; and thoſe whom we had raiſed from Miſery were the firſt to diſpute it.

The Earl of *Hertford* was ſent upon an Embaſſy to *Bruſſels*; and while he was upon the Sea, a *Dutch* Man of War paſſed by, and refuſed to ſtrike. The Commander of the Veſſel, in which the Embaſſador was, was Sir *William Monſon*; he propoſed to compel the inſolent Beggar to his Duty, but the Embaſſador would not permit.

Sir *William* knew his Duty, and preſſed the Matter no farther then. But returning to *England*, he laid the Affront before the King, and deſired Redreſs in the Name of his Country's Honour.

The peaceful *James* paſſed it over ſlightly, but People talked loudly on the Subject: they obſerved that it was the firſt Inſult from this People; they felt the Indignity as deeply as they had enjoyed the Nation's former Glory. They talked what *Elizabeth* would have done, had any in her Time, and much more had the *Dutch*, preſumed to queſtion her Authority.

CHAP. XXIII.

Engliſh *Colonies ſettled in* 1606.

THE Peace, ſuch as it was that *England* at this Time enjoyed, gave every one an Opportunity to attend to commercial Intereſt; and as heartily as thoſe who ſhould people Colonies dreaded the Thoughts, the Deſigners and Deviſers of them purſued their Schemes.

New-England now became the Subject of much Conſideration. Sir *Francis Drake*, who thirty Years before had touched upon that Coaſt, had given a favourable Account of the Place, the People, and the Products; and had received for the Crown of *England* the Submiſſion of one of the *Indian* Kings.

Captain *Goſnol* after this had made a Stay upon the Coaſt in the Latitude of forty-three, and traded ſucceſsfully with the People. He confirmed the Account of *Drake*.

This eſtabliſhed in the Minds of thoſe who had firſt propoſed it, the ſettling of a Colony there.

It was a joint Concern: *Hanham*, *Gilbert*, *Parker* and *Popham*, are the principal Names concerned. Theſe, in Conjunction with ſeveral others, obtained from the Government a Charter, and were impowered to place a Colony or Colonies any where they pleaſed, between the Latitude of eight and thirty and five and forty.

The firſt Ship ſent out on this Expedition was commanded by Captain *Challons*: he carried the People for a ſmall Colony, with all Neceſſaries; and Directions for planting them. This was unſucceſsful: the Ship fell in with a Number of *Spaniſh* Veſſels, who took her, and carried the People to *Spain*, where they were impriſoned.

The Government, who had granted the Charter, ſaw this without reſenting it: ſaw a People at Peace with us intercept and overthrow the firſt Expedition on this important Subject; and as Hiſtory relates, did not ſo much as complain. Men began to talk of their late Sovereign, and aſked whether Peace in this Reign, or War in the preceeding, were the more honourable or advantageous.

'Twas not the Purpoſe of the Patentees to let ſo ſmall a Number ſettle unaſſiſted. Six Weeks after the Departure of *Challons*, and long before any News of his Misfortune reached *England*, they ſent out another Veſſel to aſſiſt and ſupport him: in this were Proviſions and Men, all Neceſſaries and all Conveniencies for the Colony, and Families to fill the Number.

In this Veſſel Mr. *Hanham*, one of the Proprietors of the Enterprize, himſelf embarked; and, when he had delivered his People and Stores, purpoſed to make Diſcoveries in other Parts within the appointed Limits.

He arrived at the Place appointed for *Challons*; and though he did not find him, planted his little Colony, promiſing them a ſpeedy Supply from *England*.

His Account of the Country encouraged every Body: new Adventurers offered to ſettle there, and new Sums were advanced by Strangers to the Support of the Buſineſs: early the next Year, *Popham* and *Gilbert* carried over in two Ships an hundred Perſons to ſettle there; and Arms and Stores of all Kinds.

Theſe joined the reſt, and the Plantation was ſettled at the Mouth of a navigable River, where they built a ſtrong Fort.

Thus was *New England* poſſeſſed and planted for the *Engliſh* in the Years 1606 and 1607. Every thing promiſed greatly: the Natives were civil, and honeſt; the Profits of the Trade ſeem'd to have the greateſt Promiſe of Advantage; and nothing interrupted the Deſign but the Death of the principal Patentee. This was Sir *John Popham*, at that Time Lord Chief Juſtice: he died in 1607; and all grew diſpirited.

Three Ships were ſent over to them the ſucceeding Year; and in theſe they returned to *England*, inſtead of employing their Cargoes to the purpoſed Advantage.

The News of *Challons* Miſfortune, and ſome Whiſpers concerning the Deſigns of the Authors of it, added their Force to the reſt; and the whole Scheme was perfectly overthrown.

CHAP. XXIV.

Settlements in Virginia.

THE ſtrange and unexpected Defeat of the Patentees Purpoſe in the *New-England* Settlement, did not diſcourage thoſe who were planning a like Colony upon the more ſouthern Parts of *Virginia*.

The *Engliſh* Merchants in general were ſenſible of the Advantages reſulting from the *Virginia* Trade: they knew nothing could ſecure and eſtabliſh them in the Poſſeſſion of theſe, but a Settlement upon the Place; and they obtained a Charter from the Government, raiſed a joint Stock, and ſent out two Veſſels; the Number of Perſons carried over was more than an hundred; and more Care than hitherto was uſed to equip as well as chuſe them properly. There were among them a Clergyman, a Surgeon, ſeveral Maſons and Carpenters, and others of all uſeful Trades.

Captain *Newport* who had the Command of theſe Veſſels took under his Convoy thoſe furniſhed from *Plymouth* with their People, and landed them on the Twenty-ſixth of *April* at *Cheſepeak* Bay at the Southern Cape.

The Colony were no ſooner on ſhore, than they ſet about the moſt needful Employment: they built a Fort, and named it, after the Prince, Fort *Henry*; the River *Sowbatan* they call'd, after the King, *James* River; and, upon a careful Search of the adjacent Country, they fixed the Spot for their abſolute Reſidence on a Peninſula, fifty Miles up the River; where the Soil was excellent, and there appeared all the Advantages of Trade as well as Pleaſure. They laid out the Form of Streets and Buildings; and they called the intended Town, as they had done the River, after the Name of the King, *James* Town.

The narrow Neck of Land, by which the whole Peninſula joined the main Land, was eaſily defended; and it gave them a very advantageous Place for Forts, which they immediately built, for their Defence againſt the Natives; if here, as in other Places, they ſhould give into Treachery.

Nothing could be more advantageous than the Place, nor more promiſing than the Condition of this new Colony; but the People fell into Diſputes among themſelves. The Profit of their Traffick with the *Indians* was very great; and every Man envied the Share of it that fell to his Neighbour.

This however, though it render'd the State of the Colony leſs agreeable, did not interrupt the needful Operations: the Ships were ſent back to *England*, and the People went to plowing and ſowing, building and fortifying; and they traded with the *Indians* beneficially. They did not let their Animoſities interfere in the publick Buſineſs, nor extend them to the People of the Country.

No regular Method of Trade was eſtabliſhed on this Account, but the People tried who ſhould get moſt for his Money. The *Indians* were friendly; but the *Engliſh* were not the leſs upon their Guard; and perhaps that Caution kept them Friends: for it had been obſerved on former Occaſions, that whenever the *Engliſh* truſted the Natives of theſe Countries too far, they betrayed them to their Deſtruction.

While every Thing with Regard to Traffick went well, two Articles employed the Attention of the Colony, the getting Supplies of Proviſion for Winter, and the Return of the Ships from *England*.

Both happened to their Wiſhes; the careful Intercourſe they kept up with the People ſupplied the Proviſion; and at the expected Time one of the Veſſels arrived, and not very long after the other. Theſe brought a Reinforcement; and abundant Supplies of every Kind. The mutual Animoſities of the principal People ſubſided at the Proſpect of Advantage, and the Affairs of the Colony wore a perfectly happy Face.

Here a Proſpect of Advantage did them more Harm than all their Quarrels: they found the Bed of a little Rivulet, that made its Way from the Side of a Mountain, lined with Scales of a golden Colour. They forgot what their good Grandmothers had told them, and thought this Subſtance Gold becauſe it glitter'd.

The Miſchiefs real Gold have brought upon Mankind were never greater than thoſe which grew from this imaginary Treaſure: inſtantly all flew to ſcraping up the ſhining Sand. The Commerce with the *Indians* was deſpiſed; *Peru* and *Mexico* they thought lay there. They forgot all Caution in the Hurry of their Imaginations; and as if Gold could have been eaten, diſregarded the common Concern of Proviſions.

The *Indians*, according to their Nature, kind when in Fear, but when they have Power cruel, fell upon the Town in the Abſence of the Body of the People; they cut the Throats of all they found there, and after plundering every Houſe, ſet the Place on Fire.

The Flames ſeen from that Diſtance, were the firſt Notice of the Event to the gold-hunting *Engliſh*; and it was ſome Time before they diſcover'd the full Extent of their Miſfortune. The People they diſpatched were murthered by the Way, and 'twas on their Return in a Body upon receiving no Tidings, that they ſaw their diſtreſsful Situation.

The Gold was imaginary, for it was only a yellow talcy Sand; but their Miſfortunes who had been collecting it were real. They found themſelves deſtitute of every Thing: their Neglect of their own Concerns had intercepted the Supply from among themſelves; and the *Indians* brought in no more. No longer Friends and Traders, who came with Neceſſaries and Articles of Traffick, they hung about their ruined Town in Parties, armed and ready to deſtroy the Stragglers; and waiting the periſhing of the reſt by Famine.

They were now reduced to feed on ſuch Fruits as they could find, and upon Crabs and Muſcles.

The Dream of Gold being over, they fell in Earneſt to their proper Employments: Neceſſity made them induſtrious, and they ſucceeded. In the Courſe of a few Years they planted three ſmaller Colonies at ſome Diſtance on the River; and from theſe People roſe the firſt *Engliſh* Natives of *Virginia*, as they are called, who taught thoſe ſent from the Mother Country the Management of the Ground, and raiſed the Colony to that Importance it holds at preſent; and which, we hope, it will continue to hold againſt all Oppoſition.

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CHAP. XXV.

The Progreſs of the East-India *Trade.*

THE *Eaſt-India* Company, ſupported by the Royal Authority, and enriched by their Traffick in that Part of the World, were earneſt in the great Article of making Settlements on the moſt advantageous Spots: and the *Dutch* were as earneſt to prevent them.

The third Voyage of the Company was in the Year 1607, under Captain *Keeling*; and had it not been for theſe Enemies, he would have made a Settlement at *Puloway*, where he loaded with Mace and Nutmegs. The *Dutch* gave ſuch ill Reports of the *Engliſh*, and form'd ſuch Cabals againſt them, that no Remonſtrances of Captain *Keeling* could efface them, and he was obliged to give up the Expectation. The Voyage however ſucceeded very happily in other Reſpects, all the Ships returning richly loaded.

The fourth Voyage of the Company was in 1608, and in this they alſo found Diſturbance, but they returned with great Advantage. The *Dutch* oppoſed them greatly at *Achen*, as they had done before, and with as little Succeſs; and they traded after conquering this Difficulty very profitably both there and at *Priaman*.

In this Manner did the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company make its Way through great Difficulties, and againſt all the Oppoſition that an intereſted Treachery could throw in its Way. Every where the People in Power were cool to the *Engliſh*, and every where from the ſame Cauſe.

The Addreſs of thoſe to whom the Company committed the Care of their Affairs, never failed to get at the Reaſon; and that once known, the Miſchief was ſoon remedied. They found the *Dutch* had every where been the Cauſe, and that they had in every Place followed the ſame Practice, repreſenting the *Engliſh* as Thieves and Beggars; People ſeated upon a little Iſland, whoſe Situation render'd it not eaſily acceſſible; and who there lived upon the Plunder of their Neighbours, got by Piracy.

With what Aſtoniſhment did theſe remote People hear, in Anſwer to this, from *Keeling*, and from all the reſt, Commanders and private Men, one uniform Story, that *England* was a large and powerful Kingdom, Sovereign of the Seas, and the firſt in Commerce as well as Arms; and with what Deteſtation did their honeſt Hearts think of the *Dutch*, who had ſo impoſed upon them, when in the End they were aſſured that theſe very Perſons, owed their Exiſtence as a People to thoſe whom they traduced.

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CHAP. XXVI.

Farther Reſearches in Queſt of a North-Eaſt Paſſage.

THE Succeſs of the *Eaſt-India* Trade raiſed up again, in the Year 1607, that Spirit of Diſcovery, which had puſhed ſo many Adventurers North into impenetrable Ice, in Search of a Paſſage to that Part of the World. The Company form'd many Projects, and private Adventurers were full of the ſame Thought.

Mr. *Hudſon*, a Name ſince celebrated and perpetuated by the Voyage, offered himſelf to undertake any Thing upon this Plan; and on the

Firſt of *May* failed with a ſingle Ship from *Graveſend*.

On the Twenty-ſeventh of *June* they made *Greenland*, and keeping at about four Leagues from the Shore, which was covered with Mountains of Ice, they paſſed in a ſmooth Sea, without Ground, at an hundred Fathom.

On the Fourteenth of *July* they came into the Bay, now known by his Name: and on the Fifteenth they ſaw the high Land of *Greenland*; and the northern Part of the Land they perceived ſtretch'd into eighty-one Degrees. They purſued their Courſe to eighty-two Degrees; and Ice preventing their farther Courſe, though they ſaw Land ſtill far to the Northward, and thought it extended much farther yet beyond their View, they returned to *England*.

This was a Voyage of little Expence; for the Company of the Ship did not amount to twelve Perſons; and the Owners were ſatisfied with his Account of the Country.

It is ſaid a *Dane*, ſome Years before, diſcovered this Streight and Bay; and called it after the Name of his King, *Chriſtiana*: however that be, the Knowledge we have of it we owe to *Hudſon*, and it is worthily called after him.

The next Year his Proprietors fitted him out a larger Veſſel with more Hands; and he ſailed on the Twenty-ſecond of *April* in Search again of a North-Eaſt Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*. In this he failed as before: but Navigation was improved by theſe Voyages, even when they were leaſt ſucceſsful, with Regard to the firſt Purpoſe.

The Year ſucceeding he made a third Voyage, at the Expence of the ſame Proprietors, and for the ſame Service, but with no better Succeſs. However, as he was a bold Adventurer, and a Man of Knowledge, his ſeveral Voyages very well anſwered their Expence to the publick, if not to private Perſons; for he diſcovered new Lands, and laid the Foundation of a Trade ſince very conſiderable.

CHAP. XXVII.

Behaviour of the Dutch *to the* Engliſh.

OUR ungrateful Neighbours the *Dutch*, while they were injuring us in our foreign Trade, had now the Inſolence to attempt alſo our Property at Home.

They fiſhed upon our Seas for Herrings, with which they ſupply'd all *Europe* to their vaſt Profit; and not only had the Inſolence to brave us cloſe upon our Coaſts, but inſulted our People who followed the ſame Buſineſs. They pretended that the Sea was open to all Men wherefoever it flowed; and that they had as much Right as ourſelves to fiſh upon the Shores of our whole Iſland. This was eſteem'd then a Point of vaſt Importance, and is worthy to be always held ſo.

At this Time there are thoſe who pretend the ſame unnatural and fooliſh Plea; but the Cuſtoms of all Nations, and the Laws of many, have aſcertain'd the Right of thoſe Seas which flow about their Shores to belong to themſelves; and Nature and Reaſon perfectly confirm it.

To us who inhabit an Iſland, and whoſe Wall and Barrier is the Sea, it is of the utmoſt Conſequence: and nothing is ſo plain, whatever the Cowardice of ſome, and intereſted Views of others, may pretend, as that the Sea in general owns a natural Sovereignty to that People who are moſt powerful upon it; and that the particular Part of it which ſurrounds this Iſland, is as much a Portion of the Dominions of the King, as the Land on which it breaks; an inſeperable and perpetual Appendage of the Crown of *England*.

All Nations who have poſſeſs'd a Naval Strength have ſeen it in this Light; and have aſſerted an abſolute, though perhaps diſputed Claim to the whole, in conſequence of their Strength; and a certain and indiſputable one, as their Right to that Part with which their Country had Connection.

Pompey being Maſter of a powerful Navy, had Commiſſion given him from the Senate, as Lord of the Sea. The ſame had *Mark Anthony* ſome few Years after him. And many of the *Roman* Hiſtorians have called the Sea, their Sea; becauſe it was then ſubdued to the *Roman* Power.

The *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Rhodians* and *Phœnicians*, beſide many other Eaſtern Nations, one after another, were long Lords of the Sea: and held it as an undiſputed Property.

Quintus Curtius affirms, that the City of *Tyre* built by *Agenor*, made not only the neighbouring Sea, but what Seas ſoever her Ships reach'd, own her Dominion.

There was an ancient Cuſtom uſed in the Eaſt, that when Kings had a Deſign to bring any Nation under their Power, they commanded Water, and Earth, the Pledges of Empire and Dominion, to be delivered to them; conceiving that the Command of the Sea, as well as the Land, was ſignified by ſuch a Token.

The ſame may be affirmed of the Weſt: *Polybius* and *Appian* ſay, that the *Carthaginians* enjoyed the Command of the Sea without all Controverſy, as received from their Anceſtors.

If we take a View of later Times, as to the Rights and Cuſtoms of other Nations, which at preſent are in high Reputation, we ſhall find the Caſe the ſame.

The Common-Wealth of *Venice* have enjoyed the Dominion of the *Adriatick* Sea many Ages. The *Tuſcans* to this Day have an abſolute Sovereignty in the *Tyrrhene* Sea, and thoſe of *Genoa* in the *Lyguſtick*; the ſame we may alledge of the *Danes*, the *Swedes*, and the People of *Norway*. And that the Dominion of the Sea is admitted amongſt thoſe Things that are lawful, and received into the Cuſtoms of Nations, is ſo far from Contradiction, that nothing can be found to controul it in the Uſages of our later Times, unleſs it be by ſome, who being Borderers upon the Sea Dominions of others, have wiſh'd to violate the Rights of their Neighbours, under the Pretence of civil Community.

As to the Objection, concerning the Freedom of Commerce and Paſſage, aſſerted to be common to all; it is moſt evident from the Cuſtoms of all Times, that Commerce and free Paſſage has always been ſo limited by Princes in their Territories, that it is either permitted or prohibited, according to the various Concernments of the publick Good. Princes are concerned to be wary and careful, that they admit no ſuch Strangers or Commerce where the Nation may receive any Damage from it. It is commonly provided in Treaties, that it ſhall not be lawful for either Party to ſail into each others Ports, Coaſts or Harbours, with ſuch a Number of Ships, as may give a juſt Occaſion of Fear or Jealouſy that Force is intended; except Leave be firſt had of that Party under whoſe Juriſdiction thoſe Places are, or unleſs they be driven thither by Tempeſt, or other Neceſſity; to avoid a greater Force, or the Danger of Shipwreck; and all Civilians affirm, That it is lawful to prohibit any Foreigner from entring the Borders, and alſo to force him out, if he has entered, not only if a War be on foot, but alſo in Time of Peace; that the Privileges, Safety, and Welfare of the Inhabitants may not be endanger'd by Converſation with Strangers.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Propriety of Sea Dominion.

AS to the Objection concerning the Uncertainty of the Sea, which, 'tis alledged, renders it unfit for private Dominion, becauſe it is ever in Motion, and does not remain the ſame.

If we grant that it be ſo fluctuating, as is uſually ſaid of the moſt Northern Seas; yet certainly the Channels, and Places through which they flow, remain always the ſame, although the Waters themſelves ſhift, and change continually.

In the *German* Empire, according to the Civil Law, Rivers are all of them of publick Uſe, yet they are reckoned in the Emperor's private Patrimony, and amongſt the Royalties belonging to his Exchequer; ſo that himſelf, or others by his Grant, have a yearly Revenue out of their Fiſheries. Neither is there any thing more common then an Aſſerting of the private Dominion of Rivers, in the Laws of *France*, *Spain*, *Poland*, and *Venice*; and, in a Word, of all Nations whoſe Cuſtoms are known.

As a Dominion and Propriety of Rivers hath been every where acknowledged, why ſhould it not in the ſame Manner be granted, that there may be Owners of any circumambient Sea whatſoever? Since the always running and flowing Nature of Water can no more hinder a Dominion in the one, than in the other, for the Rivers themſelves are but ſo many little Seas; as the Sea itſelf, as to its fluid Conſtitution, is but a River, the one differing only in Bigneſs from the other.

Thus it hath been taken by the Antients: and in the very Hiſtory of the Creation, all the Gatherings together of the Waters are called Seas. Many Lakes have been called Seas; *Tiberias* by St. *Luke* is called a Lake, but by the other Evangeliſts a Sea. *Aſphaltites* is by *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and others, termed a Lake; but by *Moſes* in the Fourteenth of *Geneſis*, the *Salt Sea*; and by moſt of the late Writers, the *Dead Sea*.

Thoſe who make uſe of theſe frivolous Subtilties, to oppoſe the Dominion of the Sea, deſerve to be turned over to the Philoſophers, *Heraclitus* and *Epicharmus*, who taught that every Thing is ſo continually altered, changed, and renewed, that nothing in this World continues the ſame, as it was in the Inſtant immediately going before. Our Bodies, ſays *Seneca*, are hurried like Rivers; whatſoever you ſee, runs with Time; not one of all thoſe Things that are viſible continues; I even whilſt I ſpeak of theſe Changes, am changed my ſelf.

Let ſuch as dream that the fluid and inconſtant Nature of the Sea diſproves the private Dominion of it, entertain the ſame Opinion throughout; and then they muſt grant alſo, that themſelves are not Owners or Poſſeſſors of any Thing.

As to the Argument, that the Water is open to all, and therefore by Law it muſt lie open at all Times to all Men, it is a very trifling one: there is no Land which did not lie open to all before it came under particular Poſſeſſion.

In many Places Payment is made for the Uſe of Water. Amongſt the *Hollanders*, they have in *Delph-Land* a Cuſtom called *Jus Gruta*, which has ever been under the Care of thoſe Officers, called in *Dutch*, *Pluymgraven*, whereby the Beer-Brewers are obliged to pay them one hundredth Part for the Uſe of the Water.

Some have objected that Saying of *Antonius*, "I am Sovereign of the World, but the Law is "Sovereign of the Sea." The true and genuine Senſe, but they did not underſtand it, is, I am Lord of the World, becauſe I govern the World by my own Law; but the *Rhodian* Law is the Law of the Sea, becauſe by this Law Juſtice is adminiſter'd on the Sea; therefore let this Caſe of *Eudæmon* concerning Navigation be determin'd by the *Rhodian* Law, ſo far as none of our Laws oppoſe it.

No Man, unleſs he will renounce his own Reaſon, will affirm, that any Denial is made of the Dominion of the Sea in that Anſwer, or that the leaſt Tittle can be found in it againſt ſuch Dominion.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the antient Right of the English *to Sovereignty over their own Seas.*

AMongſt all theſe Nations there has been allow'd a private Dominion of the Sea; nor leſs among ourſelves: the antient *Britons* enjoy'd and poſſeſs'd the Sea as Lords of it, before they were ſubjected to the *Roman* Power.

The oldeſt Hiſtory whereto any Credit ought to be given about the Affairs of *Britain*, is not older than the Time of *Julius Cæſar*, the Ages before him being too obſcured with Fables; and at his coming we find many clear Paſſages of the *Britons* Dominion of the Sea flowing about them, as a perpetual Appendage to the Sovereignty of the Iſland.

At that Time they not only uſed the Sea as their own for Navigation and Fiſhing, but they permitted none beſides Merchants to ſail to the Iſland without their Leave; nor any Man to view, or ſound their Sea Coaſts, or their Harbours: and tho' at *Cæſar*'s firſt Arrival, they were terrified at the Sight of his long Ships beaked with Braſs or Iron; and fled to the Shore, and from it to the In-lands, being not ſufficiently provided for ſuch a Sea Fight as was then at hand, and which they never had been acquainted with, yet moſt certain it is that they had Veſſels of their own in which they uſed to coaſt about the neighbouring Seas.

Though mention is made by Writers, that commonly they were framed with Twigs (as the Faſhion then was in other antient Nations) and cover'd with Ox Hides; yet from good ground we have ſhewn they were able to build, and ſet forth Ships of War, of a far more commodious and ſolid Subſtance for the Guarding of the Seas.

We read in *Cæſar*'s Commentaries, that they were ſtrong at Sea, and it is not to be doubted, but that beſides their Twig and Leathern Veſſels, they had a conſiderable Navy which was able at Pleaſure to encounter the Ships of their Neighbours that were beſt arm'd.

The ſouthern Parts of *Great Britain* being invaded by the Emperor *Claudius*, and the *Iſle of Wight* ſurrender'd to him, the *Britiſh* Sea following the Fate of the Iſland, was annex'd with it to the *Roman* Empire.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Sovereignty of the Sea aſſerted by the Saxons, Danes *and* Normans.

FROM the Dominion of the *Britiſh* Sea, as being continually united to the Iſland, or its inſeparable Property, many remarkable Things have appear'd amongſt thoſe who have left to Poſterity the Atchievements of the *Romans*, when they were Maſters of this Iſland: but when the *Roman* Empire was declining, and they had ſcarce Forces enough to guard their own City, the *Britons* about the Year 480 caſt off their Government, and ſettled a Common-wealth after their own liking.

Soon after this the *Saxons* inhabiting the Shore over-againſt them, had a great and greedy Mind to it; and being a People extreamly given to Piracy, the *Romans* were accuſtom'd to appoint an Officer to drive them off, called the Count of the *Saxon* Shore throughout *Britain*.

Theſe *Saxons*, after ſent for by the *Britons* to aſſiſt them againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, got at length the whole Power into their own Hand. Theſe being arch Pirates, did not only know, but were familiarly acquainted with the Affairs of the Sea, and claimed its abſolute Dominion.

The ſame may be ſaid of the *Danes* and *Normans*, for theſe Names being promiſcuouſly uſed, often ſignify the ſame Nation: and theſe People had ſo great and ſo admirable a Knowledge of the Sea, and Sea Affairs, that by a ſtrict Obſervation of the Tides, and Ebbings of the Water, they were to reckon their Months and Years: they alſo claimed an abſolute Dominion.

In antient Records many Particulars are to be ſeen, which plainly ſhew that both the *Saxons* and *Danes* had an allowed Dominion over the Sea whilſt they reign'd in *Britain*.

Hengiſt being invited into *England* by the Perſwaſions of *Vortigern*, there came preſently afterwards to recruit him *Octa* and *Ebiſſa*. And he then putting Sailors a-board his Ships, charg'd them to guard the Paſſages of the Sea, his Property.

The Word Pirate is uſed; but it was not then taken (as now commonly it is) for Robber or Rover, but for ſuch who being the moſt ſkilful in Sea Affairs, were judged to be the fitteſt Men to encounter with their Enemies.

Amongſt theſe Sovereigns none was more potent than *Edgar*, who poſſeſſing an abſolute Dominion of the *Britiſh* Sea, ſailed round about it every Year, and ſecured it with a conſtant Guard. What Dominion he had, as abſolute Lord of the Sea, appears in theſe memorable Words:

"I, *Edgar*, King of *England*, and of all the "Kings of the Iſlands; and of the Ocean lying "round about *Britain*, and of all the Nations "that are included within the Circuit thereof, "ſupreme Lord and Governor, do render my "Thanks to Almighty GOD My KING, who "hath enlarged my Empire, and exalted it above "the Royal Eſtate of my Progenitors, who although they arrived to the Monarchy of all "*England* ever ſince *Athelſtan*, yet the divine "Goodneſs hath favour'd me to ſubdue all the "Kingdoms of the Iſlands in the Ocean, with "their moſt ſtrong and mighty Kings, even as "far as *Norway*, and the greateſt Part of *Ireland*, together with their moſt famous City of "*Dublin*."

After him *Canute* left his Teſtimony, whereby he moſt expreſly aſſerts the Sea to be a Part of his Dominion; for placing himſelf by the Seaſide in the Time of a High tide upon *Southampton* Shore, he is reported to have made trial of the Obedience of the Sea.

"Thou, O Sea, art under my Dominion, as "the Land alſo which I ſit upon is mine; and "there was never any that diſobey'd my Command without Puniſhment: therefore I order "thee not to aſcend upon my Land, nor do thou "preſume to wet the Feet or Garments of thy "Sovereign."

Though the Event did not anſwer his Expectation, it is plain he openly profeſſed himſelf to be Sovereign of the Seas, as well as of the Land.

From the Teſtimonies of the *Saxons* and *Danes*, we ſhall deſcend to the Government of the *Normans*; where by many clear Proofs we ſhall find; That

The Cuſtody, Government, or Admiralty of the *Engliſh* Sea belong'd to the King; together with the Dominion of the adjacent Iſlands.

That the Leave of Paſſage through this Sea, was granted to Foreigners only upon Requeſt.

That the Liberty of Fiſhing was upon Courteſy allow'd to Foreigners and Neighbours, and Protection given to the Fiſhermen.

And that Laws and Limits were preſcribed to Foreigners; who being in Hoſtility the one with the other, but both in Amity with the *Engliſh*, made Prize of each other on the Sea.

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CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Eſtabliſhment of the Office of Admiral as Guardian of the Seas.

THERE is nothing more clear, than that the Kings of *England* have been accuſtomed to conſtitute Governors, or Commanders, who had a Charge to guard the *Engliſh* Seas, and theſe were called *Cuſtodes Navium*, or *Cuſtodes Maritimi*. Theſe were the Officers that were called *Butſecarli*, as may be learn'd from that Breviary of *England*, called *Doomes Day Book*: in this Number was *Thomas de Moleton*, who is ſtiled Captain and Guardian of the Sea; and alſo *Hugh de Cerquen*.

Afterwards the Title of Guardian, was changed into that of Admiral, as is alledged by *Walſingham*, in the Time of *Edward* the Firſt. We find that in the Time of *Edward* the Third, the principal End of Calling that Parliament, was concerning the Preſervation of Peace, both by Land and Sea; giving us to underſtand, that the Land and Sea together made one entire Body of the Kingdom of *England*. In the Time of *Richard* the Second, *Hugh Calverley* was made Admiral of the Sea, and the univerſal Cuſtody of the Sea was committed by our Kings to the High Admirals of *England*.

That the Dominion of the Seas, is properly in the Power and Juriſdiction of the King, may appear alſo by thoſe Tributes and Cuſtoms that were impoſed and paid for the Guard and Protection of them.

The Tribute called the *Danegeld*, was paid a long Time in *England*, and amounted to Four Shillings upon every Hide of Land: this was for defending of the Dominion by Sea.

Afterwards Subſidies have been demanded of the People in Parliament, upon the ſame Account; and in the Parliament Records of King *Richard* the Second, it is obſervable, that a Tribute was impoſed upon every Ship that paſſed through the *Northern* Admiralty, that is, from the *Thames* along the *Eaſtern* Shore of *England* towards the *North-Eaſt*, for the Maintenance of a Guard for the Seas.

Neither was this impoſed only upon the *Engliſh*, but alſo upon the Ships of Foreigners: Payment was made at the Rate of Six Pence a Ton upon every Veſſel that paſſed by, ſuch Ships only excepted, as brought Merchandize out of *Flanders* into *London*.

If a Veſſel were employed to fiſh for Herrings, it paid the Rate of Six Pence a Week upon every Ton; if for other Kind of Fiſh, ſo much was to be paid every three Weeks, as they who brought Coals to *London* from *Newcaſtle*, paid it three Months; but if a Veſſel were bound Northwards, to *Pruſſia*, *Scone*, *Norway*, or any of the neighbouring Countries, it paid a particular Cuſtom according to the Weight and Proportion of the Freight. If any were unwilling, it was lawful to compel them to pay.

We ſhall add the uſual Form of a Commiſſion, whereby the High Admiral of *England* is inveſted with Authority for the Guard of the Sea.

“ WE give and grant to —— the Office of our “ Great Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, “ and of the Dominions and Iſlands belonging to “ the ſame; alſo of our Town of *Calais* and “ Marches thereof, *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, and “ *Gaſcoign*; and We have made, appointed, and “ ordain'd, and by theſe Preſents We make, “ appoint, and ordain him the ſaid —— our Ad- “ miral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*, and our “ Dominions and Iſles of the ſame, our Town of “ *Calais*, and our Marches thereof, *Normandy*, “ *Gaſcoign*, and *Aquitaine*; as alſo General Go- “ vernor over all our Fleets and Seas of our ſaid “ Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, and our “ Dominions and Iſlands belonging to the ſame: “ and know ye further, that We of our eſpecial “ Grace, and upon certain Knowledge, do give “ and grant to the ſaid — our Great Admiral of “ *England*, and Governor General over our Fleets “ and Seas aforeſaid; all manner of Juriſdictions, “ Authorities, Liberties, Offices, Fees, Profits, “ Duties, Emoluments, Wrecks of the Sea, caſt “ Goods, Regards, Advantages, Commodities, “ Preeminences, and Privileges whatſoever, to the “ ſaid Officer our Great Admiral of *England* and “ *Ireland*, and of the other Places and Dominions “ aforeſaid, in any manner whatſoever belonging “ or appertaining.”

Thus we ſee a continual Poſſeſſion or Dominion of the Kings of *England* by Sea, pointed out in very expreſs Words for a long Series of Years: and we may add to this, that it may be proved by Words plain enough in the Form of the Commiſſions, for the Command of High Admiral of *England*, that the Sea for whoſe Defence he was appointed by the King of *England*, who is Lord and Sovereign of it, was always bounded toward the South by the Shores of *Aquitaine*, *Normandy*, and *Picardy*.

Although thoſe Countries once in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* are now loſt, and have been many Years under the Juriſdiction of the *French*; yet the whole Sea flowing betwixt our *Britiſh* Iſles, and the Provinces over-againſt them, was always by a peculiar Dominion and Right of the King of *England* on thoſe Seas, ſubject unto thoſe whom he put in Command over the *Engliſh* Fleet and Coaſts; ſo that there remain'd neither Place nor Uſe for any other Commanders of that Kind.

As for the Iſlands of *Guernſey*, *Jerſey*, and the reſt; *Selden* affirms, that before a Court of *Delegates* in *France*, in expreſs Terms it has been acknowledged, that the King of *England* hath ever been Lord, not only of this Sea, but alſo of the Iſlands placed therein, *Par raiſon du Royalme d'Angleterre*, upon the Account of the Realm of *England*, or as they were Kings of *England*.

In the Treaty held at *Charters*, when *Edward* the IIId, renounced his Claim to *Normandy*, and ſome other Counties of *France* that border'd upon the Sea, it was added, that no Controverſy ſhould remain touching the Iſlands: but that he ſhould hold all Iſlands whatſoever which he poſſeſs'd at that Time, whether they lay before thoſe Countries that he held there, or others; for Reaſon requir'd this, that he ſhould maintain his Dominion by Sea. And both *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, with the Iſles of *Wight* and *Man*, in ſeveral Treaties held betwixt the Kings of *England* and other Princes, are acknowledged not only to lie near unto the Kingdom of *England*, but to belong unto it.

CHAP. XXXII.

Records and Teſtimonies of the Sovereignty of England *over the adjacent Seas.*

TO give a ſtronger Light to this great Truth, we may from antient Records produce many Teſtimonies that the Kings of *England* have given or deny'd Leave to Foreigners upon Requeſt to paſs through their Seas.

There are innumerable Letters of ſafe Conduct in the Records, eſpecially of *Henry* the Vth and VIth, whereby ſafe Port and Paſſage was uſually granted: and it is worthy of Obſervation, that theſe kind of Letters was uſually ſuperſcribed, and directed by thoſe Kings to their Governors of the Sea; Admirals, Vice Admirals, and Sea Captains.

The Kings of *England* have ſuch an abſolute Dominion in the *Engliſh* Seas, that they have called the Sea itſelf their Admiralty. This we find in a Commiſſion of *Edward* the IIId; the Title whereof is, *De Navibus Arreſtandis & Capiendis*, for the arreſting and ſeizing of Ships: the Form of it runs in theſe Words;

“ The King to our beloved *Thomas de Wenlock*, “ his Serjeant at Arms, and Lieutenant, and to our “ beloved and truſty *Reginald de Cobham*, Ad- “ miral of our Fleet of Ships from the Mouth of “ the River of *Thames*, towards the Weſtern “ Parts, greeting. Be it known unto you, that “ We have appointed you with all the Speed “ that may be uſed by you, and ſuch as ſhall be “ deputed by you; to arreſt and ſeize all Ships, “ Flie-boats, Barks, and Barges of ten Ton burthen

"then or upwards, which may be found in my "Admiralty, (that is, in the Sea, reaching from "the *Thames* Mouth towards the South and Weſt) "and to bring them ſpeedily, well, and ſufficiently arm'd to *Sandwich*, &c. All Officers alſo in "the ſaid Admiralty, are commanded to yield "Obedience and Aſſiſtance upon the ſame Condi-"tion."

Thus the Sea itſelf was underſtood under the Name of the Admiralty.

As a Freedom of Paſſage, ſo a Liberty of Fiſhing have been obtain'd alſo by Petition from the Kings of *England*; we have already mention'd that *Richard* II. impoſed a Tribute upon all Perſons whatſoever that uſed Fiſhing on his Seas.

Henry the Sixth, alſo gave Leave to the *French*, and other Foreigners, ſometimes for a Year, ſometimes but for ſix Months, to fiſh throughout his Seas, provided that the Fiſhing-boats and Buſſes were not above thirty Tons; and if any Foreigners whether *French*, *Dutch* or others, ſhould diſturb or moleſt any of the King's Subjects as they were Fiſhing, they were to loſe the Benefit of their Licenſe.

In the Eaſtern Sea which bounds the Coaſts of *Yorkſhire*, and the neighbouring Counties; it has been an antient Cuſtom for the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders* to obtain Leave of Fiſhing, by petitioning the Governor of *Scarborough* Caſtle.

It is worth while, ſays *Cambden*, to obſerve what an extraordinary Gain the *Hollanders* and the *Zelanders* made by Fiſhing on the *Engliſh* Seas, having firſt obtain'd Leave from the Caſtle of *Scarborough*; for the *Engliſh* have ever granted them Leave to Fiſh; reſerving always the Honour, and the Privilege to themſelves; but thro' a Negligence reſigning the Profit to Strangers. It is almoſt incredible to believe what a vaſt Sum of Money the *Hollanders* then made by this Fiſhing upon our Coaſt.

Mr. *Hitchock*, in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, preſented a Book to the Parliament concerning the Benefit of Fiſhing; in which he ſpecified, that the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders* every Year towards the latter End of Summer, ſent forth four or five Hundred Veſſels called Buſſes, to fiſh for Herrings in our Eaſtern Seas; but that before they fiſh'd they aſk Leave of *Scarborough*: thoſe are his very Words.

Care was now taken alſo by King *James*, that no Foreigner ſhould fiſh on the *Engliſh* or *Iriſh* Seas without Leave firſt obtain'd: and every Year at the leaſt, this Leave was renew'd from the Commiſſioners for that Purpoſe appointed at *London*.

If we do not ſo often meet with theſe Forms of Licenſes, it is becauſe by the Leagues made with the neighbouring Princes, a Licenſe, or Freedom of that kind was often allow'd by both Parties, ſo that as long as the League was in Force, the Sea ſerved as it were a common Field; as well for the Foreigner that was in Amity, as for the King of *England* himſelf, who was the Lord and Owner of it.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the Right of Fiſhing on the Britiſh *Seas in the Time of* Henry *the Fourth.*

A Remarkable Example of Fiſhing in this Nature we find in the Days of King *Henry* the Fourth. An Agreement was made between the Kings of *England* and *France*, that the Subjects of both Kingdoms might freely fiſh throughout that Part of the Sea which is bounded on this Side by the Ports of *Scarborough* and *Southampton*, and on the other Side by the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and the Mouth of the River *Seine*: the Time was alſo limited betwixt Autumn and the Beginning of *January*. And that the *French* might ſecurely enjoy the Benefit of this Agreement, the King of *England* ſent Letters to all his Sea Captains and Commanders.

By this we may plainly ſee, that theſe Limits wholly excluded the *French* from that Part of the Sea which lies towards the Weſt and South Weſt, as alſo that which lies North Eaſt of them; being ſo limited by *Henry* at his own Pleaſure, as Lord and Sovereign of the whole.

There is alſo amongſt the Records of *Edward* the Firſt an Inſcription, *Pro Hominibus Hollandiæ*, &c. For the Men of *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Frieſland*, to have Leave to fiſh near *Jernemuth*, now called *Yarmouth*; the King's Letter for their Protection runs in theſe Words,

"The King to his beloved and truſty *John de* "*Buteterte*, Warden of his Port of *Jernemuth*, "greeting; Foraſmuch as We are certified that "many Men out of the Parts of *Holland*, *Zea-*"*land*, and *Frieſland*, who are in Amity with us, "intend now to come and fiſh in our Seas near "unto *Jernemuth*, We command you that pub-"lick Proclamation be made once or twice every "Week; that no Perſon whatſoever employ'd "abroad in our Service, preſume to cauſe any "Injury, Trouble, Damage, Hinderance, or "Grievance to be done unto them; but rather "when they ſtand in need, that you give them "Advice and Aſſiſtance in ſuch manner, that "they may fiſh and purſue their own Advantage "without any Let or Impediment. In Teſti-"mony whereof We have cauſed theſe our Let-"ters to be made Patents, and to continue in "Force until after the Feaſt of *St. Martin*'s next "enſuing."

The King here grants a Protection to fiſh, and he limits it within the Space of two Months. He alone alſo protected the Fiſhermen upon the *German* Coaſt, nor might they uſe any other kind of Veſſels than what were preſcribed by our Kings.

Upon theſe Accounts all kind of Fiſhing was ſometimes prohibited, and ſometimes admitted: this Reſtriction being added, that they ſhould fiſh only in ſuch Veſſels as were under the Burden of thirty Ton. This appears by the Letters of King *Edward* the Third concerning the Laws of Fiſhing, which were directed to the Governors of ſeveral Ports, and Towns on the Eaſtern Shore. The Words are theſe:

"Foraſmuch as We have given Licenſe to the Fiſhermen of the neighbouring Ports, and to others who ſhall be willing to come unto them for the Benefit of Fiſhing; that they may fiſh, and make their own Advantage with Ships and Boats under the Burden of thirty Tons, any Prohibition or Commands of ours whatſoever to the contrary notwithſtanding, We command you to permit the Fiſhermen of the ſaid Towns, and others who ſhall be willing to come to the ſaid Places for the Benefit of Fiſhing, to fiſh, and make their own Advantage with Ships and Boats under thirty Ton, without any Let or Impediment, any Prohibition or Commands of ours made to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding."

This is evident alſo in the Records of *Edward* the IVth: for he inveſted three Perſons with Naval Power, whoſe Office it was to protect and guard the Fiſhermen upon the Coaſts of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; and the Charges of the Guard were to be defrayed by the Fiſhermen on the ſaid Seas at the Pleaſure of the King of *England*; altho' they had Letters of publick Security and Protection from foreign Princes; neither were any Perſons admitted to a Partnerſhip in this kind of Guard, except thoſe who were appointed by the King of *England*; leaſt by this Means, it might derogate from the *Engliſh* Right, which is a manifeſt Sign and Evidence of their Dominion, and Poſſeſſion of the Place.

This yet more plainly appears by the Laws and Limits uſually ſet by our Kings to ſuch Foreigners as were at Enmity with each other, but in Friendſhip with the *Engliſh*.

They have very often commanded that all Perſons ſhould ceaſe from Hoſtility throughout all the Spaces extended into their Territories by Sea; and they gave the like Privilege for ever throughout the more neighbouring Coaſts, and on the *French* Shore, that all manner of Perſons, though Enemies to one another, ſhould ſecurely ſail to and fro as it were, under the Wings of an Arbitrator, or Moderator of the Sea; and alſo freely ſhould uſe the Sea, according to ſuch Spaces and Limits as they were pleaſed at firſt to appoint.

This is a clear Evidence of Dominion. In the publick Records kept in the Tower of *London*, the Sovereignty of the Sea is expreſly aſſerted, as belonging to the Kings of *England*. We there read that *Edward* the Third in his Commiſſions given to *Geoffery de Say*, Governor or Commander of the Weſtern and Southern Seas; and to *John de Norwich* of the Northern, expreſſed himſelf in theſe following Words:

"We calling to mind that our Progenitors, the Kings of *England*, having before theſe Times been Lords of the *Engliſh* Sea on every Side; yea, and Defenders thereof againſt the Invaſions of Enemies, do ſtrictly require and charge you by the Duty and Allegiance wherein you ſtand bound, that you ſet forth to Sea with the Ships of the Ports, and the other Ships that are ready, and that you arreſt the other Ships under our Command, and that with all Diligence you make ſearch after the Gallies and Ships of War that are abroad againſt Us, and that ſtoutly and manfully you ſet upon them if they ſhall preſume to bend their Courſe towards any Part of our Dominions, or the Coaſts of *Scotland*."

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Senſe of the People of England, *as to their Right in their own Sea.*

IN the Reign of the ſame King, in the preferring certain Bills in Parliament, he is named King, or Sovereign of the Seas, acknowledged by all Nations: The Words in *French* are to this Senſe: "The Nation of the *Engliſh* were ever in Ages paſt renowned for Sea Affairs in all Countries near the Seas, and they had alſo ſo numerous a Navy, that the People of all Countries eſteemed, and called the King of *England* the King or Sovereign of the Sea."

Alſo in the Parliamentary Records of *Henry* the Fifth, the Tenor of a Bill runs after this Manner: "The Commons do pray, that ſeeing our Sovereign Lord the King, and his illuſtrious Progenitors, have ever been Lords of the Sea, and now ſeeing through God's Grace it is ſo come to paſs, that our Lord the King is Lord of the Shores on both Sides of the Sea, ſuch a Tribute may be impoſed upon all Strangers paſſing through the ſaid Sea, for the Benefit and Advantage of our ſaid Lord the King, as may ſeem agreeable to Reaſon, and for the Safeguard of the ſaid Sea."

The Anſwer ſubſcribed to the ſaid Bill, was, *Soit aviſe par le Roy*; for the King at that Time reſided in *France*, being Lord of that Country, as well by Conqueſt, as Inheritance: *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter* was then Preſident of the Parliament, and Lieutenant of *England*; by whom, as the King's Deputy, that Anſwer was given to the Bill; but when the King was preſent in Perſon, *Le Roy s'adviſera*, was the Anſwer from the antient Times, in ſuch Bills as were to be paſſed into Acts.

Neither has the High Court of Parliament only given this Atteſtation to our Kings, as Supream and Sovereign of the Seas; but the Law: *Robert Belknap*, an eminent Judge in the Time of *Richard* the Second, ſays, that the Sea is Subject to the King, as a Part of his Kingdom, or of the Patrimony of the Crown. And it appears by publick Records, containing many Points concerning which the Judges of the Land were to be conſulted for the Good of the Common-Wealth, that the King's Sea Dominion, which they called, *The ancient Superiority of the Sea*, was a Matter out of Queſtion amongſt all Lawyers of that Age, and aſſerted by the Determination and Cuſtoms of the Law of the Land, and by the expreſs Words of the Writs and Forms of the Actions themſelves.

Neither is this Truth confirmed only by our Laws, but by our Coins. There has been a Piece of Gold, very often coined by our Kings, called a *Roſe-Noble*, which was ſtamped on the one Side with a Ship, floating in the Sea, and a King, armed with a Sword and Shield, fitting in the Ship itſelf, as in a Throne, to expreſs a Repreſentation of the *Engliſh* King by Sea. The firſt Author of this was *Edward* the Third, when he guarded his own Seas with a numerous Navy, conſiſting of Eleven Hundred Ships; at which Time, as at others, he marched victoriouſly through *France*.

But 'tis needleſs to produce Teſtimonies at Home from our Records, from our High Courts of Parliament, from our Laws, from our Coins, and from our Hiſtories, to prove this Truth; ſince it is acknowledged even by Foreigners, whom it moſt concerns, by the ſtriking of Sails, according to antient Cuſtom by every Ship of any Foreign Nation whatſoever, if they ſail near the King's Navy, or any Ship belonging to it at Sea. This is done not only in Honour to the *Engliſh* King, but in Acknowledgment of his Sovereignty, and Dominion at Sea.

The Antiquity of this Cuſtom, at leaſt that it hath been in Uſe for many hundred Years, may appear by this following Teſtimony:

"At *Haſtings*, a Town ſituate upon the Shore "of *Suſſex*, it was decreed by King *John*, in the "Second Year of his Reign, with the Aſſent of "his Peers, That if the Governor, or Com"mander of the King's Navy in his Naval Expe"ditions ſhall meet with any Ships whatſoever "by Sea, either laden or empty, that ſhall refuſe "to ſtrike their Sails at the Command of the "King's Governor or Admiral, or his Lieutenant, "but make Reſiſtance againſt any who belong "unto his Fleet, that then they are to be reputed "Enemies, and if they be taken, their Ships and "Goods to be confiſcated, as the Goods of Ene"mies: and that, altho' the Maſters or Owners "of the Ships ſhall alledge afterwards, that the "ſame Ships and Goods do belong to the Friends "and Allies of our Lord the King, yet the Per"ſons who ſhall be found in theſe Ships, are to "be puniſhed with Impriſonment at Diſcretion, "for their Rebellion.

It was accounted Treaſon, ſays *Selden*, If any Ship whatſoever had not acknowledged the Dominion of the King of *England* in his own Sea by ſtriking Sail, and they were not to be protected upon the Account of Amity, who ſhould in any wiſe preſume to do the contrary; Penalties were alſo appointed by the Kings of *England* in the ſame Manner, as if Mention were made concerning a Crime committed in ſome Territory of his Land.

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CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Senſe of other Nations of our Sovereignty over the Seas.

THERE cannot be alledged a more convinceing Argument of the Truth of this great Point, than the Acknowledgment of the Sea Dominion of the King of *England* by our neighbouring Nations.

At the Time of the Treaty between *Edward* the Firſt of *England*, and *Philip the Fair* of *France*, *Reyner Grimbald*, Governor of the *French* Navy, intercepted and ſpoiled, on the *Engliſh* Seas, the Goods of ſeveral Merchants that were going to *Flanders*, as well *Engliſh* as others; and not contented with the Depredation of their Goods, he impriſoned their Perſons, and delivered them up to the Officers of the King of *France*; and in a very inſolent Manner juſtified his Actions in Writing, as done by Authority of the King his Maſter's Commiſſion.

This being alledged to be done to the Damage and Prejudice of the King of *England*, the Prelates, Peers, and the reſt of the Nation, prefer'd a Bill againſt *Reyner Grimbald*, and conducted it by Procurators on the Behalf of the Prelates, Peers, and of the Cities and Towns throughout *England*, and of the whole *Engliſh* Nation, by an Authority of the Eſtates aſſembled in Parliament; with theſe were joined the Procurators of ſeveral Nations bordering upon the Sea throughout *Europe*, viz.

The *Genoeſe*,
The *Catalonians*,
The *Spaniards*,
The *Germans*,
The *Zealanders*,
The *Hollanders*,
The *Frieſlanders*,
The *Danes*,
The *Norwegians*,
The *Hamburghers*, &c.

All theſe inſtituted a Complaint againſt *Reyner Grimbald*, who was Governor of the *French* Navy in the Time of the War of *Philip* King of *France*, and *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*: and all theſe Complainants in their Bill, jointly affirm, "That "the King of *England* and his Predeceſſors have "Time out of Mind, and without Controverſy, "enjoyed the Sovereignty and Dominion of the "*Engliſh* Seas, and the Iſles belonging to the "ſame by Right of their Realm of *England*; that is to ſay, by preſcribing Laws, Statutes, and Prohibitions of Arms, and of Ships otherwiſe furniſhed, than with ſuch Neceſſaries and Commodities as belong to Merchants; and by demanding Security, and affording Protection in all Places where Need ſhould require; and ordering all other Things neceſſary for the Conſervation of Peace, Right, and Equity between all Sorts of People paſſing through that Sea, as well Strangers as others in Subjection to the Crown of *England*. Alſo that they have had, and have the ſovereign Guard thereof, with all manner of Cognizance and Juriſdiction in doing Right and Juſtice, according to the ſaid Laws, Ordinances and Prohibitions, and in all other Matters which may concern the Exerciſe of ſovereign Dominion in the ſaid Places."

This is the Declaration of theſe ſeveral Nations, manifeſtly acknowledging the Sovereignty and Dominion of our Kings over the Seas, and demanding thence Protection for themſelves.

We find alſo an Acknowledgment of the Sea Dominion of the Kings of *England*, made by the *Flemings* themſelves, in the Parliament of *England*, in the Reign of *Edward* the Second: the Records of the Parliament ſpeak it thus.

"In the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of *Edward* the Second, there appeared certain Ambaſſadors of the Earl of *Flanders*, to treat about the Reformation of ſome Injuries they received: and as ſoon as the ſaid Ambaſſadors had been admitted by our Lord the King to treat of the ſaid Injuries, amongſt other Particulars they required, that the ſaid Lord the King would at his own Suit, by Vertue of his Royal Authority, cauſe Enquiry to be made, and do Juſtice about a Depredation by the Subjects of *England* upon the *Engliſh* Seas, taking Wines and other ſorts of Merchandizes belonging to certain Merchants of *Flanders*, towards the Parts of *Cranden* within the Territory and Juriſdiction of the King of *England*; alledging that the ſaid Wines, and other Merchandizes taken from the *Flemings*, were brought within the Realm, and Juriſdiction of the King, and that it belonged to the King to ſee Juſtice done, in Regard that HE IS LORD OF THE SEA, and the aforeſaid Depredation was made upon the ſaid Sea within his Territory, and Juriſdiction."

This we have cited out of the Parliament Records, which may declare an Acknowledgment of the Sea Dominion of our Kings, made at different Times by thoſe Foreign and Neighbour Nations, who were moſt concerned.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Conduct of the Dutch *in* 1609.

AGainſt this Claim of *Britain* to Sovereignty in her own Seas, founded in Nature, eſtabliſhed by Reaſon, and confirmed by the Hiſtory of our own and the Suffrage of all the neighbouring Nations, the *Dutch* now aſſerted a falſe, and even abſurd, Title to equal Right and equal Property with us.

The King would have overlooked the Inſult, but the People exclaim'd: their Voice was too loud, and their Deſires too reaſonable to be rejected or refuſed: and the King, rouſed by the Spirit of his Subjects, publiſhed a Proclamation, prohibiting any Foreigners from fiſhing on the Coaſt: it ran in theſe Words.

"*JAMES*, by the Grace of GOD, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all and ſingular Perſons to whom it may appertain, Greeting. Although we do ſufficiently know by Our Experience in the Office of Regal Dignity (in which, by the Favour of Almighty GOD, We have been placed and exerciſed theſe many Years) as alſo by the Obſervation which We have made of other Chriſtian Princes exemplary Actions, how far the Abſoluteneſs of ſovereign Power extendeth it ſelf, and that in Regard thereof, We need not yield Account to any Perſon under GOD for any Action of Ours, which is lawfully grounded upon that juſt Prerogative: yet ſuch hath ever been, and ſhall be Our Care and Deſire to give Satisfaction to Our Neighbour Princes, and Friends, in any Action which may have the leaſt Relation to their Subjects and Eſtates, that We have thought good (by way of friendly Premonition) to declare unto them, and to whomſoever it may appertain, as followeth.

"Whereas We have been contented ſince Our coming to the Crown, to tolerate an indifferent and promiſcuous kind of Liberty to all Our Friends whatſoever, to fiſh within Our Streams, and upon any of Our Coaſts of *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, and other adjacent Iſlands, ſo far forth as the Permiſſion or Uſe thereof might not redound to the Impeachment of Our Prerogative Royal, nor to the Hurt and Damage of Our loving Subjects, whoſe Preſervation and flouriſhing Eſtate We hold ourſelves principally bound to advance before all worldly Reſpects: ſo finding that Our Continuance therein hath not only given Occaſion of over-great Encroachments upon Our Regalities, or rather queſtioning of Our Right, but hath been a Means of daily Wrongs to Our own People that exerciſe the Trade of Fiſhing, as (either by the Multitude of Strangers which do pre-occupy thoſe Places, or by the Injuries which they receive moſt commonly at their Hands) Our Subjects are conſtrained to abandon their Fiſhing, or at leaſt are become ſo diſcouraged in the ſame, as they hold it better for them, to betake themſelves to ſome

“ other Courſe of Living; whereby not only di-
“ vers of Our Coaſt-Towns are much decayed;
“ but the Number of Mariners daily diminiſhed,
“ which is a Matter of great Conſequence to Our
“ Eſtate, conſidering how much the Strength
“ thereof conſiſteth in the Power of Shipping and
“ Uſe of Navigation; We have thought it now
“ both juſt and neceſſary (in reſpect that We are
“ now by God's Favor lineally and lawfully poſ-
“ ſeſſed, as well of the Iſlands of *Great Britain* as
“ of *Ireland*, and the reſt of the Iſles adjacent) to
“ bethink Ourſelves of good lawful Means to
“ prevent thoſe Inconveniencies, and many others
“ depending upon the ſame. In Conſideration
“ whereof, as We are deſirous that the World
“ may take Notice, that We have no Intention to
“ deny Our Neighbours and Allies, thoſe Fruits
“ and Benefits of Peace and Friendſhip, which
“ may be juſtly expected at Our Hands in Ho-
“ nour and Reaſon, or are afforded by other
“ Princes mutually in the Point of Commerce,
“ and Exchange of thoſe Things which may not
“ prove prejudicial to them; ſo becauſe ſome ſuch
“ convenient Order may be taken in this Matter,
“ as may ſufficiently provide for theſe important
“ Conſiderations which do depend thereupon,
“ We have reſolved firſt to give Notice to all
“ the World, that Our expreſs Pleaſure is, That
“ from the Beginning of the Month of *Auguſt*
“ next coming, no Perſon of what Nation or Qua-
“ lity ſoever, being not Our natural born Subject,
“ be permitted to fiſh upon any of Our Coaſts and
“ Seas of *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, and the reſt of
“ the Iſles adjacent, where moſt uſually heretofore
“ any Fiſhing hath been, until they have orderly
“ demanded and obtained Licenſes from Us, or
“ ſuch Our Commiſſioners, as we have authoriſed
“ in that Behalf, *viz.* at *London* for Our Realms
“ of *England* and *Ireland*, and at *Edenborough* for
“ Our Realm of *Scotland*; which Licenſes Our
“ Intention is, ſhall be yearly demanded, for ſo
“ many Veſſels and Ships, and the Tonnage there-
“ of, as ſhall intend to fiſh for that whole Year,
“ or any Part thereof, upon any of Our Coaſts,
“ and Seas as aforeſaid, upon pain of ſuch Cha-
“ ſtiſement, as ſhall be fit to be inflicted upon
“ ſuch wilful Offenders.

Given at our Palace of Weſtminſter *the 6th Day of* May, *in the* 7th *Year of Our Reign of* Great Britain, *Anno Dom.* 1609.

This, tho' in the Terms it appeared general, was in Reality levell'd only at the *Dutch*. They, according to the Character of their People, inſolent when permitted, and frighted when oppoſed; gave up all Thought of Right on this Proclamation; and obtained by Treaty, and at a certain Price, what they had before claim'd as free by Nature.

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CHAP. XXXVII.

Abuſes in the Navy in 1609, *and of the Merchant Service at the ſame Period.*

THE People who had now found their Way to the Royal Ear, did not ſtop at the Complaint they made againſt the *Dutch*. They found there were vaſt Abuſes in the Management of the Navy: great Sums allowed, and a poor Uſe made of them; brave Commanders unemployed, and Cowards truſted with the higheſt Offices. Frauds, Corruptions, Negligences and Miſdemeanors were as frequent and as open, if not as great and as deſtructive, as at any ſucceeding Time.

This the People took into their Mouths, and thunder'd in the Ears of their Sovereign.

He thanked his Subjects, and prepared to ſee Juſtice done upon the Guilty. A Committee of Enquiry was appointed: the Succeſs was to the utmoſt what could be expected; the Perſons entruſted with the Authority examined ſtrictly into Offences, and diſcharging ſome, and fining others of the Delinquents, they made Way for better Officers, and gave them an Example of what they alſo ſhould expect if they behaved amiſs.

The Royal Navy being thus placed on a better Regulation, became more reſpectable; and with the Power and Credit of this, always grows up the Spirit of Enterprize in private Perſons. Trade flouriſhed from the very Notion that all would be ſcourged, who dared to interrupt it; and the frighted *Dutch* ſtood as Examples to the reſt of *Europe*.

The ſame Year ſaw the *Eaſt-India* Company's ſixth Voyage, under the Conduct of Captain *Middleton*; who found the *Dutch* induſtrious as uſual with every Treachery to undermine the *Engliſh*; and found alſo the Way by plain Truth and Integrity in his Dealings ſo far to get the better of their Artifices, that he brought home full Cargoes from thoſe Places whence they could get nothing.

The Government ſupported this Company to the utmoſt; and this Year granted them a conſiderable Addition to their Privileges.

The ſucceeding Year the Succeſs of the Colonies at *Virginia* inſpired People with a Deſire of ſettling other Places; and *Newfoundland* firſt had an *Engliſh* Colony.

This Part of *America Cabot* had diſcovered, and Sir *Humphry Gilbert* had long after poſſeſſed for the *Engliſh*.

The ill Succeſs of former Adventurers had now ſome Years deterred People from venturing upon a Settlement there: but at this Period a Merchant of *Briſtol*, Mr. *Guy*, earneſtly ſet about the Eſtabliſhing a Colony. He wrote upon the Subject to intereſt the People in Favour of it; and he uſed all his Intereſt, and that of his Friends, to get Perſons to undertake a Settlement.

In 1610 he ſucceeded ſo far as to raiſe a ſufficient Capital, and engage a proper Number of Perſons. The Royal Authority was now all that he wanted; and this upon a proper Application he obtained: King *James* giving a Grant of all the Land from *Cape Bonavista* to *Cape St. Mary*, to the Earl of *Southampton* and others, who accepted the Offer of Mr. *Guy*, appointed the People he had got together for the first Colony, and made him their Governor.

Guy, full of the Expectation of making a vast Fortune, carry'd over his Colony in the latter End of the Year 1610; and landing at *Conception* Harbour, they immediately erected Huts, and settled themselves.

The Natives came about them; and the Governor by every possible Method cultivated a friendly Intercourse with them. He gave them many of the Things they valued most, and exchanged others upon Terms themselves held very advantageous.

The People lived in their Huts at Peace; and they found in these Natives not only the Means of a profitable Commerce, but of a very agreeable Subsistence.

Many of our first Colonies failed from the ill Conduct of those who manag'd them; but this from a very different Cause; the Want of Supplies from *England*.

Four Years Mr. *Guy* remain'd upon the Place; and for a long Time, after his Stores were exhausted, he obtain'd from the Natives Provisions, and even Articles of Traffick upon Promise of Payment in the Things they esteem'd, on the Return of the Vessel from *England*: but none came.

The noble Proprietors were too much employ'd in Affairs of State to mind this distant Colony, and *Guy* was in the Year 1614, obliged to return with all his People on board an *English* Ship, whom the Chance of the Seas and Winds; not any Thought of them, had brought to the Place.

The Natives to the last behaved with an uninterested Friendship; and the Governor did not with more Vehemence reproach those who should have supply'd him, than he praised those honest Savages.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Farther Attempts at Guiana.

THE Gold of *Guiana* glitter'd still in the Imagination of many; for the Credit of the first Importer of it was too great to admit a Doubt of the Truth in his Relation.

A Person of Fortune, Mr. *Harcourt*, in the Year 1610, fitted out three Ships for that Expedition, and embark'd his Person with a considerable Part of his Fortune on the Success.

He arrived in Safety toward the End of *May*, and he found the *Indians* friendly, hospitable, and respectful.

The Name of Sir *Walter Raleigh* was yet so highly honour'd among these People, that they thought all must be honest who came from the same Place.

Mr. *Harcourt* finding them so well affected to his Country, declared at once his Purpose of settling among them; and they consented to it with Joy: covenanting only that, as he was to possess their Land in common with them, he and his People should join with them in the Defence of it against their common Enemies.

The first Question started by Mr. *Harcourt* was, whether there were in reality Gold Mines in their Country: to this they answer'd with Positiveness that there were.

Among his People there were some who pretended to carry him to the Place; but this proved Delusion. However, he was convinced not only by the Words of the People on the Spot, but by the strongest Proofs; that there were Gold Mines there: for they shew'd him Utensils of a mix'd Metal, which the Assayers found to be one third Part Gold; and Ores of that Metal; as also of Silver bedded in the usual Stone.

These they had received from a People who had been far up in the Country; and they honestly acknowledged, that they believed the Mines to be very remote: but that there were such they harbour'd not the least Doubt.

Mr. *Harcourt* shew'd no Discontent, though his People murmur'd: he went himself up the River of *Wiapoco*, and commission'd his Brother to go with another Party up the River of *Arawary*; where he, as well as the other, took Possession of many Places in the usual former Manner, by a Twig of some Tree, and a Turff; in Presence of his own People and the *Indians*.

As soon as Possession was thus taken, an *Indian* was vested in the Right of it, dependant on the King of *Britain*.

Those who had undertaken Discoveries upon the *Arawary* met with great Difficulties, but they carried their Point, and took Possession of the Country in Form.

This was a rational Enterprize, but it was not so successful as the sanguine Hopes of the Projectors had promised them. Though Mr. *Harcourt* kept Possession of the Country three Years, he found it necessary to quit the whole Enterprize at the End of that Time; and the *English* gave up the Hopes, though they saw the Advantage.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, still a State Prisoner, heard all, and formed his own Resolutions. He saw the slight Spirit of these Men; and he used them, at their own Request, to his Purposes. He foresaw the End of his Confinement, and in all these Undertakings which he had countenanced, his great Point was carried on: the People were familiarised to the *English*; and the Government understood the Value of the Country. He knew how to make Use of these good Circumstances; and he was glad the whole fell into Oblivion now, though he resolved to rouse up Men's Attention again, when he should emerge from his Obscurity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Conduct of Sir Henry Middleton *in the* Eaſt.

THE Succeſs of the *Eaſt-India* Company in their Returns encreaſed the Number of every Fleet they ſent; and Sir *Henry Middleton* received in the Year 1610 the Command of a much larger Number of Veſſels than they had ever diſpatched before, and a much larger Commiſſion.

The King countenanced their Undertakings by Letters to the ſeveral Places where they purpoſed Advantage; and the Company, who knew the Cuſtoms of the Eaſt, added very conſiderable Preſents.

The firſt of theſe which their Admiral was commiſſioned to deliver, were at *Mocha*. He preſented them together, to the Baſhaw and Aga, and uſed all his Arts of Perſuaſion to ſet himſelf and his People upon a good Footing with them.

He was received with all Marks of Friendſhip; and he too much depended upon them: though he knew the Avarice of the Eaſtern People, he was to learn their Treachery.

The *Turks* deſired the Admiral to viſit them on Shore, and to bring his Ships into their Harbour. The Winds did not permit the latter, but Sir *Henry* freely went with the principal of his People. They were invited toward Noon to an Entertainment; and as ſoon as they were all together, the *Turks* fell upon them with their Scymitars. They killed ſeveral, made Priſoners of the reſt, and among them of the Admiral, whom they rifled as the meaneſt Robbers, and then threw him and his People into a Dungeon, chained by the Necks together.

When theſe were ſecured, the *Turks* attacked the Ships, but they were repulſed with Loſs; and never repeated the Attempt: the Admiral was threaten'd with Death, if he would not give his Orders for delivering up the Veſſels: but he refuſed.

Six Months he lay in Priſon, threaten'd every Day with Execution; and every Day defying the Terrors of it in Support of his Duty. At length he eſcaped: ſome of his People got out with him, and they regained the Ships. The poor Remainder were devoted to Death; but a Meſſage from the Admiral, now in Poſſeſſion of his Veſſels, ſaved them. He reproached the Aga with his Treachery; and gave him this Alternative, to releaſe the *Engliſh* and pay him Eighteen Thouſand Rials of Plate for the Damages he had ſuſtained, or to ſee the Town and Ships in the Road blaze to the Sky together.

The *Engliſh* were releaſed, and the Sum paid.

Hence they purſued their Courſe for *Smally* Road, and there received Intelligence of another Danger: twenty *Portugueſe* Veſſels lay off the Bar of *Surat* to deny them Entrance, and deſtroy them, if they attempted trading any where in thoſe Parts.

The Admiral called his People together, and told them the Neceſſity of Fighting: they all promiſed to do it willingly, and bearing for the Place where they had Intelligence the Enemy lay, they fell in with them toward the End of *October*. Every Thing was ready on the *Engliſh* Part; and Sir *Henry* placing himſelf foremoſt, bore in cloſe between two of the largeſt Veſſels laid near to intercept him; and without a Word's Notice fired his Broadſide and Small Arms into both.

The *Portugueſe* though they had determined to uſe Force if Threats did not prevail, little expected it ſo early.

They were confounded and aſtoniſh'd; they thought the *Engliſh* much ſtronger than they really were; and the compelled Valour of Sir *Henry* appear'd to them as certain Proof of a long laid Deſign.

The Suddenneſs of the Shock, and their Apprehenſions of a greater, conquer'd them. Only three of their Ships offer'd Reſiſtance, and theſe he never left till he had reduced them to the Condition of Wrecks; and thoroughly ſhattered ſeveral that endeavour'd to come to their Aſſiſtance. One of their Frigates, bolder than became its Strength, he took; and the reſt, after a terrible Loſs, made off.

On Shore the *Portugueſe* oppoſed him again, and his uſual Courage gave them the ſame Retaliation. They ſicken'd at the Thought of quarrelling with the *Engliſh* again; and thoſe who ſaw the Action reverenced our Countrymen.

The Government did not at that Time want the Service of ſuch a Sea Commander; but it would be happy for that Country, who could at all Times take from among her Commercial Children, Heroes, to ſupply the Place of thoſe whom ſome Miſtake in Fortune ſent out with Flags, inſtead of keeping to Accounts and Traffick.

While the People almoſt idolized the *Engliſh* for their Integrity and Courage, thoſe in Power under the Government of the Country, thought and acted otherwiſe. They were commanded to leave the Place; and the Mandate came to them, not in the Character of Merchants, but of Murtherers and Pirates.

Sir *Henry Middleton*, who had ſtood ſo many Dangers, reſolved to face this. He deſired to know the Crimes his People had committed that they were thus treated; and when no Anſwer was return'd, he went in Perſon to the neareſt Officer.

He found him ſurrounded with *Portugueſe* Jeſuits: and he gave up the Conteſt. When he had regularly anſwer'd all that had been objected in his Abſence, theſe deviſed new Scandal to his Face; and he took his Leave, telling the Perſon before whom he ſpoke, that he ſhould always be able to chaſtiſe thoſe of that Country who oppoſed the *Engliſh* by Arms, but none could guard againſt the Falſity of their Churchmen.

He return'd on board, and at the unanimous and preſſing Requeſt of the Factory, took them all off with him.

From this Place the *Engliſh*, full of Fury and Reſentment, purſued their Courſe to *Dabul*. Here they got a Cargo on good Terms, and in their Way they took a large *Portugueſe* Veſſel.

At the End of *March* 1612 they reach'd the *Red Sea* again, and were there ſucceſsful to the utmoſt of their Hope.

The *Turks* who had behaved ſo treacherouſly, were deeply concern'd in the Cargoes of ſeventeen large Veſſels then ſailing for the *Eaſt Indies*, very richly loaded.

They trembled at the Return of the *Engliſh*, and their Fear was not greater than the Occaſion. Sir *Henry* ſeized them all; and when he had taken out what he liked, ſet them to ranſom at a vaſt Price, and gave but two Days Time for the Reſolution: they were in that Time to be redeem'd or fir'd.

Thus ſucceſsfully had this great Commander managed the difficult and dangerous Buſineſs of our *Eaſt India* Company againſt *Dutch*, *Portugueſe* and *Turks*, when he ſicken'd from his great Fatigues; and dy'd, univerſally honour'd and lamented.

Had he lived to bring home the Veſſels, the Return would have been great; but thoſe who ſucceeded in the Command had not his Talents. They trifled away a great deal of Time, and return'd with a poor Account.

CHAP. XL.

Voyages Northward at this Period.

CAptain *Hudſon*, tho' he had not ſucceeded in his Attempts, yet had given perfect Satiſfaction to his Owners in the three Voyages he had made to the North; and they readily liſten'd to him when he now propoſed a fourth, in which he would winter on thoſe cold Coaſts, that he might take the Advantage of the firſt open Seaſon, to purſue the Search of a North Weſt Paſſage.

The Merchants were charm'd with the Propoſal, tho' terrified at its Boldneſs. The Compact was made between him and them, but none elſe let into the Secret. Men could not have been engag'd upon ſuch Terms; and it was determin'd to delude them into it. They were to be taken out with a Pretence of returning before Winter, and the Stay was to be attributed to Accidents and unavoidable Neceſſity.

Proviſions were laid in according to the real Purpoſe of the Voyage; and every Thing beſtowed largely upon it, that could tend to keeping the People content.

On the Seventeenth of *April* he ſailed from *St. Katherines*, and purſued his Courſe with ſo much Knowledge of the Sea, and ſo much Reſolution to accompliſh his Purpoſe, that he reach'd no leſs than a hundred and thirty Leagues farther than any *European* Veſſel had ever been.

Here he diſcloſed his Purpoſe, which till that Hour he had kept unſuſpected in his Breaſt. He repreſented the Impoſſibility of running back ſo long a Paſſage at the Seaſon they were then to experience; and opening the Stores, endeavoured to reconcile them to the hard Condition of wintering where they were, and purſuing their Voyage as ſoon as the Weather ſhould permit: when he doubted not they would compleat the great Buſineſs of their Expedition, which he told them never could be accompliſhed any Way elſe; and reap at their Return the Rewards their Conſtancy had deſerved.

This was a concerted Harangue; and would have had its Effect upon the common People; but there was one Perſon on board who ſaw thro' it: this was Captain *Hudſon*'s Mate, his Name *Ibbot*.

This Man, as his Commander proceeded in his Speech, weighed every Circumſtance; and when he came to the Stores, he ſtood up and told the Men they were trepan'd to their Deſtruction by a raſh and deceitful Commander: that it was plain he had come out under Articles to winter there; and that they having been kidnap'd, had a Right to refuſe their Compliance farther, and to return with the Veſſel, without aſking his Permiſſion who had betrayed them.

All ſeconded this when they underſtood the Proceeding; and, againſt all Remonſtrances, the Courſe was ſet for *England*.

The Oppoſition Captain *Hudſon* made, from Day to Day, coſt him his Life. *Ibbot*, with ſome of the Men, treacherouſly expoſed him to Deſtruction; and the Advantage of the Voyage was nothing more than the having made Diſcoveries, and given Names to Capes and Bays.

The *Muſcovy* Company now took up the Purpoſe; and propoſed Rewards to any who would engage in it.

'Twas in 1610 that *Hudſon* periſh'd; and in the two ſucceeding Years many Attempts were made, but as unſucceſsfully. Captain *Edge* went twice to the Coaſt of *Greenland*; and Captain *Sommers* puſhed far toward the imagin'd North-Weſt Paſſage, but with no better Succeſs than his Predeceſſors.

CHAP. XLI.

The firſt Diſputes of the English *and* French *in* North America.

REcall into your Mind, attentive Reader, the State of the *Engliſh* in *North America*, as we have repreſented it in ſome preceeding Chapters: *Virginia* well ſettled by ſeveral Colonies; and *New-England* deſerted by thoſe who might have continued, at leaſt as advantageouſly, upon their pleaſant and profitable Spot.

What *England* ſaw with Eyes of Careleſsneſs, *France* looked upon in a very different Light. They had grudg'd to the *Engliſh* theſe Poſſeſſions; and had heard ſo much of the Advantages of this *New-England* Spot, that a Colony from that Nation was ſent immediately upon the Notice of our People's Return to *England*.

The People of *Virginia* were the firſt to take the Alarm. They had Men of Senſe and Spirit in the Direction of publick Buſineſs. A Council of all the Inhabitants was called, and the Matter thus propoſed to them: "We are at a Diſtance "from our Mother Country, and muſt prevent "the Dangers to which we might be expoſed by "foreign Neighbours. The Spot upon which "theſe *French* have planted themſelves, is the "Right of the *Engliſh* Crown; for the Departure "of a Colony cannot void Poſſeſſion. We can "defend our ſelves againſt the *Indians*; and we "can profit by their Commerce and Aſſiſtance "while we are alone; but there will remain no "Certainty of one or the other, no Security of "Safety or Advantage, when we have Rivals in "the Commerce. The Fate of *North America* "perhaps depends upon this Moment. We can "expel theſe Strangers from a Country that is "properly our own, while they are weak and "newly come into it; but if once they are eſtabliſhed, they will diſpute our own Ground "with us; and perhaps in another Century attempt to drive us, and all who ſhall ſucceed "us, from our proper Poſſeſſions."

He concluded thus, "While they are unaſſiſted we can drive them off; but to Day they may "for ought we know influence the *Indians* in their "Favour; and to Morrow it may be impoſſible "to diſpoſſeſs them."

Every one felt the Reaſon of this Speech, and it was determined to drive them off immediately.

A Meſſage was diſpatched to acquaint them, that a Colony was on the Seas from *England* for that Spot, which was of Right an Appendage to the *Engliſh* Crown, and never would be given up; that they were appointed to keep Poſſeſſion for thoſe who were expected; and would expel them by Force, treating them as Invaders and Enemies, if they did not reimbark upon this Notice.

The *French* had not come ſo far to be frighted away by a Meſſage. They returned no Anſwer, but inſtantly ſet themſelves to Work to build three Forts, one at *Mount Manſel*, another at *St. Croix*, and a third at *Port Reale*.

The *Virginians*, when they found the *French* obſtinate to ſettle themſelves, and well ſupplied to do it, armed, and committed the Care of the Expedition to Sir *Samuel Argall*.

They march'd immediately; and by that Time they reach'd the Place, found the three Forts in great Forwardneſs, and Cannon ready for planting upon the Works, with a ſufficient Store for Ammunition.

The Expedition of our People in coming upon them was of the utmoſt Conſequence: every thing that follow'd depended upon it. They were not in a Condition of Defence; and they ſubmitted after a ſhort and ſlight Reſiſtance. Sir *Samuel* carried their Ordnance and Military Stores to *Virginia*; and ſent them home with a very indifferent Account.

This was the firſt Diſpute in that Part of the World, with an Enemy who now attempts more than to verify the prophetick Speech of theſe firſt Planters.

CHAP. XLII.

The Behaviour of the English *at* New-England.

THE People of the Country had been Spectators of what paſſed between the *Engliſh* and *French*; and their Knowledge of our People, and the natural Right we poſſeſs'd, made them favour our Cauſe, tho' they did not engage to act on either Part.

The Expulſion of the *French* gave them an Opinion of our Strength and Courage; and the Dealings they had held with the *Virginians* now ſome Years, of our Integrity.

In this fair Light we ſtood with the *Indians*, when upon the News of the Attempt of the *French*, and their Expulſion from the Place, a new Propoſal was made for a Colony to be ſent thither.

Men were ſoon found who accepted the Terms, and a Ship was fitted out under the joint Command of Mr. *Hobſon* and Mr. *Harley*, in which they embarked with a ſufficient Store of Proviſions for their Suſtenance, and Arms for their Defence.

While theſe were on their Paſſage, there appeared upon the Coaſt a ſmall Veſſel of *England*, commanded by Mr. *Hinde*, who had fitted it out at his own Expence, and had laid the Plan of a ſucceſsful Voyage.

This was one of thoſe Men who ſo much regard the Acquiſition of Money, that they neglect the Means. He render'd himſelf hateful to the People of *Virginia*, whom he firſt viſited; and leaving them, he anchor'd off the *New-England* Coaſt, and propoſed trading with the *Indians*.

The Name of an *Engliſhman* was now a ſufficient Recommendation to theſe People: they ſuppoſed it denoted Courage and Integrity. They traded freely, and Mr. *Hinde* might have ſatiſfied himſelf very well with the Profit of the Commerce; but he formed the moſt infamous Deſign of carrying off the Perſons with whom he had that reaſonable Intercourſe.

When he had purchaſed from them all they had to diſpoſe of, he propoſed entertaining all thoſe who had traded with him on board his Ship, by way of taking Leave. The unſuſpecting *Indians* accepted the Invitation; and when they were on board, he locked them under Hatches, and ſet Sail: three leaped out of the Ship, and eſcaped the Fate of the reſt, by ſwimming to Shore; and theſe related the Treachery to their Countrymen.

This Ship was ſcarce gone, when the Veſſel bringing the new Colony appeared in Sight. The People gathered together upon its Approach; and when they found it was from *England*, they determined upon a bloody Revenge.

The Commanders had ſome Notice of this, and ſtood prepared againſt it at all Times. They hoped Things were not ſo bad as they appear'd, but they found nothing could appeaſe the *Indian* Fury. They were attacked with Violence upon the firſt Opportunity that offered of Advantage to the *Indians*; and they loſt ſome, but the reſt with many Wounds, and a conſiderable Deſtruction among the *Indians*, eſcaped. This gave them too true a Senſe of their Condition, to ſuffer any Thoughts of ſettling there; and the Commanders re-embarking every Thing, ſet ſail for *England* with their People.

CHAP. XLIII.

The English *enlarge their Trade to the* Eaſt-Indies.

IN the Year 1611, the *Eaſt India* Company, unacquainted with the Oppoſition thrown in the Way of their laſt Voyage, fitted out a Fleet, and ſent them to the uſual Places, under the Command of Captain *Hippon*; and the ſucceeding Year another, under Captain *Saris*.

Both theſe Commanders found the uſual Difficulties to ſtruggle with, but they had been taught to oppoſe and conquer them.

The *Dutch* every where attempted to undermine their Intereſt; but this they prevented by the Uprightneſs of their Dealings, and by punctual Truth in all they advanced: the *Portugueſe*, who were inclined to ſhew themſelves Enemies of a bolder Kind, they awed by Threats; and they were reduced to the ſame Means in ſome Places, againſt the unfair Dealing of the People themſelves; and in others, to force.

The Death of the King of *Narſinga* reduced Captain *Hippon* to a Neceſſity of this. The Governor who had the *Engliſh* Goods, took Advantage of the Confuſion the Death of the King occaſion'd, and refuſed to pay. Captain *Hippon* demanded them back, and this he alſo deny'd; upon which the *Engliſh* ſeized the Son of the Governor, and detain'd him till the full Sum was paid.

The *Dutch* oppoſed Captain *Saris* every where with the ſame Perfidy; and were every where ſhamed as well as diſappointed in their Hopes, by the Conduct of thoſe whom they labour'd ſo much to miſrepreſent.

This Voyage had a very conſiderable Advantage over the preceding, the eſtabliſhing a Trade for the *Engliſh* with *Japan*.

King *James* gave the Company at all Times his Letters to ſuch foreign Princes as they expected to ſee; and Captain *Saris* preſented them this Voyage in due Form to the Emperor of *Japan*. He had prepared for his Reception by Preſents among the Perſons neareſt the Emperor; and by cultivating a Friendſhip with the Kings of *Firando* and *Goto*.

All contributed to his Succeſs, and it was as great as he could have wiſh'd. The *Engliſh* had Leave to trade; and before *Saris* left the Country, he obtain'd from the Emperor a Grant in favour of them, and a Letter of Compliment to the King.

He return'd in the Autumn of the Year 1614, and brought in a very profitable Cargo, beſide the Privileges of Trade for the future.

CHAP. XLIV.

Further Undertakings of the Engliſh *at this Period.*

THE Death of Captain *Hudſon*, and the Diſappointment of the Proprietors in that Expedition, damp'd the Spirit which had ſeem'd growing up very ſtrongly in the Merchants, of proſecuting the great Diſcovery of a North Weſt Paſſage: but when they fainted in the Purſuit, a greater Power operated.

The Government took the Undertaking under its Protection; and Prince *Henry*, by good Advice, declaring himſelf the Patron of Navigation, ſent upon his own Account a Perſon of Courage and Experience, Sir *Thomas Button*, belonging to the Court, to do what *Hudſon* was not permitted to effect; and wintering there, purſue the important Diſcovery.

No Deluſion was uſed on this Occaſion; but the Security of being well provided, and the propoſed Advance upon the Seamen's Pay, procured a Number who undertook the Voyage.

The Commander executed his Commiſſion faithfully, but not ſucceſsfully.

He paſſed *Hudſon's* Streight, and leaving the Bay to the South, ſailed two hundred Leagues South-Weſt. He had a deep Sea; and he was the Diſcoverer of that Continent ſince call'd *New Wales*.

Here he enter'd the Port, ſince called *Port Nelſon*; and prepared for paſſing the Winter there. The Bay called after this Adventurer's Name *Button's Bay*, he carefully examin'd; and after diſcovering the great Land, called *Swan's Neſt*, he anchor'd in 57 Degrees ten Minutes North Latitude.

Here he paſſed the Winter, and found no Deficience of Proviſion. Beſide what he took with him, the People killed Partridges and other Birds, and Deer and Bears in Abundance: but the Cold was fatal to many of his Crew. With thoſe who ſurvived, he made farther Reſearches after the Seaſon grew mild again, and return'd.

The North became now more and more the Scene of Voyaging. *Gourdon* the ſame Year traded to *Nova Zembla*, and the Town of *Pechora*, where he found a very good Entertainment, and profitable Commerce.

But theſe private Advantages were little to the great Purpoſe they ſerved in acquainting the *Engliſh* with the Navigation of the Northern Seas, whence now roſe the Whale Fiſhery.

CHAP. XLV.

The Eſtabliſhment of the Whale Fiſhery.

THE *Muſcovy* Company, weighing all the Accounts of the northern Navigation, and the great Returns that might be made by a well regulated Whale Fiſhery, in the Year 1611, ſent out two Veſſels, well provided for this Expedition.

On board theſe Veſſels were put Men in greater Number than uſual, that there might be no Want of Hands to manage the Fiſh; and in each there were ſent three *Biſcayans* to conduct the Buſineſs: Perſons who had offered themſelves to the Company for that Service, and came recommended for underſtanding the Buſineſs.

Theſe were the firſt Ships ſent from *England* upon this Employment; and tho' the Expedition in itſelf muſt be ranked amongſt the moſt unfortunate, yet the Whale Fiſhery owed ſolely to it its Origin and Eſtabliſhment.

They caught only one Whale; but the Want of more was owing to their Want of Time; as they had ſet out too late for the Courſe they took. The *Biſcayans* managed this Fiſh to all Advantage, and made from it ſeveral Tons of Oil.

This was what the Company were intent to have done; and had the Veſſels got back in Safety, they would have been very well ſatisfied. The Oil was the firſt ever made in *Greenland*; and the People had, according to their Inſtructions, obſerved the Manner in which theſe *Biſcayans* work'd; and not a Sailor but was Maſter of the Operation.

They found the Seaſon of their Return came on before they could attempt another Fiſh; and they ſailed homeward cheerfully; but they were wreck'd returning; the larger of the two Veſſels periſhed with her Crew; the other was loſt alſo, but ſome of the People eſcaped.

Theſe gave the Account of their Companions Fate; and it was enough that the Buſineſs was underſtood. The Company determined never to loſe the Benefit; and People were eaſily found to undertake the Expedition again with better Fortune.

CHAP. XLVI.

The Planting of the Bermuda *Iſlands.*

THE *Bermudas* Iſlands had been now long known to the *Engliſh*, and longer to the *Spaniards*. That idle People thought no more of them than as the Subject of a titular Honour to one of their Nobles; and our own Adventurers had yet been kept from the Attempt, or farther Thought of them, by more important Projects.

In the Year 1612 the Talk was ſtrongly revived. *May*'s Account of the Country, which we have given in its Place, was yet remembered diſtinctly; and two Years before this Sir *George Sommers*, in Company with Sir *Thomas Gates*, carrying a Supply from *England* for the Colonies in *Virginia*, had the ill Fortune to be wreck'd on theſe Iſlands. A Storm ſeparated the Veſſel in which theſe Gentlemen were, from thoſe which carried the common People; and while the Body arrived ſafely in the deſtin'd Place, theſe the Heads and Conductors of the Expedition, were caſt away upon thoſe Iſlands.

With them were ſeveral of the better Sort, the Artiſans and moſt uſeful Hands for the Colony, their Wives were alſo with them, and the whole Company amounted in a Manner to a little Colony.

They had the good Fortune to eſcape without the Loſs of one Perſon: while their Boat alſo, which had been driven on ſhore where the Ship itſelf ſtood, gave them ſome Hope of getting off.

The Iſlands upon which they were wrecked are numerous, not fewer than five Hundred, in general ſmall; but they had the Fortune to get upon one of the moſt conſiderable of them.

The Leaders called them all together, and gave their Advice, that the Boat ſhould be fitted up in the beſt Manner that could be, with the Fragments of the Ship; and that there ſhould be a ſelect Party diſpatched in this to *Virginia*, thence to bring one of the other Ships to take them thither.

Every Body agreed to this rational Propoſal: the ſeveral Artiſts were employed in a Manner Night and Day to fit up the Boat, and nine of the beſt Sailors went off in her for *Virginia*.

Theſe periſhed; and there remained for the others no Proſpect of getting off the Iſland but by building a Veſſel there.

The two Principals diſputed upon the beſt Methods of conducting themſelves, and they had their two Parties among the People. Two Veſſels were built for the two Companies, and they determined to have no farther Connection or Concern with one another.

In the Time theſe Things were preparing, two of the Women who had come from *England* with Child were deliver'd ſafely and happily, and of healthy Children: they were of the two Sexes, and were both named from the unexpected Place of their Nativity; the Boy *Bermudas*, and the Girl *Bermuda*.

In *May* their Veſſels were ready; and with better Fortune than their ſmaller Party, they reached *Virginia* in a Fortnight, and Sir *George Sommers* was there appointed Admiral.

Lord *Delawar* was at this Time Governor; and he ſpoke often with Sir *George* upon the Nature and Produce of theſe numerous Iſlands.

After ſome Time Sir *George* offered his Service to bring over to *Virginia* a large Supply of Proviſions from thence, wild Hogs, Turtle, and many other Kinds. Lord *Delawar* liſten'd to it with Pleaſure; and the Admiral ſelecting for his Company thoſe who had continued moſt faithful in the late Diſputes, ſailed for the Iſlands.

The Fury of an uncommon Tempeſt drove him out of his Courſe; and after refreſhing in *Norembegna*, he again ſailed for them. His ill Fortune followed him in this Voyage alſo, for he was toſſed, and his Veſſel greatly damag'd on the Seas. His Age and infirm State of Body could not bear theſe Shocks: he reached the Shore and died.

He called the People about him and conjur'd them not to let his Death break in upon the Service; but that they would take in the intended Proviſion, and with their beſt Speed return to *Virginia*.

The Reverence they had for their Commander was loſt with his Life; they ſlighted his Injunctions, and inſtead of going to the Colony ſailed for *England*.

There they gave the *Virginian* Company an Account of theſe Iſlands, which in Earneſt raiſed a Spirit of planting and poſſeſſing it.

King *James* granted a Charter to a Body of one hundred and twenty of them, who raiſed a Capital, and determined to ſpare nothing in peopling the Iſlands. They were now univerſally called by a new Name, that of the Admiral, Sir *George Sommers*; and, by a corrupt Manner of ſpeaking his Name, have been ſince called the *Summer Iſlands*.

The Country, tho' yet unpeopled, was not altogether without ſome Inhabitants. While the King was granting a Charter, and the new Company of Proprietors were engaging People for a Colony, three *Engliſhmen* lived upon the Place; and acting in Reality the Scene of *Shakeſpear*'s Sailors in the *Tempeſt*, called themſelves Lords and Kings; and were near cutting one another's Throats in Jealouſy of Power.

Two of theſe three, their Names *Carter* and *Waters*, were Criminals; who having nothing but the Gallows to expect in *Virginia* or *England*, ſtay'd when Sir *George* got off the firſt Time; and the third, *Chard*, whom they tempted with wild Speeches to ſtay behind, when the reſt went for *England*, after the Death of Sir *George*, now ſhared the Authority.

All the Time of theſe Preparations here, they lived happily enough upon *St. George*'s Iſland. The Sea afforded Turtle and Shell Fiſh, and the Land Herbage in Abundance, and many valuable Fruits.

In ſearching among the Rocks for that Part of their Food, which never failed them in the Creeks and Shallows, they were ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment at a Fragrance that filled the Air. The Senſations of theſe Sort of People are not very delicate; but there was no miſſing this: they talked of Flowers and Spices, but it exceeded them all. At length they perceived the Scent to proceed from one particular Rock, as it appeared to them; they went up to it to examine what grew or lived upon it, that could emit ſuch a Perfume: and the firſt who touched it, found it move under his Hand: it was light and looſe; it appeared brown and ſpotted, and in many Places ſpongy: there were embodied in it the Beaks of Calamaries and Fragments of Shells; and in one Place an evident Piece of a Honeycomb.

Chard at length recollected that he had ſeen Ambergreaſe; and the Thought was no ſooner in his Mind, than he was convinced this was the ſame. He grew almoſt mad with Joy: he told them, they had found a Fortune. He was not miſtaken: for the Maſs, the largeſt ever ſeen of that precious Drug, was in Reality worth Nine Thouſand Pounds.

They reſolved to ſtay no longer on a deſolate Iſland, now they were poſſeſſed of ſuch a Treaſure. *Chard*, who was the only Sailor among them, propoſed building a Boat, and going for *Newfoundland*, or where elſe the Wind pleaſed, to ſell the Treaſure, and then go back to *England*.

They muſt have periſhed had they put this extravagant Project in Execution; but while they were employed in building their Boat, they ſaw a Sail. It was from *England*; Captain *Sommers*, Brother of Sir *George*, commanded, and it brought a Colony.

The Project of the Boat was drop'd, and they gladly joined their Countrymen.

CHAP. XLVII.

The firſt Colony ſettled in Bermudas.

CAptain *Sommers* brought only ſixty Perſons with Neceſſaries for a Plantation; and a Governor, a Man of approved Integrity, Mr. *Richard Moor*.

When landed by Captain *Sommers* at *St. George*'s Iſland, he led his People to a rich and fertile Plain, elevated above Damps, and water'd by many Rivulets. Upon the central Spot of this he placed the firſt Stake of his own Hut: this was preſently raiſed with Beams of Cedar, the common Produce of the Iſland, and covered with Palmeto Leaves.

His People followed the Example; and Huts, for they deſerved yet no better Name, roſe round about him.

When theſe were erected in ſuch Spots as he appointed, the People found they made an agreeable Figure; they were diſpoſed into Streets, and at a Diſtance beyond, their Governor marked the Place of Forts. Theſe roſe alſo very ſoon, under the Hand of this few, but induſtrious People.

Thus was laid the Foundation of *St. George*'s Town upon *St. George*'s Iſland; which without altering its original Form, is now become one of the moſt conſiderable among our *American* Structures.

The three Perſons who had found the Ambergreaſe could not keep the Secret; one in a Quarrel with the reſt acquainted the Governor where they had concealed it; and he ſeized upon it for the Company.

The News of the Colony's Succeſs reached *England*, and created Supplies; more offered than the Company could take over: they had therefore an Opportunity of chuſing the beſt; and of ſuch they ſent two Ships, at different Periods of the following Year.

Proviſions were abundant upon the Iſland; ſo that the Colony wanted only the common Supplies from the Mother Country; and theſe they return'd abundantly in the Products of the Iſland, Cedar, Tobacco, Drugs of ſeveral Kinds, and Ambergreaſe.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The Succeſs of the Colony in ſucceeding Years.

THOSE to whom the King had given a Charter of Poſſeſſion for the *Bermudas*, could not perhaps out of the Body of Mankind have ſelected a more proper Governor than Mr. *Moore*. His great Character was that he was honeſt. He had the Good of the Plantation only at Heart, and he made the Intereſts of every worthy Man among the People his own.

The great good Character of this Governor, and the Pleaſantneſs and Fertility of the Iſland, carried over from Time to Time ſo many, that in three Years, all which Time Mr. *Moore* remained upon the Iſland, he ſaw his People amount to near Seven Hundred. The Example of their Chief made Induſtry and Integrity the Character of the reſt, and they ſucceeded, as Men will always do who act upon ſuch Principles.

The Term of Mr. *Moore*'s Government was three Years, and he deſired to quit the Charge at the Expiration of that Time. Captain *Tucker* ſucceeded, and trod carefully in his Steps: Forts were built, Plantations of Tobacco were carried on in a more regular Manner; and that moſt neceſſary of all the Arts, Agriculture, roſe to an Excellence it has ſince never been continued at. He taught them to manure their drier Lands with burnt Clay; and the Clayey with Sea Sand: he found Marle in the Cliffs; and taught them the Uſe of Mud from the Bottoms of Rivers.

With theſe ſeveral Articles employ'd as their own Nature, and that of the Soil requir'd, he brought the Produce of the Land to an Abundance, that might have ſupply'd many of the other Iſlands if they had been planted.

With the Proviſion came Devourers. Rats, before confined to the Holes of Rocks, and ſeen but in ſmall Numbers, increaſed amazingly, and leaving the Beech, advanced up into the Plantations, where they devour'd immoderately.

After every Method to deſtroy them had been employ'd with little Succeſs, Providence evidently interfer'd in the Preſervation of an induſtrious and honeſt People. Flocks of Ravens hover'd over their Lands; and inſtead of a ſecond Deſtruction of the Crops, as the People at firſt fear'd, they reveng'd the Injuries which they had received from the others.

They deſtroy'd Multitudes of the Rats, and drove the reſt back to their old Habitations: and this done, themſelves return'd whence they came, and gave no Diſturbance.

The firſt Huts of the People were by degrees replaced with Houſes of Stone in the ſame Spot; the Woods were cleared in many Places, and Plantations of Fruit Trees roſe about them; the Soil and Climate favour'd; and the Gardener's Care was little more than clearing away Weeds, the natural Curſe of a rich Soil.

Thus grew up the Infant Colony to great Perfection; but the preſent Governor, tho' poſſeſſed of ſo many good Qualities, wanted that Softneſs of Diſpoſition which had made Mr. *Moore* the Idol almoſt of the Peoples Worſhip. He had eſtabliſh'd his Power upon their Love; but Captain *Tucker*, whoſe Temper was ſevere, choſe to be fear'd.

Many murmured at his Harſhneſs; and at length the diſcontented met. They had frequent Plots; and at laſt determin'd to ſeparate themſelves, and ſuch as choſe to follow their Fortune from the reſt of the Colony, who as they expreſſed it, being born for Slavery, might endure a Tyrant.

The Neceſſity of a Veſſel was as evident as the Difficulty of obtaining one without Suſpicion, none were left there; and the Boats which ſerved for Fiſhing could not be thought of on ſuch an Occaſion; for, far from bearing the Sea to carry them off, they were too often loſt in that Service, when the Wind blew freſh and ſuddenly from Shore.

Theſe, tho' they could not ſerve the Purpoſe, gave however the Hint for their Enterprize. One of the People who had a great deal of low Addreſs, hung about the Governor on all poſſible Occaſions; and taking Opportunity at all Times when he could be heard, to ſpeak of the Pleaſure of Fiſhing, he by degrees warm'd his Imagination with ſuch an Earneſtneſs to partake the Amuſement, that nothing but the Danger of being loſt by being blown off the Coaſt, prevented him.

This was what the artful Fellow wanted. He propoſed immediately to build for the Governor's Satiſfaction a Boat of three Tons, with Decks ſo contrived that ſhe would live in any Sea; and he was immediately employed upon it.

None ſuſpected the Deſign; but all applauded the Art and Induſtry of thoſe who work'd upon it. They had the Addreſs to prevent every Occaſion of Diſcovery.

They were to chuſe their own Place for building it; and they fixed upon a private Corner defended by a Wood, and hid from all Eyes; their pretended Reaſon was, that there was proper Timber. While they were at work they borrow'd a Compaſs among the People; and nothing was wanting but Proviſion.

A Ship at this Time came in from *England*; and here lay their Hope: they purchaſed Proviſions of the Sailors with Money, and in Exchange for every Thing they had; and thus furniſh'd, they put in the Night to Sea.

The Boat was miſs'd next Day, but they were by that Time far off before a favourable Wind.

They were obliged to ſet out on ſhort Allowance; and their Proviſions threaten'd to fail. In this Terror they ſaw a *French* Veſſel; and made up to it, begging Relief. The *Frenchman* plundered them of the little they had; and taking away even their poor Inſtruments of Navigation, turn'd them adrift.

They made the Coaſt of *Ireland* in this wretched Condition; and the Earl of *Thomond* received and entertained them, with that generous Hoſpitality, for which the *Iriſh* are diſtinguiſhed above all other Nations to this Day: the Report of their Occaſion of coming away from the Colony drew many Curſes upon the Governor: themſelves were treated with a continued Reſpect, and ſettled in Employments in that Country; and the Boat which had performed the Voyage in forty-two Days, was hung up as a conſecrated Relict of the Enterprize.

CHAP. XLIX.

Further Voyages of the Eaſt-India *Company.*

IN the Year 1612 the *Eaſt-India* Company ſent their tenth Fleet from *England* on that Traffick, under the Command of Captain *Beſt*.

They ſailed on the Fifth of *February*, and on the Seventh of *September* arrived at *Surat*.

The Governor there had, after all the Artifices of the *Dutch*, formed his own Opinion of the *Engliſh* Nation; and eſtabliſhing that upon their Conduct, it was very favourable.

He received the Captain with great Reſpect; and offered his Intereſt in every Thing to promote his Trade.

Captain *Beſt* remained there all *October* and *November*; and on the laſt Day but one of that Month he ſaw a vaſt Fleet, no leſs in Number than two hundred and forty, Veſſels of the *Portugueſe* ſailing to *Cambaya*. Theſe Fleets did *Portugal* ſend yearly to that Country.

The Strength of theſe People gave ſome Alarm to Captain *Beſt*, and he obtained freſh Privileges from the Mogul for Trading at *Surat*, *Cambaya* and *Amandavar*. Theſe he judged his proper Security; and in the mean Time he prepered in the beſt Manner he could with his ſmall Force for a Defence, if he ſhould be attack'd by any Straglers of thoſe Fleets.

His Preparation was ſoon found to be more needful than he was aware; for the next Intelligence was, that beſide this trading Fleet of the *Portugueſe*, there had ſailed another altogether of the hoſtile Kind, whoſe ſole Purpoſe was to drive the *Engliſh* out of thoſe Seas.

The Affair was preſſing, for they were expected every Day; and on the Twenty-eighth of *November* they appeared. Four Gallies led the Way, and four and twenty Frigates followed; they bore directly upon the *Engliſh* Veſſels, which now lay at the Mouth of the River of *Surat*; and every Eye expected their immediate Deſtruction.

The *Engliſh* had but half their original ſmall Force; for of the four Veſſels they had brought to this Part of the World, two were in other Places waiting their Loading.

Captain *Beſt* encouraged his Men, and placing himſelf upon the Deck, told them, he would deſire nothing from them, but what he did himſelf. He ordered them to weigh Anchor, and driving full upon the numerous Enemy, got between the Admiral and Vice-Admiral, and gave each a Broadſide, and his full Volley of ſmall Arms within Piſtol Shot: they were aſtoniſhed at his Boldneſs, and they both ſtood off to repair their Hurts.

Captain *Beſt* took no farther Notice of them, but bore againſt the third Veſſel. He rode up cloſe as before, and gave them the ſame Salute: the Effect was the ſame, this Ship alſo ſheer'd off.

A fourth appeared at ſome Diſtance, but did not ſeem inclined to come up; and Captain *Beſt* who did not chuſe to laviſh away the Lives of his Men, kept his Station.

Night came on, and thus Things remained to Morning. Day-break renewed the Fight; and while Captain *Beſt* in the *Dragon* confounded one of the Gallions, the Pinnace bore her Part in the Service, by very boldly fighting another.

Captain *Beſt* came up to her Relief, and drove that away maim'd as the firſt. Two being thus hurt, that they could not ſerve, the *Engliſh* fell together upon a third, which fled before them; and making the moſt of their Advantage, they drove the other two before them with this to the Shallows; where the Pinnace hover'd about them, and kept a continual Fire.

Next Day the Enemies rode at Anchor within Sight, but without attempting any Thing; and on the Day after this Captain *Beſt*, who could get nothing by renewing a Conflict againſt ſuch Odds, ſtood for the other Side of the Bay.

There he found War in another Form; a principal Officer of the Mogul's lay with two thouſand Horſe before a Caſtle kept by ſome Banditti. Captain *Beſt* preſented the Officer with ſome valuable Things from his Ship, and received from him a handſome Return.

Mean Time he traded on the Coaſt, and told the Story of the Action on the other Side of the Bay, to the General.

In about ten Days came the *Portugueſe*, refitted, and repleniſhed with Men, to renew the Fight. The Officer, when he ſaw their Numbers, told *Beſt* he could do nothing but fly: the other reply'd, that he would adviſe that to the *Portugueſe*: and weighing Anchor, he ſtood out to meet them. The Shore was crouded to behold the Engagement; which after four Hours ended juſt as the other had done. The *Portugueſe*, after great Deſtruction, ſailed away as faſt as they could, and Captain *Beſt* returned, and anchored in the Harbour, amidſt the Shouts of the People.

The Story of this Conflict was told every where, and the *Engliſh* Courage magnified to the higheſt.

In *April* 1613 the *Engliſh* arrived at *Achen*; where Captain *Beſt* renewed the Friendſhip with the People; and in the ſucceeding Year arrived in *England*, rich in his Lading, more in Honour.

CHAP. L.

The Progreſs of the Greenland *Trade.*

THE Whale-fiſhing, tho' it had ſet out ſo unfortunately, yet was in Mens Mouths; and the Benefit of it plain to every Merchant.

The *Muſcovy* Company, who had from the firſt determined to ſend out two more Ships on the ſame Expedition, equip'd them with all Care in the Year 1613; and, with careful Pilots, as well as expert Fiſhers, diſpatch'd them for the Coaſt.

They return'd ſucceſsful. They caught no leſs than ſeventeen Whales; and came back without the Loſs of a Man, or any croſs Accident in the Voyage.

The *Dutch* were early appriz'd of this; and buying off half a Dozen of our People who had made the Voyage, went thither under their Conduct the next Year.

The Company ſaw there was no preventing this but by Force; and they repreſented the Importance of the Trade properly to the Court; reminded thoſe in Power of the abſolute Right of the *Engliſh* to that Coaſt poſſeſs'd in their Name ſo long before, and ſo ſolemnly; and requeſted and receiv'd a Patent under the Broad Seal, for themſelves; and a Prohibition againſt all others from fiſhing in thoſe Seas.

Under this Sanction, inſtead of two they ſent out ſeven Ships; and commiſſion'd them to aſſert the Right of the Company by Force. They expected Oppoſition, and they ſent out theſe Veſſels provided againſt it: they had Soldiers and Arms with abundant Ammunition.

Theſe arriv'd early in the Seaſon; but they were interrupted in their Fiſhing by the Appearance of a great Number of Veſſels: two *Dutch* Ships led the Way, thirteen of *Flemiſh* and *French* follow'd; and there drop'd in after theſe half a Dozen *Engliſh* Interlopers.

The Company's Ships gather'd into a Body, and ſent the others Orders, in the Name of the King of *England*, to depart from a Coaſt, the Fiſhery of which he appropriated to his own Subjects.

The *Dutch* return'd a ſlight and rude Anſwer; and the Reply was with the *Engliſh* Cannon.

The private Ships of *England* ſubmitted, and fell behind without Conteſt: the reſt were, after a little Struggle, driven away; and the Company's People renew'd their Application to the Fiſhery. They compell'd the Interlopers of their own Country to fiſh for them; and with this Help made up a good Return.

Hope Iſland was diſcover'd in this Expedition, and Names given to other Parts of the Coaſt.

The next Year the Company ſent out thirteen Ships on this Trade, expecting an Oppoſition from the *Dutch*; and giving Orders for a reſolute aſſerting and ſupporting of their Right.

The Company could not be expected to do more than this; but it was not enough. In *Holland* the Government ſupported their Trade; while we thought there was great Merit in giving it Leave to ſupport itſelf.

The *Dutch* appear'd as expected, and the *Engliſh* prepar'd to attack them; but they were ſoon oblig'd to give up that Thought. They ſaw fourteen large Veſſels fall behind, and four Ships of War place themſelves for their Protection. Under the Shelter of this Force the *Dutch* fiſh'd that Year, braving the *Engliſh*, but not attacking them; and the Right of our Kingdom ſeem'd at an End.

On their Return they told this plain Story. None blam'd them; but all expected the Government here would have ſupported its Subjects in the ſame Manner. They were deceiv'd who thought it: and the Company, earlieſt appriz'd of it, ſent only two Ships and two Pinnaces the ſucceeding Year 1615, who ſaw the *Dutch* come in a large Fleet, protected by three Ships of War.

The *Danes*, who now found the Importance of this Diſcovery, claim'd their Right. They ſent one Veſſel thither to fiſh; and three to demand Tribute even of the *Engliſh* for fiſhing. This was refuſ'd with Contempt by the four Veſſels the Company had there; and the *Danes* not being authoriz'd to ſupport their Claim by Violence, the Matter drop'd.

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CHAP. LI.

The Conduct of Lord Delawar *in* Virginia.

THE Colony in *Virginia* ſcatter'd into different Places, and become as it were ſo many independent Bodies, fell into Diſputes, and were bringing the whole Eſtabliſhment into Deſtruction, when, by a happy Choice, the Government appointed Lord *Delawar* as Governor. He encourag'd the Induſtrious, and was ſevere againſt the Diſſolute and Idle. He encourag'd Agriculture, and gave Rewards for Merit.

Sir *Thomas Dale* follow'd the ſame Courſe in

1612, and built at his own Expence a Town, called therefore *Dale*'s Gift.

The ſame Year Sir *Thomas Gates* brought in a great Supply of live Proviſions from *England*; and built a new Town, *Hiericopolis*, with Forts.

The ſame Year Captain *Argal* arrived with a third Supply in two more Ships; and happily laid the Foundation of a Peace with the People of *Potowmack*, by taking away *Pacahontas*, the King's Daughter, whom they afterwards married to Mr. *Rolfe*, one of the principal People. This ſecured the Friendſhip of that Nation, and the *Chickahoming*, no leſs powerful, followed.

This Year 1612 died *Henry* Prince of *Wales* at Eighteen, a Youth of a ſober Turn of Mind, and a good Heart. There are Suſpicions reſpecting his Death, which unleſs more Circumſtances had been diſcovered, ought to be buried in everlaſting Oblivion. His great Character, and the Love of the People, made him envy'd; and his Death was ſuppoſed the Stroke of that Envy: but there wants Evidence to ſupport the horrible Conjecture.

CHAP. LII.

Progreſs of the East-India *Trade.*

THE Oppoſition Captain *Beſt* had met with in the *Eaſt-Indies*, gave the Company a true State of their Condition. They found the *Portugueſe* in Earneſt to drive them from thoſe Seas, and they ſaw the Advantage of the Trade, and the Sums they had embarked too great to be given up, without the beſt Attempts to preſerve them.

In 1613 they entered into a Reſolution, that no Ship ſhould be ſent thither by any particular Factory, or private Aſſociation; that nothing leſs than the whole Company ſhould be concerned in all ſucceeding Expeditions, and the joint Stock pay all.

Danger united this Company, whom Intereſt threaten'd in a Manner to ſeparate; and this Year they ſent out four ſtout Ships upon the common Bottom, prohibiting all others.

Theſe arrived at *Surat* in *October*, under the Command of Captain *Downton*; and found the Country in Arms: not in civil Broils, but againſt the *Portugueſe*, whom their own Experience ſhewed to be diſhoneſt, and whom the *Engliſh* had ſhewn Cowards.

This was an unexpected Event; but Captain *Downton* prepared to make the beſt Uſe of it: he came to a Reſolution of aſſiſting the *Indians* vigorouſly, as the ſure Way of driving off the *Portugueſe*, and of getting for the *Engliſh* an advantageous Trade.

The Reſolution was no ſooner taken, than communicated to the *Indians*, and the *Portugueſe* heard of it.

The four Ships this while lay off at Sea, expecting the *Portugueſe*, who on the Eighteenth of *January* appear'd, under the Command of the Viceroy; ſeventeen Veſſels, Gallions, Gallies and Frigates.

They immediately made for the *Engliſh*; and one of our Ships, the *Hope*, being before the others, they ſurrounded, and all engaged her together. The three other Veſſels came up, when the *Portugueſe* had boarded her; and clearing their Way to her, by driving off the Ships, they preſently drove alſo the *Portugueſe* from the Deck.

The Fight from this Time grew furious on all Sides; and at Evening the *Portugueſe*, though ſo greatly ſuperior in Number and Force, ſheered off.

They hover'd at a Diſtance, and ſent for Reinforcements; but the *Engliſh* all the while braving and defying them, they did not venture to attack them; but from Time to Time ſent down Fire-ſhips to deſtroy them.

As they did not venture to come very near with theſe, they were ſent off at Random, and blaz'd upon the Sea, at a Diſtance from our Peoples Veſſels. They ſaw the Attempt vain, and to the everlaſting Glory of the *Engliſh*, retired with this vaſt Superiority, not daring to ſtand another Conflict.

As our Ships purſued their Courſe, a ſecond Fleet of *Portugueſe*, five Times their Number, crowded Sail, purſuing them.

The Commander of the *Engliſh* ſtop'd for them, inviting them to come up; but they were better at purſuing than engaging: they never came within Cannon-ſhot; but left the *Engliſh* to purſue their Voyage to *Bantam*, where they arrived in Safety, but ſoon after loſt their chief Commander by a Surfeit.

Here they found the *Dutch* as deſperate Enemies as the *Portugueſe*, though of a different Kind; with thoſe they had a threaten'd Force to deal with, but with theſe Treachery: however, they ſtem'd either Torrent; and return'd in *October* 1616 very rich, and full of Honour.

Before the Return of theſe Veſſels, the Company ſent out four others; this was in the Year 1615. The Command was given to Captain *Payton*; and on board him went Sir *Thomas Roe*, Embaſſador from *England* to the Mogul.

This Voyage was ſucceſsful, not only in the Return the Ships brought in, but in the good Correſpondence ſettled in thoſe Kingdoms.

A Factory was eſtabliſhed at *Crangator*; a Place ſecond to none in the Country: but where there had been no Settlement of the *Engliſh* before.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIII.

An Expedition of the Government.

WHILE the *Engliſh* were thus ſucceſsful Abroad, their Coaſts were infeſted by a Race of deſperate and cruel Pirates. Theſe kept in thoſe Parts where there was leaſt Defence; and about the Year 1614 terrified the *Scotch* Coaſts, and ſtop'd all Commerce.

Application was made to the King: he ordered two Ships of War to be ſent to ſuppreſs them, and gave the Command to Sir *William Monſon* and Sir *Francis Howard.*

They ſailed on the Fourteenth of *May* from *Margate* Road; and on the Twenty-third arrived at *Leith* in *Scotland.*

Here they got all poſſible Intelligence of the Places where the Veſſels of theſe Robbers reſorted; and it was the great Care of Sir *William Monſon* to take on board Pilots who underſtood the Navigation of the *Orkneys.*

Theſe on board, they ſet ſail; and on the Firſt of *June* Sir *William* arrived at *Sinclair* Caſtle, the Seat of the Earl of *Caithneſs*, ſituated on the extreme Promontary of *Great Britain.*

The Account had come of twenty Pirate Veſſels; but here it ſunk to two. Theſe were upon thoſe Seas when the Ships of War arrived, and one of them eſcaped, while the other thought it better to give up his Veſſel. He applied to the Earl of *Caithneſs* as ſoon as he heard Sir *William Monſon* was upon thoſe Seas; and declaring he had been forced into the Service, ſurrendered voluntarily.

The Commander was not without Suſpicions as to the Reality of his Contrition: however, as there might be Truth in the Story, he treated him with Civility, and took him and his Veſſel away with him.

Thus far ſucceſsful, he purſued the other who had eſcaped; and not finding him in *Scotland*, followed him to *Ireland*, where Mr. *Cormat*, a Confederate, though a Man of Fortune in that Kingdom, received and ſupported theſe People in the Harbour of *Broadhaven.*

The Pirate who had ſurrender'd, led him to this Place, and there decoy'd Mr. *Cormat* and his Aſſociates on board. He told them this was a Pirate Veſſel; and bringing them in, to a pretended Entertainment, Sir *William*, as ſoon as they were all in his Ship, declared himſelf. He told them their Viſit was a Confeſſion of their Guilt, and ordering them all into Cuſtody, ſet up as many Gallows along the Shore for executing them the next Morning.

This was only a Piece of Terror, for he did not propoſe ſo much Severity. On their Promiſe of never repeating the Fault, he diſcharged them.

The Day after a Ship appeared making for the Harbour. Sir *William* waited her Coming in, not doubting her being of the Pirate Claſs; but the Commander ſaw his Danger, and ſtood out to Sea. Sir *William* diſpatched ſome in Purſuit of him, but a Fog preſerved the Veſſel.

The Pirate got in Secret to the Iſland of *Eneſcby*; and thence wrote to Mr. *Cormat*, of whoſe Situation he was ignorant. That Offender ſhewed the Sincerity of his Repentance by communicating to Sir *William Monſon* the Letter; on this an Anſwer was deviſed that brought the Pirate back, and he was executed with two or three of the moſt criminal among his People; and the Veſſel taken to *England.*

With this Succeſs Sir *William Monſon* returned in the ſucceeding *Auguſt*; and the Terror of his Name cleared thoſe Seas for many ſucceeding Years.

CHAP. LIV.

Naval Expeditions of the English *the ſucceeding Year.*

A Single Veſſel of the *Engliſh* this Year ſtood the Attack of five *Turkiſh* Ships of War and a Settee, in three ſucceſſive Aſſaults. She was at length fired; but after extinguiſhing this, and beating off a large Body of the Enemy who immediately after boarded her, ſailed with great Glory on her Courſe, and arrived ſecure in *England.* The Ship was the *Dolphin*, preſerved afterwards as an everlaſting Monument of the *Engliſh* Courage.

The Trade to *New England* was proſecuted with great Spirit. Eight Veſſels were ſent from *London* and *Plymouth*, and the Commerce became now ſo well underſtood, that they made a very large Cargo of Fiſh and Oil, which they ſold in *Spain* and at the *Canaries*, and return'd to *England* with the beſt Products of thoſe Places.

The *Muſcovy* Company fiſhed alſo more ſucceſsfully than ever on the Coaſt of *Greenland*: the *Dutch*, who thought they had done their Buſineſs there, tired of the Expence of Ships of War, ſent no more thither; and in Conſequence of this the *Engliſh*, who were numerous and powerful, drove them from the beſt Places, and reduced them to fiſh in Corners, where they could be ſecure by hiding.

The Company's Veſſels were very ſucceſsful, and they made Diſcoveries to the Eaſt of *Greenland*, much farther than others had ventured.

Virginia was not at this Time ſo ſecure as formerly. The *Indian* Princeſs now chriſten'd and marry'd into *Rebecca Rolfe*, made and preſerved Peace among her Tribe; but the *Spaniards* grew dangerous.

They hated the Thought of Settlements of the *Engliſh* in *America*, and they ſent ſome Veſſels this Year to make an Attempt upon this Colony. They had Men and Arms of all Kinds, but they were diſcover'd in Time; and ſo good Preparation was made for them on Shore, that they did not venture to land.

Mr. *Rolfe* mean time brought his *Indian* Wife to *England*, where ſhe was introduced to the Royal Family; and frequented all Places of Entertainment and Reſort.

She was treated with great Reſpect by all Perſons; but died at *Graveſend*, where ſhe was to have embark'd for *Virginia*, full of Love for the *Engliſh* Nation.

In the Year 1616, Sir *Samuel Argall* was made Governor. He found the *Engliſh* too full of Confidence in the *Indians*; and was extreamly concern'd to ſee they had taught them the Uſe of Fire Arms. He by degrees wean'd them from this dangerous Security; and brought the Colony into a very proſperous Condition.

In 1618 Lord *Delawar* accepted again the Commiſſion of compleating what Sir *Samuel Argall* had ſo well begun. He embark'd for *Virginia* in the Beginning of this Year, and went with a large Supply, and with a noble Plan of Operations: but Death rob'd the Colony of its Advantages. He ſicken'd upon the Voyage; and never ſaw the Country.

Sir *Samuel* continued in his Poſt upon this Accident; and to ſhew himſelf worthy of it, he purſued the Plan as he had heard it ſpoken of from *England*.

The Death of King *Powhatan*, Father to the *Indian* Princeſs marry'd to Mr. *Rolfe*, threw the Colony into great Conſternation; but the Governor inſtantly cultivated the Friendſhip of his Succeſſor, and renew'd the League with him.

Peace thus ſettled at home, he embark'd for a coaſting Voyage Northward. He touch'd at many Places on the Coaſt where the *Engliſh* had been uſed to land; and purſuing his Courſe as far as *Newfoundland*, there ſettled an amicable Correſpondence for the *Engliſh* with the Natives.

Touching on this Expedition at *Cape Cod*, he learn'd that ſome *Europeans* had made a Settlement Northward of them along the Coaſt. Thoſe who told him this ſuppoſed the People *Engliſh*, but he knew the contrary. It was the firſt Intelligence of any ſuch Settlement by another Nation, and he reſolved to ſearch at once to the Bottom of a Buſineſs that might be of great Importance.

CHAP. LV.

A Diſpute with ſome French.

CAptain *Argall* ſailed Northward to find theſe new Inhabitants; and after a few Days Courſe, was convinced thoſe who gave him the Information, neither miſtook, nor had deceived him. He ſaw upon the Coaſt a regular Settlement; and in the Road before it, a Ship riding at Anchor.

All this was, by Patent to the Diſcoverer, ſettled the Property of *England*. He took the Ship after a ſlight Reſiſtance, and then march'd, from the firſt Shore to their Fort.

This was built upon an Eminence to the North of *New England*; and ſurrounded by the Huts of the People. They were *French*; eſtabliſh'd there by Patent under the Authority of their King, with a Governor and Laws.

They fled at the Approach of the *Engliſh*, who took Poſſeſſion of the Fort and Huts; and ſeeing them ſkulking about in the Woods, ſent them the next Day a Meſſage with good Terms if they would ſurrender. This had the propoſed Effect: Famine was before them if they eſcaped the Sword, and they immediately came in.

Their Governor deliver'd up his Patent to Sir *Samuel* to cancel; and a Prieſt among them deſiring to be admitted to a private Audience, betray'd another Settlement at *Port Royal* in *Canada*, and offer'd his Service to conduct the *Engliſh* thither.

Sir *Samuel* took the Offer, and the Prieſt betray'd them into his Hands. He loſt not a Man in reducing in this Manner, two Settlements immediately after one another.

He diſpatched a ſmall Veſſel to *England* with News of his Succeſs; and the People who idolized him for his Conduct, expected the Return with Honours for their Hero. But in *England* Men did not judge with their Eyes. A Veſſel came in ſoon after with the Governor's Recal; and without any farther Intercourſe with the Colony, failed again for *England*.

State Secrets will be gueſs'd, though they are never divulged. All know the quiet Temper of King *James*; and it is not improbable this brave and honeſt Man was ſacrificed to his Fear of a Rupture with *France*: his Virtues all his Crime.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVI.

The Colony at Virginia *receives great Supplies.*

IT would have been no wonder if from this ſtrange Act of Power, for which as no good Reaſon could be given, none was propoſed, the People of *Virginia* had grown diſſatisfied to a degree of quitting the Place.

The Danger of ſome ſuch Reſolution was ſeen in *England*; and they were ſoothed with large Supplies. Men, Cattle, and every thing that could be uſeful, or but agreeable, was ſent over in a Profuſion never before known, and with theſe great Promiſes of the Royal Patronage on all Occaſions.

This was in 1619, and the Year after the People were ſo numerous, and ſo well ſettled in their various Plantations, that they named Repreſentatives for the ſeveral Precincts, and the Governor and Council ſaw the firſt *General Aſſembly*, which ſat at *James Town.*

The Colony now wore in all Reſpects a new Face. Negroes were brought this Year for the firſt Time; and the Plantations were every where enlarg'd; new Manufactures were eſtabliſhed, and old ones improved. Churches roſe, and the Boundaries of *James Town*, and Plans of other new Towns were laid out in many Places.

Every thing was Harmony among the People, and their Reſpect for their Mother Country grew with their Succeſs there. The *Indians* lived among them as one People; and nothing appear'd but a Proſpect of growing Strength, Happineſs and Riches.

The late Governor had often talked to them againſt the familiar Intercourſe eſtabliſh'd with the *Indians*; and had reminded them of various Inſtances, from which their Conduct might be all this Time ſuſpected of Pretence; and Deceit, fear'd from them: he told them their great Defence againſt theſe People was the concealing their little Strength, for that at any Time the *Indians* might deſtroy them.

He was too much reſpected to be anſwer'd with Scorn, but that was in the Peoples Hearts, which they did not diſcloſe: they thought him vainly timorous, and at that Time very much; and afterwards more indulged the Familiarity he ſo juſtly condemned with the Natives.

They viſited the *Indian* Towns, and remain'd there many Days; thoſe People in return made the ſame kind of Viſits to them; and lived upon the ſame Terms with them that they did with one another.

Thus they learn'd all the Strength of the *Engliſh*, the Nature of their Arms, and the Manner of their Fighting; and from this Knowledge grew up among them an Opinion of their own Superiority, a Contempt of the *Engliſh*; and, in conſequence, a Reſolution to deſtroy them, in the Midſt of all their Profeſſions of Friendſhip.

They grew ſurly and capricious; and ſought Occaſions of Diſpute: they inſulted the *Engliſh* on every Occaſion; and even killed ſome in private Squabbles.

One of their Captains who had committed ſuch a Murther, fell by the Hands of ſome Servants of the Perſon he had killed; and this was the Occaſion taken by the whole People to put their Deſign in Execution.

They cabal'd in private, and at length ſummon'd general Aſſemblies; they thought of nothing leſs than a Maſſacre of the whole Body of *Engliſh*, and they fix'd on the twenty ſecond of *March* 1622, as the Day.

The Hour was appointed when they would be all diſperſed among their Plantations, and unarm'd: a little before Noon was the fix'd Time, and every one underſtood that it was his Buſineſs to fall upon thoſe who were neareſt him.

The Evening of the Twenty-firſt they brought in Preſents to the *Engliſh*, Deer, Turkies, and other Things; and for the more eaſy executing their Plot, they mix'd themſelves the next Day among them as uſual.

Every *Engliſh* Family had their *Indian* Friends with them; and at the appointed Time every *Indian* fell upon thoſe among whom he was, with whatever Weapon was moſt ready.

They ſpared neither Age nor Sex, Women and Infants ſhared the Fate of the Men; and the whole Place was Blood.

James Town and ſome other Settlements eſcaped on Notice; and the Butchery of that Hour was all: the *Indians* retreated after they had committed the Murthers, and as if terrified at the Havock of their own Hands, appear'd no more for a long Time.

The *Engliſh* on their Part vowed Deſtruction: and though it appears ſcarce juſtifiable to have poſſeſſed the Country, and extirpated its Inhabitants to the laſt Man; yet this Maſſacre comes near exculpating the *Engliſh* who were left, and their Deſcendants.

The People were too much upon their Guard to be ſurprized by the *Indians* for the ſucceeding Years; and they were too ſenſible of the Rage that muſt poſſeſs the Remnant of the *Engliſh* to venture among them.

They continued at quiet among themſelves; but they grew too haughty for the Government here. Complaints were made from time to time, and at length they were too many and too great to be born. As the Company grew more rich they alſo were more inſolent; and though King *James* contented himſelf with chiding, *Charles* the Firſt in the Year 1626, diſſolved the Company; took the Country and its Government into his own immediate Direction, and demanded a Quit Rent for the Land.

CHAP. LVII.

Sir Walter Raleigh *makes a Voyage to* Guiana.

WHEN we laſt mention'd *Guiana*, we obſerved that the Head and Heart of Sir *Walter Raleigh* were full of the Project of making a Settlement upon that Coaſt.

In the Year 1615 he was releaſed from his long and hard Confinement in the Tower, and this upon very unfavourable Terms: he had not the King's Pardon though he had his Liberty, and his Eſtate had been long confiſcated; the Prey of an avaricious Miniſter.

His Mind was intent upon this Project, but it was not eaſy to find the Means of bringing it into Execution: one Method only offer'd, which, though diſagreeable to him, he was obliged to take. This was, to lay before the King the Propoſal of working a Gold Mine.

James, tho' he hated the Man, had no Averſion to the Gold. It was acknowledged that the Mine lay in a Country belonging to the *Spaniards*, and this on another Occaſion would have kept his peaceful Mind inactive; but the Gold that could overcome his Hate to *Raleigh*, at the ſame Time got the better of his Friendſhip for *Spain*, and Fear of her Reſentment. The Attempt could not be made without a private Commiſſion from the Crown; and the King granted it.

This gave a Sanction to the Enterprize; and upon its Strength, and the Credit of his own Reputation, Sir *Walter* engaged a great Number of Perſons of Fortune and Faſhion in the Scheme.

With the Stock thus advanced, he fitted out twelve Ships, and ſailed from *Graveſend*. The Paſſage was diſtreſſed by Storms; and two of the Veſſels ſeparated, which not liking the Expedition, choſe to return to *England*.

The Fury of the Elements was not all that croſs'd the Purpoſe of our noble Adventurer. The *Spaniards* had early Intelligence of his Voyage, his Strength, and Deſtination, and were prepared with a much ſuperior Force to oppoſe him.

The King who had granted the Commiſſion overthrew the Enterprize; he demanded of Sir *Walter* before he went, a Liſt of the Ships, their Size and Force, and a Plan of the Voyage; at what Land they deſign'd to touch, and up what River, and how far to paſs in Purſuit of the Mine.

This Paper he gave in Confidence to *Gondemar*, aſſuring him he had given him expreſs Commands not to offend the Subjects of *Spain*. *Gondemar* diſpatch'd this to *Madrid*, and it was there before Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſailed. Thus *Wilſon* tells the Story.

In conſequence of this when he arrived at *Trininada*, he found the *Spaniards* prepared for their Defence; and ready to receive him.

He deſpiſed alike the Defence they had prepared, and the Treachery by which it became known. He made his Way to the Coaſt of *Guiana*, and came to an Anchor in five Degrees at *Port Howard*.

CHAP. LVIII.

Sir Walter *purſues his Plan without Diſturbance.*

AS ſoon as the Ships came to Anchor, Sir *Walter* order'd out his Boat, and himſelf getting into her made to the Shore. The *Indians* were in Sight, they came up with friendly Faces at the Signal, and when they knew it was Sir *Walter Raleigh*, were ready to worſhip him.

He obtain'd from them Proviſion, and all Kinds of Accommodations: he built Tents, and brought his Sick on Shore; and when theſe were taken Care of, he employ'd ſuch as were well in putting together the Boats and Barges, which they had brought in Pieces from *England*.

Sir *Walter*, though he concealed it as well as he could, was himſelf one of the Sick: he could only be carried about in a Chair; and he could not undertake to ſail up the River.

He ſent five of the lighteſt Ships, two Fly-boats, and a Caraval, with proper Orders, and with a due Force. They had ſix Companies of Foot on board, with their Officers; and Captain *Keymis* was their Pilot.

This was a very well deſign'd Enterprize, and the Inſtructions Sir *Walter* gave were ſuch as tended as much as poſſible to avoid Diſputes with the *Spaniards*. Their Buſineſs was not to fight, but to ſearch for Gold; and nothing could be better contrived for purſuing the Purpoſe than the Plan he laid down for them.

Some of the old Officers dy'd by the Way, and the young ones were worſe obey'd: The *Spaniards* fired upon the Boats from the Banks of the River, with ſmall Arms, where they were in reach, and with ſuch Cannon as they could bring to bear when at more Diſtance.

This the *Engliſh* return'd; and in ſpite of all Moleſtation made their Way to Land between the Town of St. *Thomas*, and the Place where the Mine was underſtood to lie.

The *Spaniards* of St. *Thomas* ſaw them land, and gathering their beſt Force together, attack'd them in the Night. The *Engliſh* behaved, as they were in thoſe Days accuſtomed to do; and the *Spaniards*, according to their common Practice, fled.

They made their Way to the Town; and the *Engliſh* who followed them cloſe, enter'd it with them. Some new Reſiſtance was made at the Gates, but after a few Minutes the *Engliſh* were in Poſſeſſion of the Place.

Sir *Walter* all this Time lay with five Ships off *Trinidada*, expecting every Hour the Armada fitted out againſt them. For this Event they had prepared themſelves; the Officers were all Men of approved Courage, and they had engaged themſelves by Oath to one another not to ſurrender on any Terms: but if they could not eſcape, to burn themſelves and the Enemy together.

Even this was known to the *Spaniards*, and probably had no ſmall Share in their Preſervation. The Armada had other Orders; they waited for them at *Margarita*, by which Road they expected them to paſs to the *Indies*.

Mean Time thoſe who had quitted the Town of *St. Thomas*, fortified the Paſſes from thence to the Mines; and expected hourly the Supply of Men and Ammunition, ordered by the Court of *Spain* from *Puerto Rico* to their Aſſiſtance.

Keymis led the People ſeveral Times by various Paſſes toward the Mines, which, as they learn'd by the moſt Intelligent of their Priſoners, were but eight Miles diſtant, but they were every where repulſed; and in each Attack many fell.

They were at length driven from the Deſign; the whole Country was alarm'd, the *Spaniards* were reinforced from Day to Day; they had Arms in Abundance, Plenty of Ammunition, and all the Advantages of Situation; they fired from the Woods, and did great Execution, while the *Engliſh* had no Power of hurting them.

This Difficulty, with the Loſs of ſome of their beſt Officers, diſconcerted the whole Plan; and after repeated Attempts, the Deſign was given up as impracticable. They burnt the Town, after they had plundered it; and returned to Sir *Walter*, who greatly blamed the whole Proceeding: he knew on what a tickliſh Footing he ſtood with the King; and that every Thing in this Tranſaction conſpired to hurt him. The *Spaniards* enraged, and the Gold not obtained. *Kemys* was ſo ſtung with the Reproof, that he ſhot himſelf.

The Expedition ended very unhappily: the People grew diſſatiſfied with their Leader; and every Ship's Commander acted as he pleaſed; they returned in a ſcatter'd Manner; and Sir *Walter* on his Arrival at *Plymouth*, was put under Arreſt by Order of the King; a near Relation, Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, performing the curſed Ceremony.

CHAP. LIX.

The Death of Sir Walter Raleigh.

PRepare Reader for a Story, which if you have a Heart will give you Pain; to which he who does not pay a Tear, has no Humanity.

The great and brave Sir *Walter Raleigh*, whoſe ſupreme Joy had, in all Tranſactions, been the Service of his Country; whoſe Qualities were ſuch as gained him Reverence among Savages; whoſe Virtues would have been conſpicuous in a much better Age, was received, on his Return from a Voyage undertaken for his Country, by the Officers of Juſtice: the Man who had been honour'd with a Commiſſion from the King, was, without a new Crime, called up to the Sentence paſſed fourteen Years before upon him, for what was then called Treaſon.

He was brought to the *King's Bench* Bar at *Weſtminſter* in 1618, and aſked, whether he had any good Cauſe to ſhew why that Sentence ſhould not be executed upon him.

The great Man ſaw the Purpoſe, and deſpiſed it. He knew the Worth of Life, but he was not terrified at Death. He ſaw the Conduct of this Voyage was the real Crime, though they who proſecuted, knowing him blameleſs, dared not urge it.

He in few Words, in Juſtice to himſelf, not in Regard to them, clear'd that Point: "He had "brought the Ships ſafe to the Rendezvous, and "Health not permitting him to go up the River "with them, he had ſent up the beſt of his People, "and given them written Inſtructions."

Theſe he laid before the Court, and then demanded, whether in this Tranſaction any Thing could be charged upon him.

The Publick abſolved him of all Faults; and the Court anſwer'd, that they had no Right to examine into that Matter: that he was called up to his former Sentence, not to a new Trial; and it was again demanded, whether he had good Cauſe why his Sentence ſhould not be executed?

He anſwered Yes! and opened his Commiſſion. — Read there, ſaid he, my Lord, the King's Words: — *To our truſty and well beloved Sir* Walter Raleigh. This, he added, declares the King's Pardon; and how obtained I elſe my Liberty? This gives me Power of Life and Death over thoſe entruſted to my Command; and you my Lord Chief Juſtice know, that Power is inconſiſtent with the Condition of a Perſon himſelf under a Sentence of Death.

His Knowledge confounded the whole Bench, while the modeſt Reſolution, and true Dignity with which he ſpoke, ſhamed them: but 'twas not the Purpoſe to let him talk away that Sentence,

tence, for which he was called up to ſuffer. The King hated him; *Gondemar*, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter, purſued him with implacable Malice; and the Lord Chief Juſtice knew his Maſter's Pleaſure. He was anſwered, that nothing was a Pardon for Treaſon, but expreſs Words of the King declaring it.

Every Man ſmote his Breaſt, and many wept: the only Perſon who ſtood unmoved was Sir *Walter*. "I ſee, ſaid he, what is determined, "and it is vain to ſpeak againſt it. Let me have "ſome Days to prepare for Death." He was anſwered, that the Time appointed was the next Morning. And the Judge added, ſmiling, none doubted but that he was long ago prepared for it.

He was the next Day beheaded; at the Age of Seventy-ſeven; a Sacrifice to *Spain*: his real Crime the Glory he had gained under *Elizabeth* againſt that Kingdom.

What he ſaid at his Death was this: "Tell "thoſe who accuſed me, I have pray'd they "may be forgiven. — Let the World know, I "never had a Thought but for the Intereſt or "Glory of my Country; that I have loved "the King more than Reaſon; and truſted him "farther than Prudence: and that I know no "Treaſon. Theſe Things are true, as there is a "God; and I am about to appear at his Tribunal: if any Thing be falſe in this, I there "renounce Mercy."

This ſpoken, he ſaid a Prayer of ſome Minutes, and then met Death as one who had never fear'd it.

CHAP. LX.

The English *viſit* New-England *ſucceſsfully.*

THE Year 1617 paſſed without any Thing done on the Account of *New-England*; but in the ſucceeding Year, thoſe who had entertained great Thoughts of the Advantage of a Trade there, atoned for the former Remiſsneſs by ſending out four Ships.

Two of theſe reached the Coaſt, and made a ſucceſsful Voyage; one brought in a very valuable Loading to *Plymouth*, and the other ſold hers at *Bilboa*, and came in richer with the Manufactures of that Country. The two other parted, from Diſpute and Folly, and did not make the Voyage.

In the Year following a Preparation was made at *Plymouth*, for ſending out ſeveral Ships; but as uſual, Quarrels happened among the Owners, and only one went. This returned ſo ſucceſsful, that all reproached themſelves who had declined the Expedition, and reſolved upon more prudent Councils.

CHAP. LXI.

A Settlement made in New-England.

THE Succeſs of the Voyage of 1619 was the Merit of Captain *Dormer*, and to that Succeſs was owing wholly the planting the Colony at *New Plymouth*; the firſt ſettled there from *England*: his Name therefore deſerves Immortality: and the Title of Father of the Colony.

The People whoſe fooliſh Quarrels had prevented it, now grew fond of the Thought of a Settlement upon the Coaſt of a Country, where any ſingle Ship in theſe random Voyages made ſo great Gain.

This Purpoſe was favoured by another Accident, Religion, which in the Reign whereof we now treat was ſomewhat tyrannical, and had driven many of tender Conſciences, and particular Sects, out of the Kingdom.

Of theſe the principal in Reputation were Mr. *Robinſon*, an Independent Preacher, and Mr. *Brewſter*, a Man of ſevere Morals and unblemiſh'd Life. The good Senſe of theſe two Men placed them at the Head of the Party. The People retired to *Holland*, where they had Liberty of Conſcience, but in all other Reſpects experienced the moſt ſevere Oppreſſion.

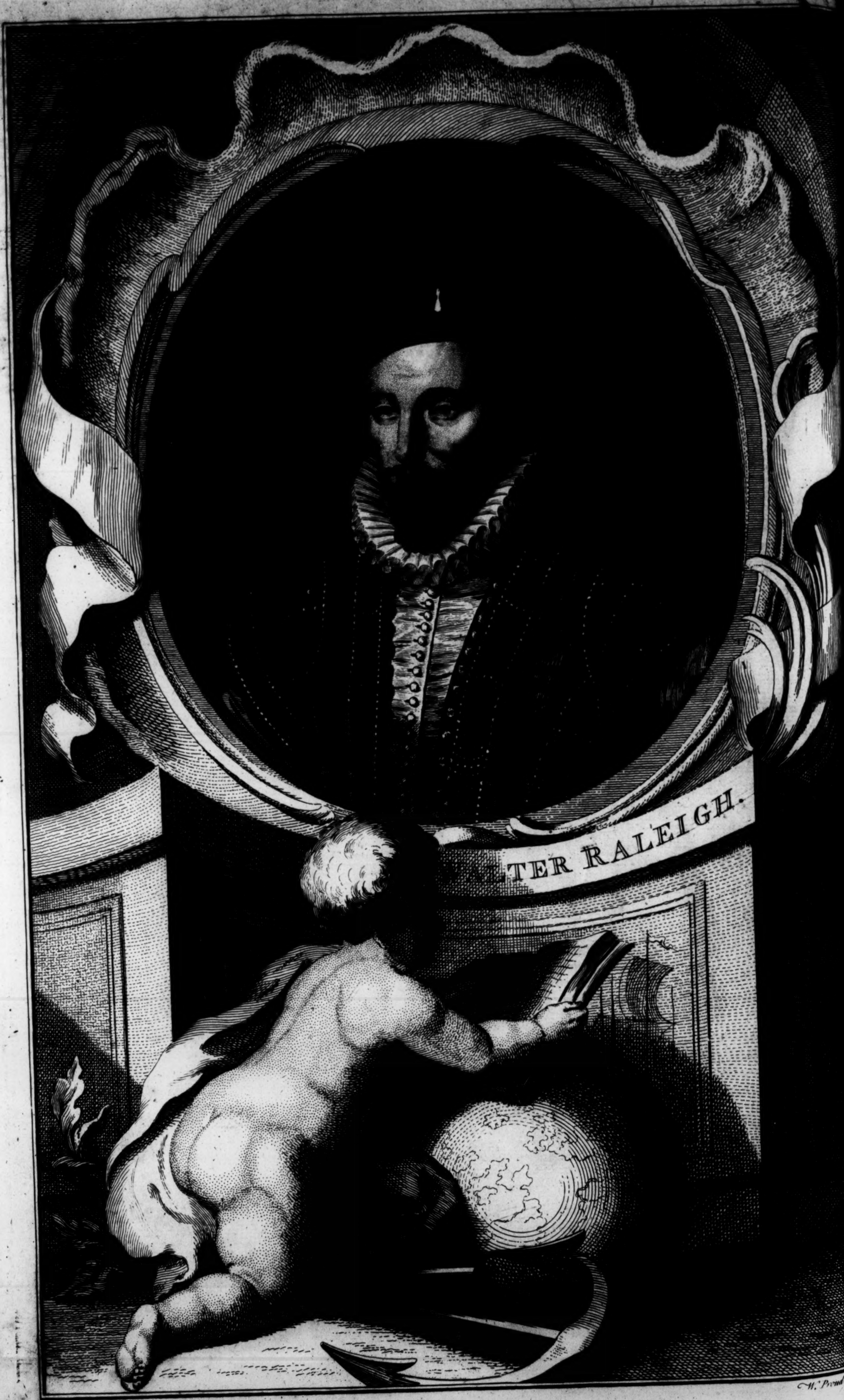
Their two Principals propoſed to them, ſince Power would drive them out of their own Country, and Avarice from this, that they ſhould ſeek a new World, where Induſtry might maintain them independently of ſuch hard Maſters.

New England, the Spot then wanted to be peopled, was the fixed Choice: they were glad to find an eaſy Method of Conveyance to ſuch a Place as they deſired; and the Proprietors in the Scheme were very happy that they had a Set of ſenſible and honeſt People, to ſend over inſtead of Vagabonds and Thieves, the Men who uſually made Colonies.

The Propoſal was made to the King, and Liberty of Conſcience was the only Condition they demanded. This he readily allowed; and all was ſettled.

Mr. *Robinſon* died before the Project was brought into Action; but on his Death-bed he appointed the whole Courſe of their Proceedings; and gave them in Charge to Mr. *Brewſter* in ſuch a Manner, and with ſuch a fervent Zeal, that he became their Leader.

Mr. *Brewſter* firſt agreed with the Company for


LTER RALEIGH.
W. Proud

for a large Tract of Land to the South-Weſt of the Country; and this being ſettled, and the Liberty of Conſcience ratify'd, he ſailed with his Colony from *Delft* to *Southampton*, and thence in Company with another Body of Diſſenters, who met him by Appointment there in a ſecond Ship, they proceeded to the Country intended as their Reſidence.

They arrived at *Cape Cod* after a ſucceſsful Voyage, and propoſed to land. *Brewſter* told them one Thing wat firſt neceſſary: he produced an Inſtrument to be ſigned by them all, containing their Submiſſion to the Crown of *England*, and to ſuch Laws as ſhould be made by the Perſons in Power in the Colony. This done, he led them on ſhore, and they made Mr. *Carver* their firſt Governor.

It was on the Eleventh of *November* they landed. They took all Precautions for fixing on a proper Spot; and choſe, after many Expeditions of viewing the Country, a Piece of hilly Ground, near a good Harbour, with all the Neceſſaries of Life, and Conveniences of Commerce.

All was Order and Regularity among theſe People. Religion is the beſt Guardian of civil Polity. They divided themſelves into Families; they began to erect Houſes, and preſently the Form of a pleaſant and well-deſigned Town appeared.

They made Terms with the Natives; and ſeated themſelves in great Tranquility. The Place they had fixed upon was out of the Limits of their Grant, but this was ſet right ſoon.

The Colony employed themſelves induſtriouſly in all neceſſary Buſineſſes; and throve as Integrity and Induſtry ought.

Next Year they received a Reinforcement of Men and Proviſions. The Town they called *New Plymouth*. They lived in perfect Friendſhip with the Natives; and from time to time, as they encreaſed by natural Means, and by the Numbers ſent from Year to Year from the Mother Country, they ſent out leſſer Colonies; and laid the Foundation of that Strength and Proſperity the Country now enjoys.

The King confirmed their Poſſeſſion, and they enriched themſelves by Commerce.

CHAP. LXII.

The Riſe of the African *Trade.*

THE Merchants of *England* could not but from various Occurrences know the Advantages that might be deduced from a ſettled Trade on the Coaſt of *Africa*; and we find, at different Periods in this Age of Commerce, Attempts were made to eſtabliſh it. That the firſt of them were not ſucceſsful, was owing to an improper ſetting out; not to any thing in the Nature of the Undertaking.

To trade upon ſuch a Coaſt, with ſuch a People, and againſt ſuch Diſadvantages as oppoſed the Attempt, demanded two firſt Principles, a good Capital and a conſiderable Strength.

The firſt would, under due Management, at any Time have produced the other. For what is there Gold will not command? But thoſe who made the earlieſt Voyages in this Expedition had neither.

A ſingle Ship at one Time or other ſet out upon the Attempt; and as we have occaſionally ſhown, ſpeaking of the proceeding Years, ſome of theſe were ſucceſsful, but the far greater Part were not.

In the Beginning of the Reign of which we now write, ſeveral private Perſons fitted out Ships, and ſent them in the ſame Manner ſingly; and all they found by this was, that ſuch a Trade was practicable, and that it promiſed every Thing the moſt ſanguine could deſire from Commerce; but that it could not be atchieved that Way. They found the Coaſt rich, but the Natives ſavage, cunning to allure People into their Power, and determined to deſtroy them when they were ſo.

Theſe frequent Accidents, and the general ill Return of the Voyages, at length deter'd all private Adventurers: but there were ſome, who with the Advantages of ſuch a Trade, ſaw alſo the Methods of obtaining them.

At the Head of theſe was Sir *Robert Rich*, a Merchant of great Knowledge and Fortune: he ſhewed the Way to others; and getting a Subſcription of a very conſiderable Capital, he applied to the Government for a Charter, which ſhould ſecure the Advantages of a Trade they were about to carry on at ſo great a joint Expence, and which there were no other Ways of conducting.

The King granted them an excluſive Charter, and they applied in earneſt to Buſineſs.

It was not without Cauſe theſe People had applied for an excluſive Charter; for no ſooner had their firſt Ships opened a Way to this profitable Trade, than Interlopers were in Defiance of that Authority ſent upon the ſame Expedition. The Penalty was Forfeiture of Ship and Goods, but even this could not deter Merchants where there was Gain.

The Fact was difficult of Proof; for thoſe who were guilty of it uſed the worſt Means to prevent Evidence: and by the Trouble and Expence of theſe Proſecutions, the ill Conduct of thoſe employed in the Management of the Trade, the Sickneſs upon thoſe Seas, and the Uncertainty of the Returns, the Company were after a few Years wearied into the withdrawing their Stock; and the Trade lay for ſeveral ſucceeding Years neglected both by them, and by private Adventurers.

CHAP. LXIII.

An Attempt to ſettle upon New Scotland.

THE Succeſs of the late Plantations inſpired many with Deſigns of a like Kind; and in the Year 1621, Sir *William Alexander* obtained a Patent for ſettling what he called *New Scotland*.

Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, who at that Time preſided over the Affairs of *New England*, put this into his Head, and upon obtaining the Authority, he immediately fitted out a Ship, and ſent over his Colony.

In this Place the Laws of *Scotland* were to have Force; and the Land was to be held of the Crown of *Scotland*; not yet united to the *Engliſh* Dominion.

Sir *Alexander* did not embark himſelf; and he was unlucky in the Choice of his Commander. The Veſſel did not reach the intended Place that Year, but was obliged to winter at *Newfoundland*.

Thence they made their Way to the intended Seat in the ſucceeding Spring, and choſe an advantageous Spot for their firſt Town.

This was all that could be done, for the Neceſſaries for ſubſiſting the Colony had been expended at *Newfoundland*.

They returned with an Account of what they had done; and the Proprietor, ſo far diſappointed, did not continue his Project with that Spirit he had employed in it at the Beginning.

Some few Ships went from Time to Time, and a ſmall Number of Perſons ſettled, and came off again.

The Country, though given to the Proprietor, was never well poſſeſſed by him; and the *French* taking Advantage of theſe weak Proceedings, ſeiz'd the Land; and fortified themſelves at *Port Royal*; whence tho' we once in later Times expelled them, they afterwards recovered it again.

Thus ended this Attempt of Sir *Alexander* very unhappily; his not proſecuting it vigorouſly, was much worſe than if he had not engaged in it at all: he ſhewed the Enemies of his Country the Advantages of the Place; and may with too much Reaſon be accuſed of planting them in that important Station.

CHAP. LXIV.

The firſt planting of Barbadoes.

BArbadoes, at preſent ſo rich and ſo important a Place was long a neglected Spot: known and diſregarded.

The *Portugueſe* were the firſt who diſcovered it; at leaſt the firſt who acquainted the World with their Diſcovery: but all the Regard they ſhew'd to it was, by ſaying that in ſuch a Latitude lay ſuch an Iſland, on which they had been driven by Tempeſts returning from the *Braſils*.

The ſame Fate attended the Ship of an *Engliſhman*, Sir *William Curteen*, but he knew how to make a better Uſe of the Diſcovery. Returning from *Fernambuco*, he was driven by Streſs of Weather upon this Coaſt in the Year 1624, and the People landing, ſtaid there to repair the Ship.

In this Time ſome who had more Sagacity than the common Sort, examined the Nature and Produce of the Country. 'Twas over-run with Woods; and in few Places at that Time habitable: but 'twas eaſy to ſee that the Soil was good; and there were ſufficient Advantages to tempt People of the enterprizing Spirit which then reigned among the *Engliſh*, to plant and poſſeſs it.

They had no ſooner told their Story on their Return, than a Body of the Nobility formed an Aſſociation, and raiſed a Sum to defray the Expences of ſettling a Colony on the new diſcovered Iſland.

Theſe were the Purpoſes for which the Noblemen of that Time *aſſociated* themſelves: to poſſeſs new Lands for their King, and to improve the Commerce of their Country: how different from the Purpoſe of ASSOCIATIONS now!

Let them be told to read their Country's Hiſtory; and when they have bluſhed for their own Actions, imitate thoſe of their Anceſtors.

The Earl of *Pembroke* of that Time adventured largely: he placed himſelf at the Head of the Direction; and chuſing a ſenſible and honeſt Man for Governor, Mr. *Cannon*, ſent him over with a large Body of People, Labourers and Artiſts, a Clergyman and a Surgeon; and gave them Inſtruction in what Manner to clear away, and make themſelves a commodious Place of Habitation.

A few Years afterwards an Earl of *Carliſle*, a Favourite of the ſucceeding King, aſked and obtained a Grant of it againſt the proper Poſſeſſors.

The Colony ſubſiſted, tho' it changed Maſter; and it is almoſt the firſt Inſtance of a Plantation which ſucceeded without Interruption from its firſt Beginning; growing, from the Induſtry of the People, from Littleneſs to the higheſt Importance.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXV.

The firſt Settlement at St. Chriſtophers.

WE write of the Age of planting Colonies: an univerſal Spirit diffuſed itſelf through all Ranks in *Britain* towards the End of King *James*'s Reign; and many of our now moſt flouriſhing Colonies had at that Time their Origin.

While the Settlement of *Barbadoes* was carrying upon by the joint Stock of an Aſſociation of the Nobility, one Man of private Character and Fortune undertook ſingly to ſettle a Colony upon *St. Chriſtophers*: this was Mr. *Ralph Merryfield*.

He gave the Command of the Ship he fitted out to Captain *Wariner*; and ſent with the People every Convenience.

All admired the Spirit of a private Man, who launched ſo boldly into the Sea of Adventure; and many deſired to be admitted Sharers. He did not refuſe this: he acted with as much Honour in this, as he had with Spirit in the preceding Inſtance, and ſold out the Stock at a very fair Price.

The Voyage was ſucceſsful; and Captain *Wariner* found the Project had but juſt been executed in Time: for there were then ſome *Frenchmen* in three ſmall Ships lying off the Iſland.

To theſe he ſent at firſt a civil Meſſage, informing them he came from the Proprietor Mr. *Merryfield*, and under the Authority of the Government of *England*, to plant a Colony upon that Iſland, their Property: he therefore warned them to depart. They ſlighted this: on which he threaten'd; and they then, in the true Spirit of their Country, complied, and went about their Buſineſs.

The *Engliſh* choſe the beſt Spot on the Iſland; and having firſt ſettled an Intercourſe of Friendſhip with the *Indians*, built their Houſes in Form, and began the great Work of Plantation.

'Twas on the Twenty-eighth of *January* they firſt ſet foot on the Iſland; and in the Middle of *September* they had a very plentiful Crop of Tobacco, inferior to none in the neighbouring Countries.

Their Hopes were fruitleſs from this fair Appearance: an Hurricane came on the Nineteenth of that Month; and to their equal Aſtoniſhment and Confuſion, tore it all up, and ſcatter'd it over the Country.

This was an Accident of which they could not be aware, for they had no Knowledge of its Nature; but they learn'd from the *Indians* that ſuch Winds were not new to them.

All this Time they ſubſiſted very well upon the Produce of the Country, and the Creatures about its Shores. Turtles they had in vaſt Abundance; and Fiſh of the fineſt Kind: with theſe they had equal Plenty of Caſſada Bread, Potatoes and Plantanes.

They were not diſcouraged from the Plantation of Tobacco, by the Accident their former Crop had ſuffered; but went to work again with all Application; and their Perſeverance had the Succeſs it deſerved. They received a Reinforcement from *England*; they gathered their Tobacco in good Order, and Captain *Wariner* came back with it to *England*, greatly to the Satisfaction of the Proprietors.

In this Time however the *French*, whom they had driven from the Front, ſettled themſelves upon the Back of the Iſland. This the ſmall Colony left by Captain *Wariner* were in no Condition to oppoſe; but they deſired that Gentleman, on his Return to *England*, to be earneſt in his Remonſtrances.

CHAP. LXVI.

The Enterpriſes of the Government at this Period.

WE have ſeen how buſy a Time this was to the Merchants; and it is Time to look into the Conduct of the Government at this Period.

Gondemar, triumphant in the Death of *Raleigh*, carried every thing without Oppoſition as he pleaſed. A *Spaniard*, and a ſecret Enemy, was at this Time Prime Miniſter of *England*. The King did nothing without his Concurrence; nor refuſed any Thing he propoſed. While the Subjects of *England* were plundered upon the Seas, and ſacrificed on Shore, in Complaiſance to this natural and hearty Enemy, under a weak Peace, the very Government became ſubſervient to its Purpoſe, and *England* acted as the Tool of *Spain*.

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Execu-

CHAP. LXIII.

An Attempt to ſettle upon New Scotland.

THE Succeſs of the late Plantations inſpired many with Deſigns of a like Kind; and in the Year 1621, Sir *William Alexander* obtained a Patent for ſettling what he called *New Scotland*.

Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, who at that Time preſided over the Affairs of *New England*, put this into his Head, and upon obtaining the Authority, he immediately fitted out a Ship, and ſent over his Colony.

In this Place the Laws of *Scotland* were to have Force; and the Land was to be held of the Crown of *Scotland*; not yet united to the *Engliſh* Dominion.

Sir *Alexander* did not embark himſelf; and he was unlucky in the Choice of his Commander. The Veſſel did not reach the intended Place that Year, but was obliged to winter at *Newfoundland*.

Thence they made their Way to the intended Seat in the ſucceeding Spring, and choſe an advantageous Spot for their firſt Town.

This was all that could be done, for the Neceſſaries for ſubſiſting the Colony had been expended at *Newfoundland*.

They returned with an Account of what they had done; and the Proprietor, ſo far diſappointed, did not continue his Project with that Spirit he had employed in it at the Beginning.

Some few Ships went from Time to Time, and a ſmall Number of Perſons ſettled, and came off again.

The Country, though given to the Proprietor, was never well poſſeſſed by him; and the *French* taking Advantage of theſe weak Proceedings, ſeiz'd the Land; and fortified themſelves at *Port Royal*; whence tho' we once in later Times expelled them, they afterwards recovered it again.

Thus ended this Attempt of Sir *Alexander* very unhappily; his not proſecuting it vigorouſly, was much worſe than if he had not engaged in it at all: he ſhewed the Enemies of his Country the Advantages of the Place; and may with too much Reaſon be accuſed of planting them in that important Station.

CHAP. LXIV.

The firſt planting of Barbadoes.

BArbadoes, at preſent ſo rich and ſo important a Place was long a neglected Spot: known and diſregarded.

The *Portugueſe* were the firſt who diſcovered it; at leaſt the firſt who acquainted the World with their Diſcovery: but all the Regard they ſhew'd to it was, by ſaying that in ſuch a Latitude lay ſuch an Iſland, on which they had been driven by Tempeſts returning from the *Braſils*.

The ſame Fate attended the Ship of an *Engliſhman*, Sir *William Curteen*, but he knew how to make a better Uſe of the Diſcovery. Returning from *Fernambuco*, he was driven by Streſs of Weather upon this Coaſt in the Year 1624, and the People landing, ſtaid there to repair the Ship.

In this Time ſome who had more Sagacity than the common Sort, examined the Nature and Produce of the Country. 'Twas over-run with Woods; and in few Places at that Time habitable: but 'twas eaſy to ſee that the Soil was good; and there were ſufficient Advantages to tempt People of the enterprizing Spirit which then reigned among the *Engliſh*, to plant and poſſeſs it.

They had no ſooner told their Story on their Return, than a Body of the Nobility formed an Aſſociation, and raiſed a Sum to defray the Expences of ſettling a Colony on the new diſcovered Iſland.

Theſe were the Purpoſes for which the Noblemen of that Time *aſſociated* themſelves: to poſſeſs new Lands for their King, and to improve the Commerce of their Country: how different from the Purpoſe of ASSOCIATIONS now!

Let them be told to read their Country's Hiſtory; and when they have bluſhed for their own Actions, imitate thoſe of their Anceſtors.

The Earl of *Pembroke* of that Time adventured largely: he placed himſelf at the Head of the Direction; and chuſing a ſenſible and honeſt Man for Governor, Mr. *Cannon*, ſent him over with a large Body of People, Labourers and Artiſts, a Clergyman and a Surgeon; and gave them Inſtruction in what Manner to clear away, and make themſelves a commodious Place of Habitation.

A few Years afterwards an Earl of *Carliſle*, a Favourite of the ſucceeding King, aſked and obtained a Grant of it againſt the proper Poſſeſſors.

The Colony ſubſiſted, tho' it changed Maſter; and it is almoſt the firſt Inſtance of a Plantation which ſucceeded without Interruption from its firſt Beginning; growing, from the Induſtry of the People, from Littleneſs to the higheſt Importance.

CHAP. LXV.

The firſt Settlement at St. Chriſtophers.

WE write of the Age of planting Colonies: an univerſal Spirit diffuſed itſelf through all Ranks in *Britain* towards the End of King *James*'s Reign; and many of our now moſt flouriſhing Colonies had at that Time their Origin.

While the Settlement of *Barbadoes* was carrying upon by the joint Stock of an Aſſociation of the Nobility, one Man of private Character and Fortune undertook ſingly to ſettle a Colony upon *St. Chriſtophers*: this was Mr. *Ralph Merryfield*.

He gave the Command of the Ship he fitted out to Captain *Wariner*; and ſent with the People every Convenience.

All admired the Spirit of a private Man, who launched ſo boldly into the Sea of Adventure; and many deſired to be admitted Sharers. He did not refuſe this: he acted with as much Honour in this, as he had with Spirit in the preceding Inſtance, and ſold out the Stock at a very fair Price.

The Voyage was ſucceſsful; and Captain *Wariner* found the Project had but juſt been executed in Time: for there were then ſome *Frenchmen* in three ſmall Ships lying off the Iſland.

To theſe he ſent at firſt a civil Meſſage, informing them he came from the Proprietor Mr. *Merryfield*, and under the Authority of the Government of *England*, to plant a Colony upon that Iſland, their Property: he therefore warned them to depart. They ſlighted this: on which he threaten'd; and they then, in the true Spirit of their Country, complied, and went about their Buſineſs.

The *Engliſh* choſe the beſt Spot on the Iſland; and having firſt ſettled an Intercourſe of Friendſhip with the *Indians*, built their Houſes in Form, and began the great Work of Plantation.

'Twas on the Twenty-eighth of *January* they firſt ſet foot on the Iſland; and in the Middle of *September* they had a very plentiful Crop of Tobacco, inferior to none in the neighbouring Countries.

Their Hopes were fruitleſs from this fair Appearance: an Hurricane came on the Nineteenth of that Month; and to their equal Aſtoniſhment and Confuſion, tore it all up, and ſcatter'd it over the Country.

This was an Accident of which they could not be aware, for they had no Knowledge of its Nature; but they learn'd from the *Indians* that ſuch Winds were not new to them.

All this Time they ſubſiſted very well upon the Produce of the Country, and the Creatures about its Shores. Turtles they had in vaſt Abundance; and Fiſh of the fineſt Kind: with theſe they had equal Plenty of Caſſada Bread, Potatoes and Plantanes.

They were not diſcouraged from the Plantation of Tobacco, by the Accident their former Crop had ſuffered, but went to work again with all Application; and their Perſeverance had the Succeſs it deſerved. They received a Reinforcement from *England*; they gathered their Tobacco in good Order, and Captain *Wariner* came back with it to *England*, greatly to the Satisfaction of the Proprietors.

In this Time however the *French*, whom they had driven from the Front, ſettled themſelves upon the Back of the Iſland. This the ſmall Colony left by Captain *Wariner* were in no Condition to oppoſe; but they deſired that Gentleman, on his Return to *England*, to be earneſt in his Remonſtrances.

CHAP. LXVI.

The Enterpriſes of the Government at this Period.

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Execution, correſpondent to the Origin of this Undertaking, Fate had borrowed Commanders from thoſe to be born in a more advanced Period; or that the People then entruſted with their Country's Honour in the *Mediterranean*, had riſen again to ſhame and curſe their Country in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century.

The Armament againſt the *Algerines*, the Work of *Gondemar*, was conducted with ſuch Expence, as ſuited with the Aſcendant he had over the King. The Fleet conſiſted of no leſs than eighteen Ships, and the Command fell upon Sir *Robert Manſell*, who bore the Title of Vice Admiral of *England*. A Council of War was appointed to attend the Expedition; a Secretary, at an advanced Salary, to ſend continual Accounts, as well as keep the Minutes of Tranſactions and Reſolves; that the *Spaniard* might know whom to advance for holding firm to his Intereſt, whom to degrade for adhering to that of his Country.

The Commiſſion was to humble the *Algerines*, who at that Time very much infeſted the *Spaniſh* Coaſts.

Whatever were the real Cauſe of ſuch an Armament, thoſe who commanded had but one Conduct to obſerve: the *Algerines*, though moſt troubleſome to *Spain*, were Enemies to all Mankind; and it became the Commanders of a *Britiſh* Fleet to act boldly.

On the Twelfth of *October*, in the Year 1620, this Fleet ſailed from *Plymouth*, and on the laſt Day of the ſame Month they entered the Streights of *Gibraltar*.

The ſix ſucceeding Days were employed in ſending the Sick on ſhore, and providing for their Recovery; and at the End of that Time, the Admiral divided his Fleet into three Squadrons.

On the Nineteenth they anchor'd in *Alicant* Road; and on the Twenty-ſeventh in *Algiers* Road. Shame forbids our telling the Circumſtances of this Voyage; for we who write, and you who read are *Britons*. Their Buſineſs was to find out and deſtroy the Pirates of *Algiers*; but as if afraid of finding Opportunities of executing their Commiſſion, they lay continually in Harbour, where unleſs the Pirates came to them, it was impoſſible they ſhould meet.

On the Fourteenth of *June*, after loitering away ſo much Time, and ſquandering ſo vaſt a Sum of the publick Money, they returned; ſome to the Coaſts of *Spain*, the reſt to *England*. The whole Fleet having made one Prize; a Ship-load of *Legborn* Diſhes; deſtin'd to *Algiers*, but ſerved on *Engliſh* Tables.

CHAP. LXVII.

A Voyage to the River of Amazons.

THOUGH the Gold Mines of *Guiana* were no longer ſpoke of, unleſs by thoſe who lamented the Fate of *Raleigh*, the Country which was the deſtin'd End of thoſe ill-fated Voyages, was not left unregarded.

Captain *North*, in this memorable Year 1620, made a Voyage up the River of *Amazons*, to ſettle a Colony, and enrich *England* with the Produce of that fertile Soil.

The Return of the Voyage was ſucceſsful; but he who made it had forgot that *Gondemar* would be diſpleaſed with it. He was impriſoned at his Return; and though he eſcaped the Fate of *Raleigh*, he ſuffered enough to have broken the Spirit of another; enough to ſhew him how dangerous it was in thoſe Times to give Offence to *Spain*.

The Crown of *Bohemia* was this Year placed on the Head of the Elector *Palatine*, Son-in-Law to King *James*. *Spain* took Offence at this; and, in Concert with the Emperor, attacked him in ſuch a Manner, that his hereditary Dominions were in Danger.

His Hope was in his Father-in-Law: but how ſhould *James* aſſiſt him, when the Court to which *Gondemar* belonged, and conſequently *Gondemar* himſelf, was his Enemy.

He anſwered, "Shall I for my Son's Ambition "war with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who have done "me no Wrong? Had the Elector *Palatine* my "Advice to take the Crown of *Bohemia*?"

Theſe were the Whiſpers of the *Spaniſh* Gondemar, and they came loudly from the Mouth of *England*: but 'twas a Language too unnatural to be held always. The Nobility pleaded hard; and after long Interceſſion, got Leave to ſend over a Regiment, if they would raiſe it.

This was done: of theſe Sir *Horatio Vere* had principal Command; and the Earls of *Oxford* and *Eſſex* went with them, commanding each a Company of Gentlemen, who went as Volunteers.

The Battle of *Prague*, fought on the Seventh of *November* this Year, went againſt the Elector: he was obliged to leave *Prague*, and the Loſs of the *Upper Palatinate* followed.

King *James* demanded Aſſiſtance of his Subjects on this Occaſion, and they freely granted it; but it was not as heartily applied for the Service of the Elector. *Gondemar* ſtill ſwayed the Councils of the King; and though his Tongue eſpouſed the Cauſe of his Son-in-Law, his Heart was contrary.

Charles Prince of *Wales*, afterwards King *Charles* the Firſt, ſet out toward the latter End of *February* 1623, accompanied by the Earl of *Buckingham* for *Spain*. The Undertaking was not more wild and fooliſh, than the Conſequences terrible. In this Journey he ſaw the Princeſs *Henrietta* at *Paris*, afterwards his Queen.

The Favourite *Buckingham* was loaded with new Honours; a Patent for Duke of *Buckingham* was ſent to him there, and it was ſuppoſed he would be lull'd by the Civilities of the Court into a Diſregard of every Thing, even the Intent of his Journey.

This did not happen: the Prince who had ſome Spirit, though it was of an odd Kind, ſaw the King of *Spain* was inſincere in his Propoſals as to the *Palatinate*; and the new Duke liſtening to him, they bade good bye to the Infanta ſomewhat abruptly; and, reſolving againſt the Marriage, came back to *England*.

Charles, at the ſame Time that he told the King of the Inſincerity of *Spain*, praiſed highly the Beauties and Endowments of the Princeſs *Henrietta*, Siſter to the King of *France*.

The King, when he heard *Buckingham* approv'd it, gave alſo his Sanction to the Match; and in the Year 1624, the Parliament, upon the Remonſtrances of *Buckingham*, addreſſing the King to diſcontinue the Treaty with the King of *Spain*, of whoſe Inſincerity they were perfectly convinced, he agreed to it; and with great Satiſfaction heard their next Propoſal, which was for a Treaty with *France*, reſpecting the Prince's Marriage with *Henrietta*.

War was now the only Theme. The Parliament granted largely for a vigorous Proſecution of it; and ſome Troops were ſent to *Holland*, to join the States Forces under the Prince of *Orange*; while others were raiſed, and given in Command to Count *Mansfield*, who was to open himſelf a Way into the *Palatinate* during the Winter.

France liſtened to the Marriage; but the King's Death, very ſudden and perfectly unexpected, threw the Nation into a Confuſion: a Spring Ague ſeiz'd him; and either of that, or of the Doctors, he died in a Fortnight.

The Murmurs and Complaints were loud: the Duke of *Buckingham* was called Monſter, ungrateful and inhuman: the Commons impeach'd him for giving Medicines to the King, unknown to the Phyſicians. That he did ſo was proved; and *Craig*, one of the Phyſicians, ſpoke publickly his Thoughts that he was poiſoned.

The King was in the Fifty-ninth Year of his Life; and had reigned Twenty-two Years.

Partiality may find Occaſions of Praiſe in ſuch a Courſe of Time in any Reign; but to the diſintereſted this will be always plain, he reigns beſt in whoſe Time his Kingdom is moſt reſpectable.

It is certain, that in that of King *James*, *England* was reduced almoſt to Contempt. The Arrogance of *Spain* trampled upon her, and the Raillery of *France* ſcratched her ſacred Face. Trade flouriſhed: but it was in Spite of Oppoſition: for it was in no Time leſs encouraged.

C H A P. LXVIII.

The Cruelties of the Dutch.

BEfore we enter upon the Reign of *Charles*, it will be proper to look back a Year or two, rather than paſs unnoticed a Tranſaction in which our Country was too much concerned; which ſtamps a Blot upon the Century wherein it happened, and gives the *Dutch* for everlaſting Time the Name of Butchers.

In the Year 1619, a Treaty had been concluded with *Holland*, in which it was agreed that the Trade of the *Moluccas*, *Banda* and *Amboyna* ſhould be divided, tho' not equally, between them and the *Engliſh*. The *Dutch*, in Conſideration of the Blood and Treaſure it had coſt to get that Trade from the *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards*, were to have two thirds of it, and the *Engliſh* one third.

This Treaty executed, the *Engliſh* according to its Tenor placed a Factory at *Amboyna*, one of the *Banda* Iſlands, near the *Moluccas*; the principal Place where the rich Spices are found, Cloves, Mace, Cinnamon and Nutmegs.

The *Dutch* could not endure this, though authoriſed by Treaty; and they defamed their Country for ever by the Practices they uſed to fruſtrate it.

Their Conduct had been always inſolent, deceitful and cruel; but the Eyes of *England* were not enough open to it. *Elizabeth* awed them during her glorious Reign; but they ſoon ſaw the Character of her Succeſſor, and they declared themſelves.

We ſhall give a Review of their Tranſactions during this Reign: the proper Introduction to the bloody Action at the Cloſe of it.

The *Dutch* having by the Aſſiſtance of Sir *Ralph Winwood* got the Cautionary Towns into their own Poſſeſſion, they began to appear in their true Colours; adding Cruelty to Hypocriſy, and Avarice to Inſolence.

The *Engliſh*, who were Trafficking in the *Eaſt Indies*, ſenſible of this, and finding no Redreſs, preferred their juſt Complaints to King *James*; on which enſued the firſt Treaty in the Year 1613, in the City of *London*; and after that another in the Year 1615, at the *Hague*: but this taking up much Time to little Purpoſe, a third was held in *London* in the Year 1619, on the Differences between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in the *Eaſt Indies*.

In this a full and ſolemn Compoſition was made; and a fair Order ſet as to the Management of Affairs for Time to come; but ſo reſtleſs were the Spirits of the *Hollanders* to make themſelves the entire Maſters of the Profits of the *Indies*, that having driven from thence the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*, they at the laſt determined with themſelves by Subtilty as well as Strength, to force away the *Engliſh* alſo.

Four Years before the moſt barbarous Proceedings at *Amboyna*, they endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs our People of the Iſlands of *Banda*, *Polleroon*, and ſome others, famous for the Nutmegs, Cloves and

Mace; and underſtanding by one of their Spies, that Captain *Courtope* was gone from his Houſe and Factory in *Polleroon* to one of the adjacent Clove Iſlands, called *Lantore*, they ſhot him as he was in the Boat upon his Return.

Being demanded the Cauſe of ſo unexpected a Murther, they ſent Word to the *Engliſh* that they need take no more Care for him: he was dead, and ſhould be buried.

Though this was a great Diſcouragement to the *Engliſh*, who were there in their Occupation of Merchandize; yet ſome were afterwards ſo bold, as to endeavour a Settlement at *Lantore*: amongſt theſe was Mr. *Woofe* a Factor there, and one who being taken not long afterwards by the *Dutch*, endured almoſt as much Miſery as human Nature could ſupport.

CHAP. LXIX.

Behaviour of the Dutch *at* Lantore.

THE *Dutch* had no ſooner Notice that the *Engliſh* had raiſed a Factory in the Iſland of *Lantore*, than ſailing from *Jaccatra*, now called *Batavia*, they treated with the Natives to ſurrender the Iſland into their Hands.

At firſt they thought to have prevailed upon them with Perſwaſion; but fair Words failing, they uſed others, and threatned them with Sword and Fire.

Though they were not ignorant that a Treaty had been held in *London*, and a full Compoſition for the Ending of all Controverſies, yet they informed the Natives, that although they had given the Iſland to the King of *England*, they need not fear to diſclaim what they had done by making them Maſters of it: for they ſaid they could, nay, and they would interpoſe between all Dangers and them, and aſſured them that they had Strength enough to defend them againſt all the Nations in the World.

They only deſired of them Security to enjoy the Profit of their Fruits, on the ſame Terms which the *Engliſh* had conditioned with them.

The Natives of the Iſland in a great Perplexity, and doubting amongſt themſelves what might be the Event, if they refuſed an Obligation, which carried an Offer of ſo much Safety with it, addreſſed themſelves to the *Engliſh*, and deſired of them to be informed, how they might ſecure themſelves from that deceitful and cruel Generation of Men, whoſe Perſwaſions were as plauſible, as their Threatnings terrible.

Underſtanding by the *Engliſh*, that they expected a conſiderable Recruit both of Men and Ships to come ſpeedily to them, they were reſolved to be firm; and not to yield to their Perſuaſions.

The *Dutch* not long afterwards deſired of them again, after ſome flattering Aſſeverations, to give them, *a Seiſin of Security*; at which the Natives pretending Ignorance, told them, they knew not the Signification of the Word, and ſeemed to be extraordinarily curious to underſtand the Interpretation of it.

The *Dutch* with as much Deceit as Confidence, having whiſpered amongſt themſelves, after ſome Deliberation, told them, they muſt bring a great Braſs Baſon filled with Earth, and plant in the Middle of it the Branch of a Nutmeg-Tree laden with Fruit, and cauſe it to be preſented to them by the chiefeſt Men of their Iſlands: and this they told them was the Senſe and Interpretation of the Word.

The Natives having received this Anſwer, acquainted the *Engliſh* with it, to whom they were more inclined than to the *Dutch*, as all the reſt of thoſe Nations were: and having afterwards adviſed with one another, they told the *Dutch* in plain Terms, that their Demands were Impoſſibilities; for ſhould they recede from what already they had done, God and Man might juſtly charge them with Infidelity; for, to their Apprehenſions, they ſeemed to want them to diveſt the *Engliſh* of what was their propet Title, which by no Means they could be induced to do.

The *Hollanders* incenſed at this, told them, ſince no Perſuaſions would allure them to their own Happineſs, they muſt expect to find the Reward of their Obſtinacy; for, rather than be fruſtrated in their Intentions, they were reſolved to make a Bonfire of the Iſland. They adviſed them not to truſt to the *Engliſh* Strength, which could ſtand in no Competition with theirs, for they ſaid, they were but as a Handful in Compariſon with themſelves.

This Deſign fruſtrated, and the *Dutch* finding the Natives of the Iſland intractable to their Demands, prepared a large Veſſel, which they had there, with a Number of Guns, with a Reſolution forthwith to aſſault the Town.

This Ship was called the *Float*; and beſide her, they had in Readineſs ſeveral other leſs Ships, that lay againſt that Part of the Town where the *Engliſh* Factory was. Having two Days planted their Batteries, and played againſt the Walls, particularly againſt that Place, where by the Flags and Pendants of the Red Croſs, they found the *Engliſh* Factory was; and finding the Event not to anſwer the Expectation, on the Firſt of *March*, (five Days after their firſt Aſſault) they found the Means to land their Men, and enter the Town.

They placed in their Front, a conſiderable Number of the *Japoneſe*, all well armed, who making Way for the *Hollanders*, did ſuch Execution, that the Outcry in the Streets was terrible: Men, Women and Children being deſtroyed together. The *Engliſh*, being but few in Number, were taken Priſoners, and ſaluted with the Titles of Rogues and Villains, they were bound to Poſts by Hands and Neck, and beaten; they were afterwards ty'd Back to Back, and ſo the ſtronger was to carry the weaker to one of the *Dutch* Ships, where they were loaded with Irons; and harraſs'd with Variety of Tortures.

This laſted till ſome *Engliſh* Ships ſailing that Way, and being informed what the *Dutch* had done at *Lantore*, Captain *Fitz Herbert* ſent them to demand the Priſoners. They dar'd not refuſe, and they were ſent to the Iſland of *Polleroon*.

CHAP. LXX.

The Banda *Iſlands offer'd to the* Engliſh.

THEY continued not long there; for the *Dutch* who would have no Factories in the *Eaſt-Indies* but their own, again ſeiz'd upon them; and having plunder'd them to their Shirts, impriſon'd them in a Caſtle in that Iſland, where they continued till their Sufferings being again divulged, they were relieved by ſome *Engliſh* Ships that again paſſed that Way.

The Reaſon why the *Dutch* uſed ſo much Cruelty to the *Engliſh*, being demanded, nothing was laid to their Charge, but their buying Cloves upon the Iſlands.

The *Dutch*, at their Diſcharge, told the Priſoners, That as they were the firſt *Engliſh* that ever they took buying of Cloves upon that Iſland, they were willing to ſpare their Lives; but if, for the Time to come, they ſhould ever find any of their Countrymen on the ſame Buſineſs, they would not be ſo favourable as to hang them.

Speaking in Contempt of the *Engliſh* to the Natives, their common Language was, What is *England*, compared to our High and Mighty States of the *Netherlands!* We have Ships enough to block up all the *Engliſh*; and, if any Difference ſhould ariſe, the Proof ſhould manifeſt this Truth. We would ſhew them what the *Dutch* were!

Neither was their Arrogance and Cruelty expreſſed to the *Engliſh* alone: the Inhabitants of *China* had the ſad Experience of it; it being the common Practice of this People at that Time to ſeize upon their Veſſels as they came down to traffic in thoſe Rivers; and having plundered their Ships, to ſink them with the Men.

In the Year 1617, the Inhabitants of the *Banda* Iſlands made a handſome Preſent to Captain *Ball*, at that Time Preſident of *Bantam*, and beſought him to compaſſionate their Condition, to accept of their Gift, and receive their Iſlands into his Juriſdiction; defending them from the Tyrannies of the intruding and unmerciful *Hollanders*; whoſe Practice it was daily to plunder them, and to murder them at their Pleaſures; and to abuſe their Wives whilſt themſelves were forced to look on. And they told him, If he were pleaſed to accept of what they offered, he ſhould no way prejudice himſelf nor the *Engliſh* Nation.

Captain *Ball* replied, That he pitied their Misfortune; but in Regard they had made a Surrender of their Iſland already to the *Dutch*, it was not conſonant to Reaſon, that he ſhould take away that by Force, which they had obtained by Favour. The *Bandaneſes* reply'd, If that were all the Obſtacle, it might eaſily be removed; for they proteſted, they never gave the leaſt Conſent to the *Hollanders* to poſſeſs their Iſlands; but that they violently entred upon them without their Conſent; and tho' they had often deſired it, yet they had never received any Aſſurance of Submiſſion from them; the Unworthineſs of their Actions having deterred the *Bandaneſes* from condeſcending to their Perſuaſions. On this Captain *Ball* conſented to receive them into his Protection.

He continued Preſident but a little while after; for Captain *Jourdan* arrived with Sir *Thomas Dale's* Fleet, in the Year 1618; at which Time Captain *Ball* was commanded Home.

The Cruelties of the *Dutch* againſt the *Bandaneſe*, in many of their Iſlands continued, and grew to ſuch a Height that they hardly could be parallel'd; and this for no other Cauſe, but that their Affections were ſo fervently expreſſed towards the *Engliſh*.

CHAP. LXXI.

The Maſſacre of the Bandaneſe.

WE have related the taking of the chief Town in the Iſland of *Lantore*, and how the *Dutch* dealt with the *Engliſh* Factory there. The greateſt Part of the Natives flying for their Safety into the higheſt Hills of that Iſland, were courted by the *Dutch* to ſubmit, and ſurrender themſelves; and promiſ'd that they ſhould be received into Favour and Protection. On this, they came down in great Numbers; and four Hundred of the chief of them being ſelected from the reſt, they were carried into an adjacent Iſland, where they were invited to a ſplendid Entertainment: the *Dutch* told them, they were heartily ſorry that they ſhould ſo much diſtruſt them as to fly to the *Engliſh*, there being none that deſired their Safety and Welfare more than themſelves, and that they would befriend them againſt all Oppoſers.

They deſired that all Differences whatever may be compoſed, and all former Injuries forgotten; to which Purpoſe, to give them a Manifeſtation of their Reſpect, they had brought them thither, and provided what for the preſent could be had for their Refreſhment.

The poor Inhabitants, much ſurprized at this unuſual Manner of Reſpect, having eaten heartily, and expreſſed their Gratitude, prepared for their Departure; but the *Dutch* leading them to a Window, told them, that they muſt walk to that Green, and take their Farewell of them there, for their Executioners there ſtood in a Readineſs to diſpatch them.

The poor *Bandeneſe* cried out, *O Apetow!* O what is this! they were hurried to the Place of Execution, and there, by the *Japan* Slaves, they were cut aſunder in the Middle alive, and their divided Parts were ſent ſome of them to *Lantore*, ſome to *Polleroon*, and the reſt to other Iſlands belonging to *Banda*.

The ſame Year they put to Death the Chief of the Inhabitants of *Polleroon*: amongſt thoſe was the High Prieſt of that Iſland, in whoſe Side they cut a Hole, and commanded Gunpowder to be put into it, which they fired for their Diverſion.

CHAP. LXXII.

The English *leave the* Banda *Iſles.*

THESE Inhabitants of *Polleroon* were under the *Engliſh* Protection; but our Number being inconſiderable to the Strength of the *Dutch*, our People durſt not contradict them.

Theſe were murdered before their Faces; and the *Engliſh* perceiving how tyrannical the *Dutch* were, and how cruel and incroaching, in the Year 1622 abandoned the *Banda* Iſlands.

About this Time, Captain *Jourdan* ſailing from *Bantam* with two Ships, the *Sampſon* and the *Hound*, to the Iſland of *Borneo*, diſcovered three or four *Dutch* Ships ſtanding in for the ſame Port; and being confident they intended no Good to him, he gave order to prepare for an Engagement, reſolving to fight it out to the laſt Man, rather than to yield himſelf to the unmerciful Hands of ſuch Enemies.

They ſummoned the *Engliſh* to deliver up the Ships; but Captain *Jourdan* refuſed to yield upon any Condition whatever. The *Dutch* pretending to be unwilling to ſhed Blood, called out to the *Engliſh*, and deſired a Parley: but Captain *Jourdan* refuſed to have any Conference with them. On this they deſired that he would but ſhew himſelf upon the Quarter Deck: he came up, thinking that to ſpeak with them could not much prejudice him; and after the Exchange of ſome few Words, told them, that he knew the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and the Injuſtice of theirs, and was reſolv'd to fight it out: the *Hollanders* telling him, their Strength was far greater than his, added, it was Raſhneſs, not true Valour, to fight upon ſuch a Diſadvantage.

This prevailed nothing with Captain *Jourdan*; who told them, he queſtioned not his own Strength, but was reſolved to fight it out, and to leave the Succeſs to Heaven.

The *Dutch* finding him intractable to their Demands, held him ſtill in Diſcourſe, till a Muſket Bullet from one of their Ships laid him dead upon the Deck.

At that Inſtant, whether by Treachery or Accident is uncertain, a Part of our other Ship the *Hound* was blown up, and many of the Men mortally wounded: the Amazement was ſo great, that the *Engliſh* were forced to yield to their Enemies; who ordered them to be loaded with Chains.

Thus the *Dutch* got from us many of thoſe Iſlands, where now they have ſeated themſelves, by Cruelty and Blood.

Theſe are the Relations; and diſmal in themſelves, they are but Prologues to the Tragedy of *Amboyna*.

CHAP. LXXIII.

Conduct of the Scene at Amboyna.

THE *Engliſh* Company had there five Factories, the Chief was at the Town of *Amboyna*; but the *Hollanders*, who had already diſpoſſeſſed them of their Reſidence at *Polleroon* and at *Lantore*, reſolved to deſtroy them alſo there.

Complaints and Diſcontents every Day roſe here, and they were transferred to *Jaccatra* in the Iſland of *Java Major*, to the Council of Defence of both Nations ſettled there; who not agreeing in any thing, ſent them over into *Europe* to be decided by both Companies here; or if they could not agree amongſt themſelves, that they might then be determined by the Kings, and the Lords the States General, according to the Article of the Treaty in the Year 1619.

Though this was agreed upon by both Nations, the Ambition and Avarice of the *Dutch* would not admit of ſo deliberate a Courſe: they with raſh Hands would cut their Way to their own Ends; and uſe neither Delay nor Conſcience where there was Gain.

The *Engliſh* Factories at *Amboyna* began to be rich, and they were a Torment to them; who could not endure any ſhould traffick there but themſelves.

Thus Things ſtood, when on the Eleventh of *February*, in the Year 1622, a *Japoneſe*, who ſerved the *Dutch* as a Soldier, was apprehended upon Suſpicion of Treaſon, and put to the Torture. The Pretence was, for aſking the Centinel, what was the Strength of the Caſtle? The Extremity of their Torture was ſuch, that he ſaid what he perceived they would have him ſay, that himſelf, and others of his Countrymen, had contrived the taking of the Caſtle.

They thus drew from him a falſe Confeſſion; and other *Japoneſe* were examined and tortured.

Four Days this Examination continued; during which Time, the *Engliſh* who belonged to the Factory, had every Day their Ingreſs into the Caſtle, and Egreſs from it. They heard of the torturing of the *Japoneſe*, and of the Crime laid to their Charge, but never imagined that Deſtruction was prepared for themſelves.

There was at that Time Priſoner in the Caſtle *Abel Price*, an *Engliſhman*, for threatening in a drunken Humour to ſet a *Dutchman's* Houſe on Fire. The *Dutch* glad they had ſuch an Inſtrument to work on, ſhewed him ſome of the *Japoneſe* whom they had tortured, and told him, theſe had confeſſed that the *Engliſh* had combined with them for taking of the Caſtle.

They put him alſo to the Torture; and forced him to confeſs whatever they deſired.

On this Captain *Towerſon*, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* in *Amboyna*, were ſent for by the Governor of the Caſtle: and they all went to him, one Man excepted, who was left to keep the Factory.

The Governor told Captain *Towerſon*, he and many other of the *Engliſh*, were accuſed of a Conſpiracy to ſurprize the Caſtle; and that they muſt remain under Cuſtody till a further Trial.

Inſtantly they attached the Perſon that was left at Home in the Factory, and the Merchandiſe of the *Engliſh* Company was taken into the *Dutch* Cuſtody by Inventory: all their Cheſts, Boxes, Books, Writings, and whatever was of Value in the *Engliſh* Houſe, were ſeized. Captain *Towerſon* was committed to his Chamber, under a Guard of *Dutch* Soldiers; *Emanuel Thomſon*, one of the chief Factors, was kept Priſoner in the Caſtle; and ſeven others, *John Beaumont*, *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, *Timothy Johnſon*, *John Fardo* and *William Brown*, were ſent aboard the *Dutch* Ships then in Harbour, ſome to one Ship, ſome to another; and all made faſt in Irons.

The reſt of the *Engliſh* that were in the other Factories in the ſame Iſland were apprehended; *Samuel Colſon*, *John Clark*, *George Sharrock*, in the Factory at *Hitto*; and *Edward Collins*, *William Webber* and *John Sadler* in the Factory at *Larica*, who were all brought Priſoners to *Amboyna*.

John Powell, *John Weatheral*, and *Thomas Ladbrook* were apprehended at *Cambello*; and *John Beaumont*, *William Griggs* and *James Ramſey* at *Lobo*, they were brought in Irons to *Amboyna* on the Twentieth of *February*.

CHAP. LXXIV.

The English *put to the Torture.*

MEAN Time the Governor and the Fiſcal, intended to loſe no Opportunity in the Proſecution of the Plot.

Beaumont and *Johnſon* were ſent for from on board the *Unicorn*: *Beaumont* was left with a Guard in the Hall, and *Johnſon* taken into the Place of Torture; where preſently, to his Aſtoniſhment, *Beaumont* heard him make a lamentable Outcry, and then reſt ſilent a little while; and not long afterwards louder in his Complaints than before.

After this, *Price* the Surgeon, who was firſt racked, was brought in to accuſe him; but *Johnſon* being as reſolute as innocent, and not confeſſing any thing, was remanded to the Torture; where *Beaumont* heard him roar, and ceaſe from roaring, and then roar out again, enough to ſhock the hardeſt Heart. Having been an Hour in this Torment, they brought him out again wet all over, and burnt in ſeveral Places; and laid aſide in a Corner of the Hall, with a Soldier to watch him that he ſhould ſpeak to no Man.

After him *Tomſon* was examined in a Room adjoining to that where *Johnſon* had been tortured; whence after being an Hour and an half in his Examination, and his Torment, he was carried another Way: he paſſed not thro' the Hall, where *Beaumont* attended, and every Hour expected the dreadful Summons.

At the laſt *Beaumont* was called in, and with deep Proteſtations denying what was demanded of him, he was made faſt to the Rack, and a Cloth being tied about his Neck, and two Men with Jars of Water in their Hands being ready to pour it on his Head; the Governor commanded that he ſhould be taken down again, ſaying, he would forbear him a Day or two longer, becauſe he was an old Man.

Next Day was *Sunday*: *Brown* was called in and being on the Rack, and the Torment of Water given him, he confeſſed all the *Dutch* aſked.

After him *Collins* was brought in. This Man, when his Hands and Feet were faſtened to the Rack, prayed to be reſpited, ſaying, He would confeſs all. But being let down, with great Oaths and Imprecations, he proteſted his Innocency as before; yet told them, That becauſe he knew by Torture they would make him confeſs any Thing, tho' ever ſo contrary to Truth, they would do him a great Favour to tell him what they would have him confeſs, and he would acknowledge it, to avoid the Torture.

On this, the Fiſcal being offended, he was hoiſted up again; and the Torment of Water being given him, he was not able to endure it, but prayed to be let down to his Confeſſion. After this, having deliberated a little with himſelf, he confeſſed he had a Hand in the Plot for the Surpriſal of the Caſtle; and being demanded of the Fiſcal, Whether Captain *Towerſon* were not an Aſſociate in the Conſpiracy? he anſwer'd, No.

On this the Fiſcal told him that he ly'd; for, ſaid he, Did not he call all of you of the *Engliſh* Factories to him, and tell you, that the daily Affronts and Abuſes of the *Dutch*, had put a Plot into his Head, and that he wanted nothing but your Conſent and Secrecy? A *Dutch* Merchant ſtanding by, ſaid, And did not you all ſwear upon the Bible to be ſecret to him? *Collins*, with great Proteſtations, reply'd, That he knew nothing of it. Being then delivered again into the Hands of the Executioner, the Senſe of the late Torture ſo prevailed upon him, that he confeſſed all to be true.

Being thus reſpited, he was demanded, Whether the Preſident of the *Engliſh* at *Jaccatra*, or *Welden*, Agent for the *Engliſh* at *Banda*, were not privy to the Buſineſs? To which he anſwer'd, No. Afterwards the Fiſcal propos'd other Interrogatories to him; and perceiving that *Collins* knew not what Anſwer to make, he helped him to confeſs thoſe Things which he thought moſt conducing to his Purpoſe.

Next to him *Colſon* was brought in, who, for Fear of the Pain when he ſaw *Collins* come forth, choſe rather to deny nothing that was aſked, than undergo the Torments of Fire and Water in the Atteſtation of his Innocence.

John Clark was of another Reſolution; he was no ſooner brought in by the Soldiers and Officers, but he was heard to make a hideous and lamentable Complaint, which continued inceſſantly two Hours, during which Time as they abated or increaſed his Torments, he diminiſhed or doubled his Cries at the Senſe and Horror of his Sufferings. Fire and Water, mercileſs of themſelves, by making their Fury more deliberate, were here made more dreadful, while cunning Cruelty tormented even Invention itſelf to wrack the Innocent. The Rack, ordained for the Confeſſion of Offences, is an unfaithful Diſcoverer of them; for while Men are put to thoſe Torments which Nature is not able to endure, they confeſs Crimes never committed.

Two Hours was this reſolute Man under the Torment of Fire and Water, yet confeſſed not any Thing; at which his Tormentors being amazed, cut off his Hair, thinking the Strength of his Reſolution lay in that, forgetting the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and the Innocence of his Conſcience.

They then hoiſted him up again, and with lighted Candles burn'd him in the Bottom of his Feet, until the Blood that dropped from them put out the Candles: yet even then they applied freſh Lights. They burnt him alſo in the Elbows, and in the Palms of his Hands; and, at length, ſo horridly under his Arm-pits and Sides, that his Entrails might be ſeen.

At the laſt, when they perceived that he would make no Confeſſion, they led him along with Queſtions of particular Circumſtances which they had framed of themſelves: and now wearied and overcome with Torments, he, according to their own Wiſhes, made Anſwer to whatſoever they demanded of him. Being then releaſed from his Torture, they ſent him out by four Negroes, who carried him between them to a Dungeon, where he lay five Days, without Aſſiſtance.

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CHAP. LXXV.

The Behaviour of Captain Towerſon.

IN the ſame Manner the reſt were examined, but none of them were ſo heavily tortured: for moſt, to avoid the Torment, made ſudden Confeſſion; and others at the firſt or ſecond drenching of the Water, anſwered to all the Interrogatories of the Fiſcal.

Captain *Towerſon*, reſerved for the laſt, that the Torments of thoſe who were examined before him, might rack out ſomething from them in Evidence againſt him, was at length brought into the Court, where theſe ſat in Judgment: he declar'd his Innocence; to encounter which they produced the Perſons and Confeſſions of *Colſon*, *Griggs*, and *Fardo*. *Colſon* being told, that unleſs he would make good his former Confeſſion againſt Captain *Towerſon*, he ſhould be commanded again to the Torture of Fire and Water, coldly and faintly re-affirm'd what before he ſaid, and ſo was diſmiſſed. The other two being brought Face to Face before Captain *Towerſon*; he charged them, as they would anſwer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, to ſpeak nothing but the Truth.

At this, both of them fell down upon their Knees, and beſought him, for God's Sake, to forgive them. They acknowledged that whatſoever they formerly had confeſſed was falſe, and ſpoken only to avoid the Torment. The Fiſcal, and the reſt of this High Court of Juſtice, on this commanded them again to the Torture, which they could not endure, but then affirmed their former Confeſſion to be true.

This Torment was ſo terrible to Nature, that it ſtartled the Courage of *Towerſon* himſelf; who either to avoid the Horror of the Torment, or the Infamy of it, confeſſed ſome Words, which he ſaid the Factor of *Cambello* in the Iſle of *Seran*, *Wetherall*, had ſpoken. He being ſent for, and examined on the Day following, the Captain was brought forth to juſtify what he had confeſſed. He deſired Mr. *Weatheral* to ſpeak the Truth, and nothing but the Truth, as God ſhould put it into his Heart.

Weatheral was in a great Amazement, and being ordered to undergo the Torture of Water; and told, that if Water would not make him to confeſs, Fire ſhould, he deſired them to tell him what he ſhould ſay, or to write down what they themſelves pleaſed, and he would ſubſcribe it: but being told he needed no Tutor, and that they would make him confeſs of himſelf, having hoiſted him up four ſeveral Times, and perceived that he knew not what to ſay, they read to him the Confeſſion of the other Men that had been examined, and aſked him from Point to Point if it was true: he obſerving that his Life muſt become a Sacrifice to the Rage and Rapine of the *Dutch*, anſwered yes to all.

On the 26th of *February* the Priſoners were brought into the great Hall of the Caſtle to be prepared for Death, by their Miniſters, having been ſolemnly condemned the Day before. Some few of them found Mercy, and had their Lives ſaved: Capt. *Towerſon* was kept a-part from the reſt, and ſo was *Tomſon*; but ſome of them by Writing found Opportunity to leave a Teſtimony of their Innocence.

All Things being prepared for the Execution, the Condemned were brought out of the Hall, and paſſed along by a Chamber where thoſe pardoned ſtood at the Door, to give and take the Farewel of their Countrymen, then going to Death. Theſe charged thoſe that were ſaved, to bear Witneſs to their Friends in *England* of their Innocence; and that they died not like Traytors, but as ſo many Innocents, meerly murdered by the *Hollanders*.

They were brought into the Yard; their Sentence was there read to them from a Gallery, and from thence they were carried to the Place of Execution, with nine *Japoneſe* and one *Portugueſe*, whom their ſpecious Malice, to give a better Pretence unto their Cruelty, had contrived to be of the ſame Confederacy.

They did not go the ordinary and ſhort Way, but round about thro' the Town, guarded by five Companies of Soldiers, *Dutch* and *Amboyners*; and the Natives of the Iſland flocked together to ſee this Triumph of the *Dutch* over the innocent and condemn'd *Engliſh*.

The Day before, the *Engliſh* deſired of the *Dutch* Miniſters, that they might all receive the Sacrament, as a Seal of the Forgiveneſs of their Sins; but that by no Means would be granted them. *Colſon* now ſaid to them, You declare to us the Danger of Diſſimulation in this Caſe; But tell us, if we ſuffer guiltleſs, being true Believers in Chriſt Jeſus, what ſhall our Reward be? The Miniſter anſwer'd, By how much the more innocent you are, by ſo much the more glorious ſhall be your Reſurrection. Upon that Word Mr. *Colſon* embrac'd him, gave him his Purſe, and ſaid, "Sir, God bleſs you; tell the Governor I "forgive him, and exhort him to repent." And proceeding in his Diſcourſe, he ſpoke with a loud Voice: "According to my Innocence in this Treaſon, ſo, O Lord, pardon the "reſt of my Sins!" every one cried out, "Amen "for me." This ſaid, all of them knowing whom they had accuſed, addreſſed themſelves one to another, begging Forgiveneſs for their falſe Accuſations, wreſted from them by Torture. They all freely forgave one another; for none of them had been ſo falſely accus'd, but he himſelf had as falſely accuſed ſome other.

A Cloth of black Velvet was laid for Captain *Towerſon*'s Body to fall upon, after his Head had been ſevered from it; and this, ſtain'd with his Blood, they ſent to the Company.

Thus fell the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, the moſt dreadful Inſtance of ſucceſsful Villainy Hiſtory has recorded.

CHAP. LXXVI.

The Acceſſion of Charles the Firſt.

CHARLES Prince of *Wales*, undoubted Heir to the Throne, ſucceeded his Father at his Death; and inherited with his Crown his Principles: indolent and fond of Power.

King *James* had ſet out with a high Notion of Prerogative, and a very mean Idea of the Privileges of a *Britiſh* People; and his Son, tinctur'd from Education with the ſame Principles, and fond of them by Nature, trod in the ſame Paths.

Buckingham, the Idol of the late King, was the ſole Favourite of the preſent. He flattered his Foibles, and made Virtues of his Faults. He had firſt talk'd his cold Heart into Love with the

Princeſs *Henrietta*; and he had found the Means of evading, though not very handſomely, the Match with the Infanta. He ſooth'd him in the Deſign of extending the royal Power, and in the Purpoſes of his Courtſhip.

This is the Way to thrive at Courts: this he knew; and 'twas by this he had raiſed himſelf.

Troops were ſent to *Holland*; and more were prepared for an Expedition againſt *Spain*.

On this Occaſion firſt broke out the Purpoſe of a ſtretch'd Authority. The Country was commanded to advance the Money on this Account, which ſhould have been iſſued out of the Treaſury; and they were told it ſhould be returned at a proper Time.

This ſtartled People; but the next Stroke confounded them: the King granted by the Royal Authority alone, a Commiſſion for a martial Law, which took from the accuſtomed and proper Judges all Cognizance of Crimes committed by the Soldiery.

Charles was now married by Proxy to the Princeſs *Henrietta* in *France*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* brought her over.

A little before the Death of the late King, he had engaged to ſend out ſome Ships in Aſſiſtance of the *French*: *Charles* readily complied with this, and Captain *Pennington* had the Command. But the King of *France* made a Uſe of the Veſſels very unbecoming Succours ſent from *England*: inſtead of employing them againſt *Spain*, the Purpoſe for which they were granted, he ordered them againſt his Proteſtant Subjects; and for their firſt Service commanded them to aſſiſt in the Reduction of *Rochelle*.

Penington too honeſt for ſuch Services, wrote home for Leave to return: but *Buckingham* was Lord High Admiral; and he ſent Orders, ſupported by the Royal Name, that he ſhould remain in the Service, and act as *France* directed. Theſe were diſpatched through *France*, and with them came his Orders from the King.

CHAP. LXXVII.

The Behaviour of Captain Penington.

THE Commander of this Squadron could not ſuppoſe Things would have been carried to this hateful Length. He received the mutual Orders of *England* and *France* together; his proper Sovereign commanding him to obey *France*, and *France* ordering him to take on board a Number of Soldiers, and proceed to *Rochelle*.

He refuſed.

The *French* came on board, proteſting againſt him as a Rebel; and he replied, it would be Rebellion to obey ſuch Orders. He told his Men his Sentiments, and they joined in them. They told him, they would ſooner be hanged as Rebels, than fight againſt their Religion as Slaves of *France*; and they weighed Anchor, and ſailed for *England*.

When they arrived in the *Downs*, the Captain ſent up an Expreſs with a modeſt Defence of his Proceedings; and he received in Anſwer, a poſitive Order under the King's Sign Manual, to return and give up the Ships to the *French* Officer at *Dieppe*.

This was in Effect granting what he aſked, his Diſmiſſion from the Service. He took the Ships to the appointed Station, and there with an Indignation too great for Words, left them; and took, except one, all his Men with him.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

Diſputes with the Dutch *in the* Eaſt.

THIS Tranſaction, as highly as it raiſed the Character of Captain *Penington*, ſo low it ſunk the King's. People who had too much Spirit to tremble at ſuch a Uſe of the Royal Authority, frowned, and foretold the Sequel.

The Parliament aſſembled, and they diſputed the King's Pleaſure. He was haughty, and they, as the People, rugged and untractable. When the King demanded of them to go upon Supplies, they talked of the Redreſs of Grievances. The King would have his Buſineſs firſt, they theirs; and as they would not recede, he diſſolved the Parliament.

The War with *Spain* was the great Purpoſe of the King; and beſide raiſing Men himſelf, he ſent the favourite *Buckingham*, Embaſſador to *Holland*; with him went the Earl of *Holland*: their Buſineſs was, to negotiate a League with that People.

This ſet on Foot, the next Thing was a Fleet: but to fit out this, Money was required; the Parliament was diſſolved, and there appeared but one Way to raiſe it. The King ſent to every rich Man about the Metropolis, and many at greater Diſtance, to borrow. The Sums were ſtipulated they muſt lend; and the Demand went authoriſed by the Privy Seal. Thus haſtily trod *Charles* the Firſt the Paths to his Deſtruction.

The *Dutch*, who had maſſacred the *Engliſh* at

Amboyna, were in their Turn harrassed by the *Portugueſe*. This was a common Cauſe in the Eaſt to them and to the *Engliſh*; and their combined Fleet, four Ships of each Nation oppoſed themſelves in the Year 1625, againſt all the Force of that Kingdom. —

On the Thirtieth of *January* Captain *Weddel*, Commander of the *Engliſh*, received Notice that the *Portugueſe* Armada of thirty-two Frigates and eight Gallions were juſt upon them.

They lay in the Road of *Gombroon*, and the *Portugueſe* making for them, they collected their Force, and ſtood to expect the Enemy. The firſt Signal was the ſucceeding Morning, three Pieces of Cannon fired from the Caſtle, a Fortreſs from whence they had been promiſed this Notice whenever a Sail was ſeen.

A Man ſent to the Maſt-Head diſcovered them advancing: a ſingle Gun was fired from the *Engliſh* Admiral, as the Signal for all to be ready, and every Ship was preſently under Sail.

The *Portugueſe* who had laid their Plan to fall upon the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* at Anchor, were aſtoniſhed and confounded to ſee them bearing with all their Sails to meet them.

The Coming on of Evening prevented the Engagement that Day; but the next, the Firſt of *February*, the *Engliſh* made the Attack. The *Dutch* performed every Thing that could be expected of the braveſt Men; for when Intereſt is concerned, the Love of Money makes them valiant. The ſuperior Number of the Enemy could not ſecure them Conqueſt. Night parted the two Fleets, after many brave Examples of Reſolution.

The next Day was ſpent in looking at one another; but on the Third of *February* the Fight commenced again, and was continued all that Day, and a great Part of the Night, with much Fury.

The *Portugueſe* again had the worſt of it; and the next Morning, when the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* were preparing to renew the Attack, they were getting off with their beſt Sail toward *Lowack*.

It was eaſy to ſee the Reaſon of the *Portugueſe* retiring; their Maſts were moſt of them, in the eight principal Ships, cut by the Board, and all their Rigging in miſerable Diſorder.

Nine Days after the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets failed; and the *Portugueſe*, who were now repaired, followed from *Lowack*, as they ſaw them paſs.

The Wind favoured them, they came up with our Fleet toward Evening, and kept near all the Night. At Morning it was expected they would attack the *Engliſh*, but they kept off. About Noon the *Dutch* Ships came up, and it was reſolved again to attack them.

This the *Engliſh* Admiral Ship began: but the *Portugueſe*, who had not cared to attack, did not ſtand the Aſſault; they made a running Fight of it, and Night clear'd them: they bore away for *Sinar*, where they have a Caſtle; and our Fleet for *Surat*.

The Odds againſt which the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* fought were very great, but throughout the whole they had the Advantage.

We loſt ſome Officers of Note; and the *Dutch* their Commander in Chief, *Albert Becker*, who, well performing his Duty, fell in the firſt Day's Action.

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CHAP. LXXIX.

An Expedition to Cadiz.

KING *Charles*, reſolved to proſecute his Purpoſe of a War with *Spain*, employed the Money he forcibly borrowed to the real Purpoſe of fitting out a Fleet; but all the Conduct was raſh and unthinking. He gave the Command to a brave but unexperienced Man, Lord *Wimbledon*.

The *Dutch*, who owned this as a common Cauſe, ſent in their Number of Ships; and the whole Fleet made a formidable Appearance: eighty Sail.

The Earls of *Eſſex* and *Denbigh* acted as Vice and Rear Admirals: and there were put on board ten Regiments of Land Forces.

The Deſtination of this powerful Fleet was firſt to *Cadiz*, and afterwards it was to be ſtation'd to intercept the Plate Ships, the Time of whoſe Return was as well known as their Riches.

This was a Plan well laid, but two Things contributed to the rendering it fruitleſs, the ill Will of the People, and the Inexperience of the Commander.

They failed from *Plymouth* on the Third of *October*. The Inſtructions, even ſo ill managed, that this Fleet, ſent to diſtreſs the *Spaniards*, ſaw ſeveral of their Ships, and let them paſs.

Councils of War conſumed the Time; till on the Twenty-ſecond of *October* they reached the Bay of *Cadiz*.

Here there lay ſeventeen Ships and twelve Gallies. These Lord *Eſſex* attacked at a Diſtance; and none ſeconding him, he gave up the Thought of Advantage.

There were thoſe in Command who, fired with the Remembrance of earlier Times, propoſed to repeat the Glory of their Predeceſſors, and at once attack the Ships and Town: but this was over-ruled, and the Commander in Chief thought it enough for that Time, that he ſent five of the *Dutch* Ships, and twenty Colliers, to batter the Fort.

This proving of little Effect, it was propoſed to land a Body of Men, and ſcale the Fort; but this was ſo ill managed a Deſign, that had not Chance favoured, nothing could have been done by Force.

Colonel *Burgh* commanded the Men on this Expedition, and he ſaw the Purpoſe impracticable. But at the ſame Time he read in the Countenances of the *Spaniards* a Terror, of which he made Advantage. Before he drew back his Men, whom he had determined not to lead up, on ſo mad an Enterprize; he ſummoned the Garriſon to ſurrender, and told them if they refuſed, he would give nor receive no Quarter.

Thanks to the Cowardice of the People, the Fort was ours upon the Summons.

All that followed was Council upon Council, in which they ſpent the Time that ſhould have been devoted to Action; and all that is memorable farther is, that after the whole Army had been drunk with a Prize of ſome *Spaniſh* Wine, they found their Proviſions far ſpent; and reſolving to return, called in the Force that had been landed to attack the Town: and this they did in ſo irregular and confuſed a Manner, that the Enemy attacked them in the Retreat.

The Fort was next Day left again to the *Spaniards*; and they ſhouted their Contempt, as the Veſſels made out to Sea. —Are theſe the *Engliſh?* was the univerſal Cry.

The Deſign upon *Cadiz* thus falling to nothing, the next Thought was to way-lay the *Weſt-India* Fleet, but this came to no more than the other: they took no Ship. They found Proviſions grow ſcarce, and they returned to *England*.

Thus ended this inglorious Expedition, in which ſo vaſt a Sum, obtained by ſuch unhappy Means, was ſquandered; and, though not by an Enemy, two Ships and four Land Companies, were loſt, at Sea.

It is with Bluſhes we obſerve on this, that Folly and Cowardice, though uncommon among the *Engliſh*, are not confined to one Period.

CHAP. LXXX.

The English *reſent the* French *Conduct.*

PEnington, who had refuſed to act againſt the Proteſtants of *France*, was honoured; and Men ſpoke hardly of the Power that had commanded him to do, what it was ſo much Glory to omit. The *French* were cenſured for the unfair Uſe they made of the *Engliſh* Veſſels, left with them as they ſaid for other Purpoſes; and nothing was heard but the Deſign of taking them back.

This could not be refuſed by the Government: they were demanded; and the King of *France* refuſed to deliver them, till they had done the Service for which he borrowed them.

On this the Voice of the People was too loud to be refuſed; and though unwillingly, the Lord High Admiral was ordered to iſſue out Commiſſions of Repriſals.

On the News of the firſt Veſſel taken, the King of *France* refuſed abſolutely to ſend back the Ships; and ſeized the Effects of all *Engliſh* Merchants in his Dominions.

This threaten'd in Earneſt a War with *France*, which the People heartily wiſh'd; but thoſe who had more Power were of another Mind. The Brother-in Law of the King of *France* had no Deſire to quarrel with him: the Diſpute was compromiſed, Reſtitution was made on both Sides, and a bungling Peace eſtabliſhed.

This was too unnatural to laſt long; and ſome freſh Inſults, as they were called, on *France*, gave Occaſion to break through it.

The Queen's *French* Attendants were with great Reaſon diſmiſs'd; and upon this the *French* King ſeized all the *Engliſh* Veſſels in his Harbours.

England on this declared War, and one right Meaſure was purſu'd among ſo many wrong ones: a Fleet of thirty Ships was ſent to the Relief of *Rochelle*. Storms croſſed the Purpoſe, but the Deſign was good, the Fleet was driven back by contrary Winds.

This delay'd their Relief to the next Year; but then four Times the Number of Veſſels were ſent, and a good Body of Land Forces. Here the Duke of *Buckingham* commanded, and in this ill Conduct, as perfectly as Tempeſts the former Year, prevented the Succeſs.

On the Eleventh of *July* 1627, Sir *Richard Greenville* arrived with his Force off the Iſle of *Rhee*. The Troops were landed againſt great Oppoſition; and the *French*, who fell upon them ſoon after, were beaten back with Loſs. The Conſequence of this was, the taking ſome Villages, and deſtroying a few Windmills. *Saint Martins* Town was indeed ſurrendered to them, and a Fort evacuated as untenable, which our People thought ſo ſtrong that they did not attack it.

The Citadel of *St. Martins* held out, and during that Time Mr. *Monk*, afterwards the great Duke of *Albemarle*, brought Advice of a *French* Force fitting out, and that very conſiderable.

The *Engliſh* upon this entrenched, and were harraſſed in doing it. The Governor of the Caſtle rallied the *Engliſh* in pretended Parleys; deſiring by Sound of Trumpets a dozen Melons, and returning with the ſame Ceremony ſome Sweetmeats.

Thus ſtood they on both Sides; and our People's Neglect ſuffered Supplies to be thrown in. Sir *John Burrows* fell in a Skirmiſh: the Soldiers were diſhearten'd: all deſpiſed the Commander in Chief, and moſt hated him.

Need we relate the End of the Expedition! —ſhall we not rather draw a Veil before our Country's Diſhonour! after freſh Supplies from *England*,

England, the Citadel was attempted by Storm; when the Thing was quite impracticable: and the Troops making a bad Retreat, returned to *England*.

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CHAP. LXXXI.

An Enterprize of Sir Kenelm Digby.

SIX Ships were in the Year 1628 given to the Command of Sir *Kenelm Digby* to annoy the *French*.

After many ſlighter Conflicts, in every one of which he was ſucceſsful, he ſaw toward the Middle of *June* an Enemy worth his Force, and ſuited to his Courage.

On the Tenth of that Month he arrived off Cape *Congure*, ten Miles from *Scanderoon*; and the next Day ſent out an armed Boat for Intelligence. His People, who paſſed for *Malteſe*, eaſily obtain'd it from the *Venetians* fiſhing off the Place. He heard that there were at Anchor in the Road four large *French* Veſſels, and two of *England*, with two Galleaſſes and two Gallions of *Venice*.

The *French* he learned were rich Veſſels, and particularly one of them, which had but juſt come in, and unloaded nothing.

Sir *Kenelm* got all ready for an Engagement, and then ſent Word to the Commander of the *Venetian* Galleaſſes and Gallions, that he looked on them as neutral; that his Commiſſion was againſt the *French* only, with whom *England* was at War.

The *Venetians* paid as little Regard to this as he expected they would. They fired upon him before the Return of his Boat; and this he choſe to underſtand as a Salute, and returned it ſo.

This gave the *Venetians* an Opinion that he was frighted: but a few Minutes ſhewed them otherwiſe; when bearing up to the principal of the Galeaſſes, he poured in his whole Broadſide, and every Ship in his Squadron followed the Example.

The Fight was obſtinate ſome Hours: but who can ſtand againſt the *Engliſh* Courage, when the Commander ſhares it with his People.

The Gallions went firſt from the Fight; after them the Galeaſes; and of the four *French* Ships one only eſcaped by running aground; the other three were taken.

The *Turks* were inſtigated to complain of this; but the Veſſels of ours which they ſeized were releaſed, and the Matter fairly adjuſted.

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CHAP. LXXXII.

Condition of the Government at that Time.

THE King, who had uſed very unpopular Expedients for getting Money, found it abſolutely neceſſary in the Year 1628, to call a Parliament. The Conſequence of this was plain: the Duke of *Buckingham* would be ſeverely attacked: but however unwilling the King was to ſee this, the Meaſure was neceſſary, and all that could be done was, that *Buckingham* ſhould be the Perſon who propoſed it.

The Parliament aſſembled; and the King demanded Supplies: they deſired Redreſs of Grievances. Things were taking the old Turn, and nothing was expected but a Diſſolution of it; when the King, whoſe Purpoſe that would not have ſuited, came to a pretended Compromiſe. He told them he would be obeyed, and the Supplies ſhould be granted firſt, but then he would hear of their Grievances, and join in their Redreſs.

The Commons conſented, and the King when they had done his Buſineſs prorogued them.

While this paſſed in *England*, the *French* took Advantage of our ill Conduct in the laſt Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee*, and blocked up the *Rochellers*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had promiſed them to return, ſent fifty Ships under the Earl of *Denbigh* to their Aſſiſtance.

This ended like our other Expeditions of the ſame diſgraceful Period. Twenty *French* Veſſels lay before the Harbour, which could neither eſcape nor reſiſt the *Engliſh* Fleet.

The People rejoiced; and the Lord *Denbigh* ſent them Word, he would fire them, or ſink them in their Sight.

Conjecture muſt ſupply the Place of Information, as to the Cauſe of what followed this good Promiſe; when every Thing favoured its Execution, the Fleet returned to *Plymouth*.

Rochelle was now reduced to the laſt Extremity: the Fate of the Proteſtant Religion called aloud to relieve it; and the Honour of *England* was concerned to do it: all cried out to diſpatch a Fleet, and the Duke of *Buckingham* went himſelf to *Portſmouth* to haſten the Preparation: all was ready; and the Duke, who had ſignalized himſelf thus far in the Preparation, determined to take the Command upon himſelf.

How he would have acquitted himſelf, we can only gueſs, for he was ſtabbed by *Felton*, as he prepared to go on board, and fell almoſt without a Word. He ſeems to have been an Enthuſiaſt who committed this Murther: he talked of private Injuries, but the Wrongs his Country ſuffered from this Miniſter were loudeſt in his Vindication. So great an Enthuſiaſt he was, that he gloried in it as an Act of Virtue and of Honour. The Wound was given with a Penknife, and none ſaw who did it. Mr. *Soubize* was apprehended on Suſpicion, but *Felton*, of whom none thought, ſpoke loudly, *'Twas I*; let not the Innocent ſuffer.

The Earl of *Lindſay* took the Command of the Force; and failed immediately. No *French* Fleet oppoſed them here, but a ſtrong Barricado was thrown over the Mouth of the Harbour, which no Strength of the *Engliſh* could break.

The People mean Time were reduced by Famine to a Number too ſmall to defend the Place; and thoſe too weak for Duty. Hunger obtained the Victory the *French* King boaſted: four Thouſand only were left of fifteen when they ſurrendered the Place.

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CHAP. LXXXIII.

Nevis *ſettled by the* Engliſh.

THE Settlements on the Coaſt of *New England* had not ſucceeded very favourably; but in the Year 1628 the Spirit of Enterprize in this Way, while it operated with ſome to plant a new Country, took the ſame Effect on others with Regard to that.

Maſſachuſets Bay was happily ſettled in this Year by the Conduct of Mr. *Weſton*, and under a royal Charter. Mr. *Craddock* was Governor: and they built a Town which they called, after the Faſhion of their Speech, *Salem*.

Captain *Warriner*, full of the Glory of having ſettled *St. Chriſtophers*, this Year 1628 carried a Colony to *Mevis*, or *Nevis*, for it had then both Names.

Ships were left there for the Trade, and every Thing conſulted for the Advantage of the Colony; but the ſucceeding Year threaten'd it hardly. Don *Frederick de Toledo* drove moſt of the *Engliſh* and the *French* alſo from *St. Chriſtophers*; and he had purpoſed the ſame Attempt upon this new Colony: that however he found leſs practicable than he had imagined; and he contented himſelf with taking away the Veſſels.

He ſerved, not hurt the Colony; they found the very Poſſibility of getting back to *England* was taken away; and they with ſo much Earneſtneſs ſet themſelves in planting and making the beſt of the Ground, that the Plenty, the natural Fruit of their Induſtry, gave them a Satiſfaction in the Place, which took away the very Deſire of returning.

Year after Year they ſucceeded more and more, and in eighteen Seaſons found themſelves encreas'd, by thoſe their Repreſentations of the Place, and its own Products had invited over, to four thouſand Perſons.

Sugar was the great Article of their Attention, and no Place produced it better, or more abundantly.

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CHAP. LXXXIV.

Affairs of England *at this Period.*

THE Parliament of *England*, appointed for *October*, was prorogued to *January*; and then after two Months ſitting, ſpent in Petitions and Remonſtrances, rejected with Contempt at beſt, and often with Indignation, it was diſſolved. Peace was ſoon after concluded with *France*; and the King, becauſe he ſaw many Things go on to his Wiſh, thought all went happily.

This was the third Parliament *Charles* the Firſt had diſſolved; and it was at a Time he wanted one: the Supplies granted by the laſt were exhauſted, the Coffers were empty, yet never was a greater Need for Money; and the King, who had before called in great Sums by very oppreſſive Meaſures, now uſed unjuſt ones. He was obliged for theſe Purpoſes to give bad Men great Commiſſions. The People were indeed plundered; but the Guilt of the Action was all the King had in it, the Profit was theirs whom he employed.

It appears by authentick Papers, that the King did not receive in the Courſe of the Year two thouſand Pounds, though his People paid two hundred thouſand.

The War with *Spain*, ſo eagerly eſpouſed by the King, now was but ill conducted. He who wants Money in Peace, wants many Things; but in War all: the King found 'twas an idle Project to think of hurting *Spain*, while he was in ſo bad a Condition at Home; and in the Year 1629 he concluded a Peace neither honourable nor advantageous.

On the Twenty-ninth of *May* this Year was born *Charles* Prince of *Wales* (afterwards *Charles* the Second) to a Variety of Fortune.

This Year the Project, ſo often attempted in
vain,

vain, of leaving People to winter on the Coaſt of *Greenland*, ſucceeded. Eight Perſons offered their Service to the *Ruſſia* Company on this deſperate Adventure; and every Man returned the ſucceeding Year to *England*. They loſt Sight of the Sun in the Middle of *October*, and ſaw him no more till *February*: but through this continued Darkneſs, and the Extreams of Cold, they lived upon the Proviſions they had amaſſed; and when the *Engliſh* Ships arrived the *May* following, they found them feaſting upon Veniſon.

CHAP. LXXXV.

The firſt ſettling of Maryland.

THE Spirit of ſettling new Countries might very naturally be now at a Height in *England*; for the Advantage of all the late Colonies, both to the People themſelves and to the Mother Country, was very conſiderable. The Planters became too many for the Countries to be ſettled; and a Part of *Virginia* was cut off from the reſt, under the Name of *Maryland*; and made the Seat of a new Colony.

In the Year 1631 the King made a Grant of it to the Lord *Baltimore*; who dying before the Ceremony was finiſhed, bequeathed his Intereſt to his Son *Cecil Calvert*, Baron of *Baltimore*, known, but without Reſpect by the Colony at *Virginia*.

The King gave the new Settlement a Name, and eſtabliſhed its Limits by Patent: he called it *Maryland* after the Name of his Queen; and Lord *Baltimore* paid yearly at *Windſor* two *Indian* Arrows.

Thus was the new Country granted, and a Colony was ſent over under the Command of *Calvert*, Brother to Lord *Baltimore*, Governor.

They ſailed from *Cowes* on the Twenty ſecond of *November* 1631, and ſtaying at many Places in their Way, at length made the intended Coaſt in *March* following.

After viewing the Country, they fixed upon the Spot where an *Indian* Town then ſtood, near the Mouth of the River he firſt called St. *George*'s; and obtaining the Town as it ſtood from the Poſſeſſors, there made his Settlement, and adding Buildings, ſuch as could be raiſed by his Hands, and with his poor Conveniencies, called it after the Queen alſo, St. *Mary*'s.

The *Indians* were bribed by *European* Bawbles, but the Advantage our People obtained was great: they ſat down upon a Spot ſhewn by Experience to be the beſt upon the Coaſt; and in Ground cleared; and in ſome Meaſure planted to their Hands.

They flouriſhed by the Neighbourhood of *Virginia*, but the Colonies there mourned: they repented the Indignities they had ſhewn Lord *Baltimore*, and felt long his ſtudied Reſentment.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

The Behaviour of King Charles *at this Period.*

THE ſucceeding Year ſtands diſtinguiſhed by another Attempt to find a North-weſt Paſſage. The Merchants of *Briſtol* were at the Expence of the Expedition, and Captain *James* commanded.

He wintered on the deſert and uncomfortable Coaſt, and named ſeveral remarkable Points of Land, Cape *Henrietta*, *Weſton*'s Iſland, and *Briſtol*, *Roes*, *Denby*'s and *Charlton*'s Iſlands.

The Voyage had no other Conſequences; yet the Proprietors determined to purſue it farther.

Mean Time, King *Charles*, croſs'd by his Subjects, but gathering freſh Reſolution from the Oppoſition, propoſed a Journey to *Scotland*.

His firſt Point there was Money, and the next the Eſtabliſhment of the Epiſcopal Church.

He went in the Year 1633, and the *Scots* who knew what he propos'd, acted as became Men who knew alſo their Intereſts: they determined to meet him with Complaiſance upon limited Terms, and to ſecure as far as they could their Principles.

He arrived; he was crowned; he called a Parliament; and he obtained a Subſidy: not equal to his firſt Deſigns, but more than he ſhould reaſonably have expected.

Religion came next upon the Carpet; and here the famous *Laud*, taken thither for that Purpoſe, tryed what Church Arrogance and an ill Uſe of the royal Name could do: his Succeſs was much leſs than his promiſed Services; but the King, who ſaw he had expos'd himſelf to the Hate of many beſide the *Scots*, gave him in Spite to them, the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*.

His Grace triumphed, but thoſe againſt whom he had raiſed the holy Arm, much more.

The next Year, 1634, is an important Period: the famous Affair of Ship-money gives it a laſting Claim to Memory.

King *Charles* had accuſtomed himſelf to oppreſſive Meaſures for the raiſing of Money; and there never fail to be thoſe about a Throne, who flatter the worſt.

Money was wanted: a Parliament the King had found, would not be governed as he choſe to rule them, and this was not the Way: the Supplies from *Scotland* as much leſs than his Expectation, as they were than his Wants, were ſwallowed up by thoſe whoſe Office was to diſpoſe them to the intended Uſe; and no Way appeared to furniſh out a neceſſary Sum.

All knew that to propoſe an Expedient was to gain the Favour of the King for ever; and there ſtarted two who ſhewed they underſtood that as a Reward for every Sacrifice Men could make: theſe were Lord Keeper COVENTRY, and the Attorney General NOY. They propoſed to the King the Means of a Supply ſufficient for all his Purpoſes, and independant of a Parliament. He thanked their Zeal, and they propoſed the Means.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

The Demand of Ship Money.

THEY opened all their Purpoſe to the King. They told him, that the Sovereigns of *England* had been of a long Time too paſſive: that to depend upon a Parliament for Supplies, was to be under Governance of the Parliament; that the Prerogative of a King of *England* could without any ſtretching of its Power, demand Money from the Subjects; and that his Majeſty might thank, not blame his former Parliaments, who by their Inſolence to their Sovereign had given Occaſion to take into his own Hands a Power ill truſted to theirs.

With what Ears a King of *Charles*'s Temper heard theſe Propoſitions, none need be told. They who made them knew, or were ſuppoſed to know better than others the Power of which they ſpoke, and its Extent and Limits. He rejoiced in the Admonition, promiſed them Rewards and Honours beyond the preſent Scope of their Ambition; and aſked their farther Counſel.

This did not paſs in Secret. Liberty has as many Ears and Hands; and uſes the one as ſteadily and as reſolutely as the other. Parties were formed, and private Men, more than Kings, grew Patriots, (a Name we proſtitute at this Time, but which then had Meaning) from the intended Oppreſſion.

This alſo was ſeen, and it was fear'd; but nothing could deter the Propoſers from their Project: it only gave them Caution.

They repeated loudly to the King what they had heard in Whiſpers; and they ſeconded his natural Temper; adviſing him to be at once more cautious than he had intended in the Demand; but more determined.

What had been propoſed as the ſole Act and Pleaſure of the King, they now determined ſhould be back'd by Reaſons; and the Attempt, levell'd againſt all, was firſt to be made partial.

A ſpecious Pretence was the firſt Thought, and this the Poſture of Affairs not ill afforded: *France* had made a League with the *Low Countries*. This was whiſper'd firſt as of ſuſpicious Import; and bellowed afterwards as threatening Danger to the Kingdom.

It was enough; the Multitude, for they judge nothing of themſelves, believed the Clamour; and thoſe Mouths were not yet opened which that Fate (that Providence let Chriſtians ſay) which watches over Kingdoms, had deſtined for the glorious Taſk, to undeceive them.

The Danger credited, the Means were propoſed to obviate it; and the firſt was Money.

The Year 1634 grew towards a Period; and it was declared, that for the Guard of the Seas in the ſucceeding Year, a large Fleet would be neceſſary. A TAX was impoſed upon the maritime Towns for this Supply: a Tax without the Authority of Parliament: and the next Year the King ſent out his WRITS for it throughout the Kingdom, and called it, from the pretended Purpoſe, SHIP MONEY.

This Tranſaction diſtinguiſhes the Year, and was the Ruin of the King.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

A Fleet fitted out.

PRINCE *Rupert* during theſe Tranſactions viſited *England*: he attended his elder Brother *Charles* to ſollicit the Intereſt of the King their Uncle; the Elector *Palatine* then being juſt dead.

The Money demanded in a Way ſo indignant to the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, was paid in, though with Murmurs; and *France* and *Holland* fitting out Squadrons to be united, and under no alledged Purpoſe, a Fleet was ſent under the Earl of *Lindſay*, to demand their Intentions.

The Combined Fleets had been inſolent; but they no ſooner ſaw a Royal Force of twenty Ships, than they retired, and came no more that Year upon our Coaſts.

The *Dutch* grew inſolent by Degrees to this

Time, and it was evidently their Purpoſe to ſhake off that Sovereignty the Kings of *Britain* claimed, and had hitherto maintained in the narrow Seas: their Intereſt, always of more Weight with them than their Honour, pleaded for this loudly.

We had been uſed to let them fiſh upon our Seas; but of late they were reſtrain'd that Privilege: this galled them, and they prepared Force and Arguments at once to anſwer it: for this their Fleet was now fitted out, and for this their *Hugo Grotius* wrote his famous *Mare Liberum*.

To their Fleet the Lord High Admiral *Lindſay* was oppoſed; and to their laborious Writer, *Selden*. He wrote his *Mare Clauſum* as an Anſwer; and the Arguments were allowed by all who underſtood the Point, as much ſuperior to the *Dutchman's*, as our Arms.

Toward the Cloſe of this Year *Algernoon* Earl of *Northumberland* was made Lord High Admiral, and ſoon after the Receipt of this Commiſſion, he took the Sea with ſixty Ships of War.

Charles among whoſe Faults was not an abject Submiſſion to the Attempts of Strangers, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by promoting the Admiral and the Writer on this great Occaſion; the firſt had his particular Favour, and the latter he countenanced in a Manner becoming his own Dignity, and the Author's Merit.

He rewarded him nobly, and ordered ſeveral Copies of his Book to be laid up among the Archives of the Realm.

In this, impartial Hiſtory muſt to the lateſt Time do Honour to the Memory of *Charles* the Firſt.

That great and honourable Diſtinction, Sovereign of the Seas, he received now, vindicated by his Predeceſſors, eſtabliſhed upon immemorial Records; and maintained down to the preſent Time with Blood.

A Diſtinction more honourable than all others; and to an Iſland more advantageous: and peculiar in this large Extent to the *Engliſh* People; claim'd by no other, and not parallel'd in all the pompous Hiſtories of *Græcian* or of *Roman* Glory.

The Lord *Northumberland* had full Commiſſion, and he executed his Orders nobly and boldly: he fought the *French* Fleet, but it had ſkulk'd into Harbours; and the *Dutch*, whom fear of *Lindſay* had driven into the ſame Condition of Security.

The Buſineſs of Honour being done, he conſidered the Intereſt of his King, and ſailed to the northern Coaſts of *Britain*, where *Grotius* had taught the *Dutch* to think the Sea even to the Shores of our Kingdom was free to all Men.

The Lord *Northumberland* taught them other Doctrine. The Logick of his Cannon was too loud and ſtrong for that of the Civilian's Arguments. He found them fiſhing; and he ordered them to deſiſt: they refuſed; and he fir'd upon them.

It was the diſtinguiſhing Character of the *Dutch* at that Time, to be inſolent in Safety, but abject when oppoſed. Three of their Veſſels were deſtroyed, and the reſt ſubmitted.

They deſiſted on the *Engliſh* Orders; acknowledged the *Engliſh* Right; and upon mature Deliberation, offered to pay the King of *England* thirty Thouſand Pounds for leave to fiſh that Year.

The Sum was accepted: the *Dutch* paid it freely; and offered the ſame Conditions yearly.

Mens Eyes were now opened, to the prodigious Advantage they had ſo long neglected: they ſaw in this Inſtance what they yearly ſacrificed; and it was determined to give it up no more.

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CHAP. LXXXIX.

Colonies ſettled at Connecticut *and* Newhaven.

THE Spirit the King ſhew'd in this Tranſaction gave Courage to his People to attempt new Roads of Commerce; and make new Settlements.

They had been thoroughly offended at the late Injunctions, but when they ſaw ſome Uſe made of the ill obtained Ships Money, they grew more eaſy.

In the Year 1635, the Succeſs of the *Maſſachuſets* Bay Colony carried over more than could ſubſiſt upon the Place: the original People kept their Places, and the new Comers were obliged to ſeek other Settlements.

Hooker carried off a Number to *Connecticut* River, where he choſe his Spot, and built the Town of *Hertford*.

The Merchants in *England* encouraged him, and this Year 1636, ſent him Supplies and Neceſſaries.

The Succeſs of theſe, raiſed a like Spirit in others; and *Eaton* and *Davenport* carried off another large Number and ſettled at *Newhaven*.

They purchaſed Land of the Proprietors; and form'd themſelves by mutual Conſent into a Form of Government under the Direction of Mr. *Eaton*.

Every Thing proſpered in theſe Places, the People were happy; and the Mother Country profited greatly by their ſucceſsful Induſtry.

CHAP.

CHAP. XC.

The Affairs of England *in* 1636.

THE King who had run himſelf into imminent, though unſeen Danger, by the Affair of Ship Money, had now in ſome Degree regain'd, if not the good Opinion, at leaſt the good Will of a great Part of his People: but his Heart was ſet on Meaſures calculated for his Deſtruction.

The *Scots* who had bought a Kind of Reſpite, when *Laud* had purpoſed the Impoſition of epiſcopal Authority among them, were now attacked again upon the ſame Principle; and as in all Inſtances their Regard for their Communion grew with the Oppreſſion.

Charles took every ſafe Meaſure to eſtabliſh Epiſcopacy; and they were daring in their Oppoſition.

The King who had engaged in this from Inclination, now found his Pride concerned with the Diſpute; he had too high and ſacred Notions of the Sovereignty to bear this Boldneſs; and he reſolved on War.

The Reſolution was too obſtinately purſued, and himſelf fell the Sacrifice to that ill Blood this raiſed againſt him.

Three Years the Diſputes had been carried on with all the Violence of Argument, Remonſtrance, and Reproof; but now another Language was determined: and the unhappy King thought there would be Glory to treat his Subjects, as the high Admiral had uſed the *Dutch*.

He found his Error doubly: Mankind exclaimed againſt the Attempt; and the Bravery of the People rendered it abortive.

In 1639, the King fitted out a very powerful Fleet; and marched an Army northwards.

Thoſe who knew how to oppoſe Violence by Violence, preferred the gentler Method of Perſuaſion.

They dreaded civil Blood, and they made large Offers.

Theſe could not be refuſed, and the Preparation which threatened ſo much Blood, ended without the Miſchief.

The Council well informed of the King's Sentiments, joined in them violently; and it was their general Voice, whatever was their Opinion, that the *Scots* were Rebels, and ſhould be reduced by Arms.

A Parliament now was needful, and the Council adviſed the calling one. But while the King and the People held their Reſolutions ſo obſtinately, it was to little Purpoſe: two Points engroſſed, as they had done before, all Attention.

The Supplies were the King's Demand, and the People call'd for Redreſs of Grievances.

The King inſiſted on his Buſineſs being firſt diſpatched; and he pretended as his Cauſe, his Pride; the People knew what would become of them, if they comply'd with theſe Terms, and in Conſequence they were tho' modeſt, yet determined Things ſhould go their Way, or none.

After a few Weeks ſpent in diſturbed Debates; the King finding he could not bend the Temper or Spirit of his People, diſſolved this, as the preceding Parliament.

The *Scots* ſaw it with Pleaſure; and they knew the Conſequences. They foreſaw with how ill a Spirit, Troops that fought againſt their Conſciences, and without Pay would oppoſe them.

They encreaſed their Numbers; advanced upon the royal Force, fought them upon the *Tyne*, and having the Advantage, took *Newcaſtle*.

Charles never ſaw the Terror of his Condition, till now; he ſummoned a Council, he declared his Fears, and he taxed their Invention for Expedients.

Mean Time the *Scots* advanced into *England*; the Troops ſent againſt them, avoided Action, and Revenge and Fury preſs'd the *Scots* forward.

The King was now his own Adviſer, for his Council were ſtruck dumb by the approaching Terrors.

He gathered Spirit from the Danger, and determining a proper Oppoſition; ſummoned an Aſſembly of the Peers at *York*, and another Parliament to meet firſt at *London*.

The Parliament found their Neceſſity, and they reſolved to improve the Occaſion. The Proceedings were violent; and the *Engliſh* Hiſtory records no Time of more Importance.

Hambden who had refuſed to pay his Tax of Ship Money, had been proſecuted, and a Suit for Twenty Shillings, engroſſed the Attention of the whole Kingdom: it was indeed the moſt important ever tried in a Court of Juſtice, 'twas not whether Mr. *Hambden* ſhould pay this Sum, but whether the People of *England* were, or were not, liable to be taxed without Conſent of Parliament.

The *Magna Charta* was the Plea of *Hambden*, ſupported by many other Rights; but the Judges were the King's, and the Subject was caſt.

This had opened every Mouth; for the Pleadings for him, had told every *Engliſhman* his Right.

This the Mobs hollowed to one another; and this animated the now neceſſary Parliament to Meaſures of the moſt violent Kind.

They knew what was the Service for which they were called, and how neceſſary; and from that Neceſſity, they drew a Reſolution to be earneſt and bold in their own Buſineſs.

They called back fifteen Years, and one by one recounted the Acts which had diſgraced them. They conſidered ſeparately every Thing the King had done to invalidate their Authority, and they took

Meaſures to invalidate them all. Let the brave have Juſtice; they in nothing attempted to invade that Power our Conſtitution gives its King. But they let not a Hair of all the Rights of *Britiſh* Subjects be injured.

In this Seſſion was debated learnedly and boldly the Right of Biſhops to ſit in Parliament.

Laud, made for his Services Archbiſhop, was accuſed of High Treaſon: but a much greater Stroke, the Earl of *Strafford*, was attainted alſo of High Treaſon, in attempting to introduce into this limited Monarchy an arbitrary Power. The People were violent; and his King gave him up: he was executed on the Twelfth of *May*.

The Bill for continuing the Parliament was the next Step. This paſſed: and the King had no more Power. He gave up his Right to diſſolve it; and could not now do it without Conſent of both Houſes.

'Twas ſoon ſeen on every Part what would be the Conſequence of this; and the King ſoon felt it.

He ſaw that himſelf had, by one Act, reduced below its uſual Standard, and that irrecoverably, the Power he had ran ſo many Hazards to ſupport at a higher Pitch.

The next Year diſcloſed more of the growing Danger: the King accuſed one of the Peers and five of the Commoners of Treaſon; and ordered, as a firſt neceſſary Step, a Seal upon their Papers. This the Parliament commanded to be torn off: and now Things wore their plain Face.

'Tis not the Buſineſs of a Naval Hiſtory to relate at large the civil Troubles that ſucceeded; yet let the Reader recollect the principal of them.

The King retired from *London*; and the Parliament ſeized upon the Town of *Hull*; placed Guards upon the Tower; and by every Step bolder than the laſt, ſhewed that Purpoſe to which only the King ſeemed blind.

The Command of the Fleet, of the Land Forces, and of the fortified Places, came next upon the Carpet; and in all theſe the King and Parliament had different Purpoſes; all were debated, but all went one Way.

This Year the Queen went for *Holland*; and the King had ſoon after the Mortification to ſee himſelf refuſed Entrance into one of his own Towns, *Hull*, before ſeized by the Parliament, and now held againſt him.

This was open Defiance: no Meaſures could now be kept on either Side: the King and the Parliament uſed all their Efforts to raiſe Soldiers; and *England* became the Scene of Civil War.

'Twas in the Year 1642 Things took this dreadful Turn; and the King, who ſaw in what Danger he made every Step, was cautious, but in vain. The next Stroke was heavier than the laſt: the Officers on board his Fleet refuſed to obey him. He beſieged *Hull* as if an Enemy's Town; and, preſſed at length by theſe intolerable Indignities, he declared both Houſes of Parliament guilty of High Treaſon; and ſet up his Standard.

After ſome ſlighter Rencounters the Battle of *Edge-Hill* followed in which Numbers fell, and the Event was doubtful: both Sides claimed the Victory; but both trembled at the Conſequences: the King retired to *Oxford*, whence he had been before largely ſupplied; the Univerſity ſending their Plate to him. Peace was propoſed, but neither Side were hearty in the Deſire of it.

The King was accuſed of an Intent to bring in Popery; and he ſolemnly declared his Innocence. His Revenues were ſeized; his Purpoſes were too much diſcloſed in his Letters; and theſe were intercepted. The Battle of *Naſeby* followed, in which he was routed entirely.

No Way was now left but to throw himſelf upon the Mercy of *Scotland*; that offended People delivered him up to the Parliament; by whom he was confined; and, by a high Commiſſion, tried, ſentenced, and beheaded: let others ſay with what Degree of Juſtice.

CHAP. XCI.

The Naval Events of this Period.

THE Purpoſes of the Parliament were plain; and 'twas eaſy to ſee what could be expected from thoſe Commanders in the Fleet who had refuſed to obey the King.

The Earl of *Warwick* receiving Information early in the Year 1647 of the Queen's intended Return to *England*, ſent out four ſtrong Ships under his Vice Admiral *Batten* to intercept her.

He had not that Intelligence he ſought early enough; but though he could not meet her on the Sea, he follow'd cloſe upon her Landing; and bringing his Ship to bear upon the Houſe where ſhe lodged, fired upon it inceſſantly with his Cannon for two Hours; the Queen eſcaped, and with her People ſaved themſelves in the Fields behind a Bank of Earth: but the Houſe was torn almoſt to Pieces: and it appeared that *Batten*'s Intelligence had been ſo particular, as to point out her Bedchamber, for no Part of the Houſe ſuffered more.

The Queen eſcaped unhurt; and nothing followed from this Attempt, but Infamy upon their Heads who contrived, and executed it.

The Earl of *Warwick*, who commanded in Chief in the Fleet, was not more ſucceſsful in his Operations. Fortune ſeem'd to have deſerted him and his Officers when they renounced Allegiance.

The King's Force lay before *Exeter*, and *Warwick* was directed to uſe his beſt Endeavours by Sea to attempt the Relief of the Place. He drew his Ships near Shore, and began to fire upon the Beſiegers, but without Succeſs, he was too diſtant, and they too well defended.

But tho' the King's Part ſuffered nothing by this Attempt, the other did: the Tide running out, by ſome Miſconduct in the Heat of their Fire three Ships were left aground; one of theſe he had the Mortification to ſee burnt, and the others taken, while he could do nothing to relieve them.

One Turn of Fortune favoured the unhappy King; and that his Son omitted, to his Ruin.

Charles Prince of *Wales* had been ſent, to avoid the Terror of the Times, to *Holland*: while there, the King was delivered up Priſoner by the *Scots*, and lay confined in *Cariſbrook* Caſtle in the Iſle of *Wight*.

The Prince was appointed Commander in Chief of his Father's Forces; and a Squadron of ten Sail of Men of War, fitted out by the Parliament, put their Commander *Rainſborough* in Irons, and went to *Holland*; offering their Service to the Prince, and deſiring him to vindicate his Father's Cauſe.

The Vice Admiral *Batten*, deteſted for his Attempt upon the Queen, now changed Sides, and with his Ships alſo joined the Prince, who ſailed immediately for *England*; and might with better Conduct have releaſed his Father.

This he propoſed; and would have ſailed directly for the Iſle of *Wight*; but the Commanders were againſt it, and they were his Commanders now: he dared not thwart thoſe, whom he knew ready on any Occaſion to deſert him; and taking their Aſſiſtance on their own Terms, they weigh'd Anchor, and ſtood into the *Downs*.

The Curſe of Sea Command infected theſe: they conſulted their own Intereſt, not their Country's; and they attempted Prizes more than Conqueſt: all the Ships of the Kingdom they now conſidered as Veſſels of an Enemy, and anchoring off the *Thames* Mouth, intercepted and took all that came near.

In vain the Prince remonſtrated that theſe were his Father's Subjects; that he came to defend them; and that theſe Outrages were Robbery: they perſiſted. He found Remonſtrances vain; and he remained with them Commander only in Name; yet ſtill in Hope they would for their own Sakes do ſomething for the King, becauſe they had forfeited their Lives with the other Party.

The Parliament mean Time fitted out a larger Fleet than ever, and gave it to the Conduct of their faithful Servant *Warwick*: he approached the Prince's Fleet as it was called; and an Engagement was expected, but theſe Officers ill obeyed their nominal Commander. He was in Earneſt to attack *Warwick*, and commanded to bear down upon him; but they pretended unfavourable Winds: and though the Earl of *Warwick* was as eager for an Engagement as the Prince, they ſtood from him, and made the Coaſt of *Holland*.

Warwick followed; and preſſed the States to yield them no Protection. The Prince left the Fleet, curſing his adverſe Fortune, and his Coward Friends.

CHAP. XCII.

Affairs of England *after the King's Death.*

THE Execution of *Charles* the Firſt threw the Power into the Hands of an Aſſembly of Men, who continued to themſelves the Name of a Houſe of Commons: they threw off the Controul of the Houſe of Peers, and voted their Voice always uſeleſs, and often dangerous.

Their Number was leſs than ninety; their Communion Independent or Anabaptiſt; and they propoſed to erect in *England* a Government perfectly Republican.

Europe was amazed: the Prince of *Wales* was undoubted Heir to the Crown, but they forbade proclaiming him, or any other, King of *England*, under Pain of High Treaſon.

Charles the Second, for ſuch he truly was from the Moment of his Father's Death, and ſuch it becomes every *Engliſhman* to call him, was at the *Hague* when the Blow was given.

The States acknowledged and condoled with him; and he expected from them great Aſſiſtance againſt the Oppoſition at Home: but *Holland*, true to that ſupreme Idol, Intereſt, no ſooner received the News from *England*, than ſhe grew cool to him.

Doriſlaus, one of the late King's Judges, came to the *Hague*, commiſſioned from the Parliament to the States; but he did not live to deliver his Meſſage: he was ſacrificed by ſome *Engliſh* to the Memory of their late King: and the true Succeſſor to the Royal Dignity ſeeing the Temper of the *Dutch*, and dreading the Fate of his Father, retired with his Brother the Duke of *York* and his few Attendants firſt to *Jerſey*.

All pitied the Fortune of a King, debar'd from Sovereignty, without a Fault, by the Uſurpation of his Subjects: they ſaw this, and ſaw that every Virtue in him reflected new Diſgrace on them: their Care was employed therefore to miſrepreſent his Actions, to ſuppreſs honourable Truths, and deviſe abominable Scandals; imitating the Cuſtoms of Robbers, who abuſe thoſe they plunder. Hence the Character of this Prince became early ſubject to Miſrepreſentation; which Artifice continued, as Malice had begun.

Prince *Rupert* lay off *Kinſale* with a Fleet of the King's Ships, when he fell: he ſailed for the Coaſt of *Spain*: and being unable to do any thing himſelf, ſought Safety in neutral Ports.

Captain *Allen* with four of the King's Ships, intending the ſame Conduct, was driven by a Storm upon the Rocks at *Carthagena*.

The Parliament ſent after theſe a powerful Fleet, and *Blake* had the Command. He found Prince *Rupert* under the Fort of *Carthagena*; and he demanded him, with his Veſſels and People, as Rebels to the Parliament of *England*. To this the Governor would not liſten: but while the Prince took his beſt Opportunity of eſcaping, he watch'd, follow'd, and fell upon him, ſinking three of his Veſſels.

The Marquis of *Montroſs* this Year 1650, attempted the Service of the Royal Cauſe in *Scotland* boldly, but ill ſupported: he landed with ſeven hundred Perſons; and thinking his Countrymen as honeſt as himſelf, depended upon Reinforcement: he found his Error. He was made Priſoner, and try'd and executed as a Traitor.

'Tis ſaid this great Man, while he waited for Reinforcements, celebrated the Virtues of his Royal Maſter, and declar'd his own Intentions in theſe Lines, written with the Point of his Sword in the Sands.

Great, Good, and Juſt!—cou'd I but rate
My Grief at thy untimely Fate,
I'd weep the World to ſuch a Strain
That it ſhould deluge once again.
But ſince thy loud-tongu'd Blood demands Supplies,
More from Briareus' *Hands than* Argus' *Eyes,*
I'll ſing thy Obſequies with Trumpet Sounds,
And write thy Epitaph in Blood and Wounds.

CHAP. XCIII.

The Condition of the King at this Period.

CHARLES the Second heard the Fate of this gallant Soldier with that Concern which only Virtue can feel for the Deſerving. He lamented at once his Fall and the Diſloyalty of his Countrymen; and he propos'd Terms to them, not wholly unmix'd with Reproaches. They accepted the Offers; and, after due Form, the King truſted himſelf among them.

In the mean Time the Parliament Force acquir'd a new Strength from the Acceſſion of a Commander, who, however bad a Man, was unqueſtionably one of the greateſt the World ever ſaw.

Oliver Cromwell, upon the Reſignation of *Fairfax*, took the Command of the Army, and march'd to *Scotland*, to fight the Forces rais'd there in Favour of the King.

He had ſuch Succeſs as his Conduct, not his Cauſe, deſerv'd: he was victorious.

This did not awe the *Scots*, who now they had receiv'd their King upon a ſettled Compact, were loyal: *Charles* the Second was crown'd at *Scone*, and an Army rais'd to ſupport his Title.

He put himſelf at their Head, march'd them into *England*, and fought the Parliament Army under *Cromwell*. The Battle was by *Worceſter*; and *Cromwell*'s Fortune prevail'd. The King eſcap'd the Fury of the Slaughter; and, under Conduct of that eſpecial Providence which guards the Lives of Sovereigns, got out of the Kingdom. He retired to *France*.

The Parliament had now taken Offence at *Holland*, and *Cromwell* was ready to undertake the boldeſt Things they could propoſe: but the *Dutch* put off the ill Day to their utmoſt.

Prince *Rupert* with his little remaining Strength cruis'd off the *Spaniſh* Coaſts; and, with a Spirit worthy better Fortune, declar'd againſt them as Violators of a ſolemn Treaty with the King of *England*, by giving their Protection to the Rebel Fleet. He took ſuch of their Ships as fell in his Way, enriching with their Plunder his faithful Sailors.

CHAP. XCIV.

Affairs of Commerce during this diſturbed Period.

VIrginia, ſo flouriſhing a Colony, and ſo promiſing to flouriſh laſtingly, was reduc'd, in the Year 1640, to the Brink of Ruin.

The King, the unhappy *Charles* the Firſt, when he diſſolv'd the Company, and took upon himſelf the Direction, ſold to Sir *John Harvey* the Government of that Province. The People felt the Conſequences: he was inſolent, oppreſſive, cruel, and rapacious: they threaten'd to complain; and he knowing the Strength of his Title, defy'd them.

They met upon this, and came to their Reſolution: they ſeiz'd his Perſon, ſent him to *England* in Irons, and deputed for his Accuſers the beſt People of the Colony; charging him capitally.

What was the Confuſion, what the Aſtoniſhment of theſe People, to find their King refuſe them Juſtice! Their Criminal was ſet at Liberty, ſent back to his Government, and tyranniz'd more outrageouſly than ever.

The neighbouring *Indians* ſaw with Concern the Encroachments made daily farther and farther up the Country; and the Diſturbances among the *Engliſh* gave them Courage to think of redreſſing themſelves.

Opecaneanough, a neighbouring *Indian* Prince, form'd the Deſign of a general Maſſacre of the *Engliſh*. He aſſembled the *Indians* of the ſeveral Provinces neareſt the Settlements; and appointing the Day and Hour, as in the former Maſſacre, gave all Commiſſion to deſtroy.

Himſelf took for his Department the Borderers on the South Side of *James's* River; and had all acted up to their Principles with his Fury, the *Engliſh* had been in one Day extirpated.

He fell upon thoſe he reſerv'd for his own Sacrifices, and cut off five hundred, ſparing neither Man, Woman, or Child. A few who were neareſt him follow'd the Example: but no other Miſchief was done; and this was well reveng'd.

The Chief himſelf fell afterwards into the Hands of Mr. *William Berkley*, Brother to Sir *John Berkley*, then juſt made Governor, related nearly to the Author of theſe Papers.

He died a Priſoner, and of his People many fell by the Sword: the Reſt weakened and without a Head, deſired Terms of Accommodation, and all went well for many ſucceeding Years.

CHAP. XCV.

The Affairs of Barbadoes *at this Period.*

IF the ſeveral *American* Colonies in general, had of late Years flouriſhed, that of *Barbadoes* exceeded them all. The People were increaſed to fifty Thouſand, beſides Slaves; and they grew as rich as numerous.

The firſt Shock to their Proſperity, was, the Diſputes which roſe among them on the Affairs of Government.

They formed themſelves into Parties; and before the Government interfered, were near to cutting one another's Throats.

The Governor was a Royaliſt, and he would not think of a Commiſſion from the Parliament: the People who favoured the new Dignitaries, repreſented this with all that Spirit of Rancour, which attended the Party Fury.

The King not knowing how far he could depend upon a Governor he did not perſonally know, ſuperſeded him, but with great Marks of Civility; and ſent Lord *Willughby*, of *Parham*, Governor, with the Earl of *Carliſle* farther Authority.

Lord *Willughby* reduced all to Obedience, and following the ſame Courſe in an Expedition to the Leeward Iſlands, every Thing was ſettled quietly; and the King appointed Major *Pointz* their Governor.

Prince *Rupert* was deſtined thither with his Fleet; and the Parliament now ſaw all was at Stake in theſe Iſlands.

Sir *George Ayſcough* was commiſſioned with the Command of a conſiderable Force, and had his Orders to intercept if poſſible, Prince *Rupert*, whom he expected on the Coaſt of *Spain*; and thence to make his beſt Way to the Iſlands.

Sir *George* did not execute the firſt Part of his Commiſſion, but in *October* he arrived at the Iſlands.

The *Dutch* whom he found there, he made Prizes, for trading with the People of the Iſland, in a State of Rebellion, as he called it, to *England*; and then prepared to land his Men.

The Governor drew up about four Thouſand well armed, to diſpute their Landing: He defended *Carliſle-Bay* well, by the Forts there; and *George* knew not where to attempt a Deſcent.

In this State, he ſent a Summons to the Governor to ſurrender the Iſland. Lord *Willughby* anſwered, he had received his Commiſſion from King *Charles* the Second, and to his beſt Power, would keep the Iſland for him.

Threatnings followed from the Commander, and Treachery from the People on Board, endeavouring to ſeduce by Meſſages, thoſe on Shore to deſert him; but all was in vain.

Sir *George* lingered out till *December*, and then joining ſome trading Veſſels that came in, to encreaſe his Force, he landed his Men, took one of the Forts, and ſeduced the People ſo effectually, that they determined to make Terms without the Governor.

Lord *Willughby*, of *Parham*, now ſhewed his Virtues and Abilities in their brighteſt Luſtre; threatened by mercileſs Foes, and betrayed by his own People, he kept his wonted Dignity; he made theſe accept it as a Kindneſs that he permitted them to treat; and himſelf being Mediator, obtained handſome Terms for all; and honourable Ones for himſelf.

Barbadoes thus ſurrendered to the Parliament; and the Example once ſet, all the Plantations followed.

CHAP. XCVI.

An Engagement of the Dutch *and* Engliſh.

THE Parliament determined upon a War with the *Dutch*, had made Demands altogether unreaſonable, purpoſely that they might be refuſed: and theſe People knowing at once their Intereſt and their Strength, fought Peace; and prepared for War.

They propoſed to accept any reaſonable Terms of Accommodation; and a Treaty was ſet on Foot; but at the ſame Time they laboured Night and Day at their Navy, and in the Middle of *May*, appeared off *Dover* with a Fleet of two and Forty Sail, under their beſt Commander, *Martin Van Trump*.

Their whole Force was no leſs than a Hundred and Fifty Sail: they provoked the *Engliſh* to commit Hoſtilities, now they were prepared to return them; and they determined now they had at this Expence, to diſpute the long long envied Sovereignty of the Sea.

Still they were however cautious; and ſought to make *England* the Aggreſſor.

Major *Bourne* rode at Anchor there, with a good Fleet, and their Deſign was to fight him; but when they ſaw this unexpected Viſit, did not bring him upon them; they excuſed it by a Meſſage, that they were driven thither by Storms.

Bourne took no other Notice of the Addreſs, than to ſend it to the Council, with an Aſſurance there had been no ſtormy Weather; and the *Engliſh* underſtanding it as a Challenge, and as an Inſult of which the *Dutch* would boaſt, if unpuniſhed. Admiral *Blake*, who lay in the *Downs* with a conſiderable Force, tho' not equal to that of the *Dutch*, was ordered to chaſtiſe them.

Blake had Courage: he deſpis'd the Odds; and made his beſt Sail to the Enemy. *Van Trump* ſaw him coming, and ſtood to the Eaſtward.

Soon after he tacked about, and bore down to the *Engliſh*; *Blake* drew up in a Line of Battle, and as *Van Trump* advanced with his Flag hoiſted, fired three Shot, a Signal for him to pay the Reſpect due to an *Engliſh* Fleet.

Van Trump drew up in Order, and fired from his Poop a ſingle Gun; which he meant ſhould be underſtood as a very coarſe Contempt of the Signal.

On the ſame Inſtant he hoiſted a red Flag, and bearing down againſt the Admiral Ship, gave him a Broad-ſide, ſo near, and ſo well aimed, that *Blake* loſt many Men, and ſuffered conſiderably in his Veſſel.

He placed himſelf upon the Deck, brought his Ship to bear as well upon the *Dutchman*, and gave him a Return which did little leſs Damage.

'Twas Afternoon, when the firſt Broadſide from the *Dutch* was given. *Bourne* heard it, and he had his Orders: he came up to the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* Admiral, and attacking the *Dutch* behind, the Engagement became univerſal. Night put a Stop to it; and gave each Party Time to know their Loſs.

Tho' the firſt Broadſide of the *Dutch* had done great Execution, the Slaughter for the reſt of the Engagement had been much greater among themſelves. They loſt two Ships, one taken, and the other ſunk; and ſo many Men were fallen, and ſo much Damage done to the Veſſels, that the Admiral, tho' as much above Fear, as any Man who ever breathed, found Prudence dictated a Retreat: he fled.

The *Engliſh* had no Sight of them in the Morning; and the Glory of the Day was wholly theirs, as well as the Juſtice of the Cauſe; for the *Dutch* had been plainly the Aggreſſors.

Blake obtained great Honour, he had ſtood the Heat of the Engagement, and his Ship, the *Victorious*, was little better than a Wreck, pierced by the greateſt Part of ſeventy Shot, that had ſtruck her Hull; and ſhattered her to Pieces in her Rigging.

CHAP. XCVII.

The Conduct of the Dutch *after this Defeat.*

THE firſt Action is underſtood to be of great Conſequence in War, and ſo the *Dutch* looked on this. They were ſhocked and confounded at the vaſt Superiority of the *Engliſh*, and they reſolved to lay the Fault upon the Admiral; declaring he had acted without their Order.

The Mob roſe mean Time in *England*, and the *Dutch* Miniſters would have been torn to Pieces, had not the Government defended them by a ſtrong Guard.

The Meſſage of the States was received, with a Coolneſs that ſhewed no one believed it.

An Embaſſador extraordinary was ſent to confirm the ſame Story; and to deſire Peace. The *Engliſh* demanded they would firſt be paid the full Ex-

Expence of the Years Preparation, which had been ſolely owing to the *Dutch*; and they refuſing this, nothing was thought of but War; for which both Sides prepared now in earneſt: in the mean Time, where ever the Ships of the two Nations met, they fought; and every where the *Engliſh* had the Advantage.

Van Trump was earneſt to be ſent out again; he picked his Officers, and in a great Degree his Men: and toward Autumn, the ſame Year, came out with a hundred and twenty Sail.

Blake was mean Time ſucceſsful againſt their Trade; he fell in with the whole Fleet of fiſhing Buſſes, and took more than a Hundred, diſperſed the reſt; and thoroughly deſtroyed the Fiſhery of that Year.

In his Return, he took two of their Men of War, and every Thing conſpired to give the *Engliſh* Spirits.

The *Dutch* Admiral was indefatigable in his Attempts to attack the *Engliſh* Fleet, but unſucceſsful. He ſent a Squadron of forty Ships to attack Sir *George Ayſcough* in the *Downs*; but ſo much Preparation was made on the Shore, as well as by the Ships, that he ſaw this was a vain Scheme; and calling the Veſſels off, went northward in Search of *Blake*.

Storms here prevented his coming to an Engagement; and drove him again to the Coaſt of *Holland*.

While he was making his own Shores, *Aiſcough* was reinforced with ſeveral freſh Ships, and was diſpatched out to diſturb their Commerce. He fell in with Thirty Merchant Ships near the Coaſt of *England*, and ſunk, or took the greater Part of them: the few who eſcaped making for the Coaſt of *France*.

CHAP. XCVIII.

An Engagement off Plymouth.

WHILE the two principal Commanders were out of Action, *Van Trump* driven Home, and *Blake* far to the Northward: Sir *George Aiſcough* cruiſing off *Plymouth* for the Protection of our home bound Veſſels, ſaw a conſiderable Number of *Dutch* Veſſels.

The Vice Admiral *De Ruyter*, ſecond in Command, convoyed a large Fleet outward bound with a very conſiderable Force.

The Squadrons were nearly equal, and Sir *George* full of that Spirit which ariſes from Succeſs, prepared for the Attack: *Du Ruyter* waited him, and took every Precaution of Advantage.

He received the *Engliſh* very reſolutely; and from four in the Afternoon, till ſeven, it was a doubtful Conflict.

The *Dutch* then preparing for a freſh and furious Aſſault, Sir *George* led off his Fleet and retired to *Plymouth*. He loſt many Men: he had the Conſolation to know he had ſunk two of the *Dutch* Ships; but they had the Glory: the firſt they won in this War from *England*, and the moſt unexpected.

Du Ruyter ſent Home his own Ship, and every Shot that had pierced her, was counted to his Glory.

Sir *George Ayſcough* was employed no more. Hiſtorians, fooliſhly partial to their Country, would give the Honour of this Action to our People: the Event ſhewed otherwiſe. They who would be believed, muſt be impartial.

CHAP. XCIX.

Blake *engages* De Witte *and* De Ruyter.

THE Succeſs of *De Ruyter* opened the Mouths of many in *Holland* againſt *Van Trump*. He knew his own unblemiſhed Honour, and in Contempt retired; throwing up his Commiſſion.

De Witte was joined in Command with the ſucceſsful *De Ruyter*; a large Fleet was fitted out, and they ſailed with it for the North Foreland.

Blake was in the *Downs*; and on the firſt Notice he ſtood out to engage them.

Early in the Afternoon they came up, and the *Dutch* Admiral firing a Shot of Defiance, they engaged.

Blake ſent in his ſtrongeſt Veſſels firſt, and at one Shock, three of the *Dutch* were diſabled: the Action continued in Favour of the *Engliſh* till Night; and they with little Loſs were victorious.

The News of this alarmed the *Dutch*: they found their Admirals unequal to the Taſk of Combating the *Engliſh*; and they ſaw their Commerce ſink.

They determined to attempt regaining their Glory by ſome great Action; and getting together a vaſt Force for the Purpoſe, they ſollicited *Van Trump* to take again the Command.

He reproached them with their Ingratitude, and promiſed to fight their Enemies to the utmoſt: but told them Winds and Seas were above human Conflict.

To a Fleet of eighty five Sail, he added ten Fire-ſhips; and hoiſting his Flag on Board the largeſt Veſſel, ſtood out to Sea: determined to ſhew by ſome ſignal Action, how much they had injured him, who thought his Conduct the Source of their Miſfortunes.

Winter approached, and the *Engliſh* thought of no more Action that Year. They had ſuppoſed the Enemy diſheartened by thoſe Defeats, which had inſpired more Courage; and our Admiral *Blake* was deſtin'd to be attacked, when he thought himſelf in the moſt full Security.

He had ſent off ſeveral of his Ships, ſome to *Plymouth*, ſome up the *Thames*, and others as Convoys, when *Van Trump* breathing Vengeance and Deſtruction, anchored in the Middle of *November* off the *Goodwins*.

Blake lay in the *Downs*, and his Force was about Forty large Ships and Eight Tenders. He ordered Sail; and determined to fight the Enemy againſt all Diſadvantages.

The *Dutch* ſent out Nine Ships a-head for Diſcovery, and the *Engliſh* about the ſame Number; theſe met; and immediately engaged.

The Noiſe of their Cannon drew up the Force on each Side to which they belonged, and about Noon the Engagement was general.

Blake with the two beſt of his Ships engaged four Times the Number of the Enemy, and he ſent two of his braveſt Officers in Ships of Force, and mann'd with pick'd Men for the Service, to grapple the *Dutch* Admiral on both Sides at once, while he was advanced ſingly, for ſome particular Action; and board him.

Ackſon and *Batten*, were the Men appointed for this deſperate Service, and they perform'd it gallantly: but *Van Trump* was not to be taken. He fought upon the Deck, and took of thoſe who had boarded him all Priſoners who eſcaped the Sword. The two Ships alſo fell into his Hands, and in the Courſe of the Day he ſunk three others.

Night ſtop'd the Combat: and the *Engliſh* retired. The *Dutch* gloried in their Succeſs; and their Admiral frighting away all farther Oppoſition, fixed upon his main Maſt Head a Broom, an Emblem after the Manner of his Country, that he would ſweep the *Engliſh* from the Channel.

The War from this Action threatened to take a new Turn. The *Dutch* gloried, and the *Engliſh* drooped.

CHAP. C.

The English *ſeek the Enemy.*

CEnſures were paſſed by the Vulgar upon their brave Admiral *Blake*. His Services were forgot, and one unſucceſsful Action, in which himſelf did all in Man's Power for Victory, blotted from their Minds all his former Actions.

The Government judg'd with more Favour; they joined two other Admirals with him, *Monk*, and *Dean*; and early in 1653 there ſailed a large Force with them, to ſeek this inſolent *Dutch* Admiral.

He lay the while off the Iſle of *Rhee*; and when he had Notice of the great Fleet of the *Engliſh*, met them at the Height of *Portland*.

The Force on each Side was about equal, and it was ſuch as threatened under ſuch great Commanders a very bloody Day.

The *Dutch* divided their Fleet into four Squadrons, and ſailed forwards to the Attack. The *Engliſh* Fleet was of about eighty Sail, and the Fight would have been Ship to Ship, but that the greater Part lagged behind many Hours.

The Engagemenr began about eight in the Morning, and *Blake* ſtood till two, the Attack of the whole Body of the Enemy with about twelve Veſſels.

Thus long the Fortune of the Day promiſed for *Holland*, but when the whole Force came up, the *Dutch* fainted.

The Admiral *Van Trump* kept indeed his Poſt, and aw'd the boldeſt to Diſtance, but more than forty of the Fleet fled.

De Ruyter inſpired as it were by the Conduct of *Van Trump*, boarded and took one of the beſt Veſſels of the *Engliſh*; but he was at the ſame Inſtant boarded by another; and tho' he cleared himſelf, he loſt his Prize.

Seven of the *Dutch* were taken, and one blown up. *Van Trump* continued fighting cloſe with *Blake*, Admiral to Admiral; and when he had loſt two Thirds of his Men; and probably would have been deſtroyed or taken, *Evertzen* in a Ship ſcarce leſs ſhatter'd, bore in between them, received *Blake*'s Fire, and ſent his Admiral off in Safety.

Mean Time *De Ruyter* lay a Wreck without Maſt or Sail, but his Guns could yet perform their Service; and when he had ſhattered three of the *Engliſh* who attempted to take him, *Evertzen* in the ſame Manner came up to his Relief; received all the Fire levelled at him; and protected him ſucceſsfully.

The *Engliſh* performed this memorable Day many Acts of Heroiſm; the *Dutch* Wonders: but no Courage could defend them farther. The Succeſs and Glory of the Day was with the *Engliſh*.

Night parted them, and the *Dutch* were ſuppoſed retired; but Day-break undeceived our People, and ſhewed them that they had a ſecond Fight to expect, againſt Men reſolved not to ſubmit to Fortune.

The Night had been ſpent on both Sides in repairing Damages. The diſabled Ships of the *Engliſh* were ſent into *Portſmouth*, and between eight and nine in the Morning, on the ninth of *February*, began the ſecond deſperate Conflict.

Three Hours none could ſay on which Side Succeſs lay: but by that Time, the *Dutch* felt that it was with their Enemies.

The *Engliſh* fought with unremitting Fury; and the deſperate Valour of the *Dutch*, only expoſed them to the greater Slaughter.

About Eleven, *Van Trump* began to make toward the *French* Shore. He fought retreating; and like a Tyger at Bay, one by one diſabled thoſe who attempted him.

De Ruyter was the next attempted Prize; but he defended himſelf as hardily. Theſe two Ships kept behind, and received all the Fire; ſcreening the others.

De Ruyter loſt his Maſts again; and when his diſabled Condition brought down one of our largeſt Veſſels to board him, he ſuffered her to come within Piſtol-ſhot; and then diſcharged his broadſide at one Fire. His own Ship ſhook with the Force; and the Enemy difficultly made off diſabled.

The *Dutch* purſued their Courſe, and *Van Trump* himſelf, charmed with the Conduct of his Vice Admiral, ſtood the Fury of the *Engliſh*, and ſaw her towed into Safety.

Night, no Thought of yielding upon either Side, put an End to the Conflict; and the *Dutch* this Day loſt eight of their principal Ships.

The Night was ſpent as the former; and Daylight renewed the dreadful Conflict. *Van Trump* who ſaw the Odds were now againſt him, ſteered for the Coaſt of *Holland*, but fought the whole Day with unparalell'd Fury.

Every Hour added ſome new Succeſs to the *Engliſh*, and reduced the Enemy to a weaker Condition. At four in the Afternoon, Victory was clearly with us. The *Dutch* retreated to the Sands before *Calais*, and thence tided it into the Wielings.

No Conteſt had from the earlieſt Period of Navigation, been ſo reſolute as this, or ſo bloody. Two powerful Nations fought for the Dominion of the Sea; and every Man behaved in the Action, as if the Deciſion reſted wholly upon his Arm.

The *Engliſh* had Cauſe to glory; and the *Dutch* were beaten without Diſhonour.

About this Time, the following ſenſible Remonſtrance was delivered to the Government.

CHAP. CI.

The ineſtimable Riches of the British *Seas.*

"THE Coaſts of *Great Britain* yield ſuch " a continual Sea-harveſt to all that with " Diligence labour in them, that no Seaſon in the " Year paſſes, without ſome apparent Means of " profitable Employment. Fiſhing, from the Be- " ginning of the Year to the latter End, con- " tinues upon ſome Part or other of our Coaſts, " and there are ſuch infinite Shoals and Multi- " tudes of Fiſh offered to the Takers, as may " juſtly move Admiration, not only to Strangers, " but to thoſe daily employed among them.

" The Summer-fiſhing for Herring, begins a- " bout *Midſummer*, and laſts ſome Part of *Au*- " *guſt*.

" The Winter-fiſhing for Herring, laſts from " *September*, to the Middle of *November*, both " which extend in Place, from *Boughones* in *Scot*- " *land*, to the *Thames* Mouth.

" The Fiſhing for Cod at *Alamby*, *Whirlington*, " and *Whitehaven*, near the Coaſt of *Lancaſhire*, " laſts from *Eaſter* until *Whitſuntide*.

" The Fiſhing for Hake at *Aberdenie*, *Abroeſ*- " *which*, and other Places between *Wales* and " *Ireland*, laſts from *Whitſuntide*, to St. *James*'s- " Day.

" The Fiſhing for Cod and Ling, about *Pad*- " *ſtow*, from *Chriſtmas* to *Mid-lent*.

" The Fiſhing for Cod on the weſt Part of *Ire*- " *land*, frequented by thoſe of *Biſcay*, *Galicia*, " and *Portugal*, from the Beginning of *April*, till " the End of *June*.

" The Fiſhing for Cod and Ling on the North, " and North-Eaſt of *Ireland*, from *Chriſtmas* till " *Michaelmas*.

" The Fiſhing for Pilchers on the Weſt Coaſt " of *England*, from St. *James*'s-Day, till *Michael*- " *mas*.

" The Fiſhing for Cod and Ling, upon the " North-Eaſt of *England*, from *Eaſter* till *Mid*- " *ſummer*.

" The Fiſhing of great Staple Ling, and many " other Sorts lying about the Iſland of *Scotland*, " and in the ſeveral Parts of the *Britiſh* Seas all the " Year long.

" In *September*, upon the Coaſt of *Devonſhire*, " near *Minigal*, five hundred Ton of Fiſh were taken " in one Day. And about the ſame Time three " thouſand Pounds Worth of Fiſh in one Day " were taken at St. *Ives* in *Cornwall*, by ſmall " Boats, and other trifling Proviſions.

" Our five Men Boats, adventuring in a Calm, " to launch out amongſt the *Holland* Buſſes, not " far from *Robin-Hood*'s *Bay*, returned to *Whitby* " full fraught with Herrings, and reported that " they ſaw ſome of thoſe Buſſes take Ten, Twenty, " Twenty four Laſts at a Draught; and returned " into their own Country with Forty, Fifty, and " an Hundred Laſts of Herrings in one Buſs.

" Our Fleet of Colliers returning from *New*- " *caſtle*, laden with Coals, about the *Well*, near " *Flamborough-Head*, and *Scarborough*, met with " ſuch Multitudes of Cod, Ling, and Herring, " that one Ship among the reſt, with the Ship " hooks, and other like Inſtruments, drew up as

“ much Cod and Ling in a little Space of Time, as were ſold for near as much as her whole Lading of Coal. And many Hundred Ships might have been there laden in two Days and Nights.

“ Out of this wonderful Affluence, and Abundance of Fiſh ſwarming in our Seas, that we may the better perceive the infinite Gain foreign Nations make; let us conſider the Fiſhing of the *Dutch* on our Coaſts, and thereby ſhew how by this Means principally they have increaſed,

“ 1. *In Shipping.* 2. *In Mariners.* 3. *In Trade.* 4. *In Towns and Fortifications.* 5. *In Power abroad.* 6. *In publick Revenue.* 7. *In private Wealth.* And 8. *In all Manner of Proviſions, and ſtore of Things neceſſary.*

CHAP. CII.

Encreaſe of Shipping.

“ BEſides ſeven Hundred Srand-Boats, four Hundred Evars, and four Hundred Sullits, Drivers and Tod-Boats, wherewith the *Hollanders* fiſh upon their own Coaſts, every one of thoſe employing another Ship to fetch Salt, and carry their Fiſh into other Countries, being in all, 3000 Sail, maintaining and ſetting on Work beſide Sailors, at leaſt 4000 Perſons, Fiſhers, Tradeſmen, Women and Children; they have a Hundred Doyer Boats, of one Hundred and fifty Tons each, or thereabouts; ſeven Hundred Pinks, and Well-Boats, from ſixty to a Hundred Tons each, which altogether fiſh upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland* for Cod and Ling only. And each of theſe employ another Veſſel for providing of Salt, and tranſporting their Fiſh, making in all one Thouſand ſix Hundred Ships, which maintain and employ of all Sorts, at leaſt four Thouſand.

“ For the Herring Seaſon, they have one Thouſand ſix Hundred Buſſes at leaſt, all of them fiſhing only on our Coaſts from *Boughonneſs* in *Scotland*, to the Mouth of the *Thames*. And every one of theſe employs three other Ships that attend her; the one to bring in Salt from foreign Parts, another to carry Salt, and Caſk to the Buſſes, and to bring back their Herrings; and the Third, to carry the Fiſh into foreign Countries. So that the whole Number of Ships and Buſſes plying the Herring-Fare, is ſix Thouſand four Hundred; and every Buſs, one with another, employs forty Men, Mariners and Fiſhers, and the reſt ten Men each, which amounts to one Hundred and twelve Thouſand Fiſhers and Mariners: and they maintain double, if not treble, ſo many Tradeſmen, Women, and Children at Land.

“ They have alſo four Hundred other Veſſels at leaſt, that take Herrings at *Yarmouth*, and there ſell them for ready Money; ſo that the *Dutch* (beſides three Hundred Ships before mentioned, fiſhing upon their own Shores) have at leaſt four Thouſand eight Hundred Ships maintained only by the Seas of *Great-Britain*, by which Means principally, *Holland* has encreaſed the Number of her Shipping, to at leaſt ten Thouſand Sail, being more than are in *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Ruſſia*. And to this Number they add every Day; although their Country itſelf affords them neither Materials, or Food, nor Merchandize to be accounted of towards their ſetting forth.

“ Beſides theſe of *Holland*, *Lubeck* has ſeven Hundred large Ships, *Hamburgh* ſix Hundred, *Embden* fourteen Hundred, whereto add the Ships of *Bremen*, *Biſcay*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, and *France*, which for the moſt Part fiſh in our Seas, and it will appear that at leaſt ten Thouſand Sail of foreign Veſſels are employed and maintained by fiſhing upon our Coaſts.

CHAP. CIII.

Encreaſe of Mariners and Trade from the Fiſhery.

“ THE Number of Ships fiſhing on our Coaſts being eight Thouſand four Hundred. If we allow but twenty Perſons to every Ship, one with another, the Total of Mariners and Fiſhers, amounts to one Hundred and ſixty eight Thouſand, out of which Number they daily furniſh their longer Voyages to all Parts of the World; for by this Means they are not only enabled to bear the Seas, and to know the Uſe of the Tackles and Compaſs, but are inſtructed in the Principles of Navigation, and Pilotage; and from hence their greateſt Navigators have had their Education.

“ By this Multitude of Ships and Mariners, they extended their Trade to all Parts of the World, exporting for in moſt of their Voyages our Herring, and other Fiſh. In Exchange whereof, they return the ſeveral Commodities of other Countries.

“ From the ſouthern Parts, as *France*, *Spain*, “and *Portugal*, for our Herrings they bring Oils, Wines, Prunes, Honey, Wool, *&c.* with a great deal of Coin in Specie.

“From the *Streights*, Velvets, Sattins, and all Sorts of Silks, Allums, Currants, Oils, and a great deal of Grocery Ware, with Money.

“From the *Eaſt*, for our Herrings, and other *French* and *Italian* Commodities before bought with them, they bring home Corn, Wax, Flax, Hemp, Pitch, Tar, Soap Aſhes, Iron, Copper, Steel, Clap-board, Wainſcot, Timber, Deal-board and Money.

“From *Germany*, for Herrings, and other ſalt Fiſh, Iron, Steel, Glaſs, Mill-ſtones, *Rheniſh* Wines, Silks, Velvets, Raſhes, Fuſtians and Money.

“From *Brabant* they return, for the moſt part, ready Money, with ſome Tapeſtries: and ſome of our Herrings are carried as far as *Braſil*.

“What is more ſtrange, and more to our Shame, they have four hundred Ships with Fiſh, which our People of *Yarmouth*, within Sight almoſt of Land, clear of their Herrings, to ſell again amongſt us here in *England*. Thus we pay for the Fiſh taken upon our own Coaſt ready Money.

CHAP. CIV.

Encreaſe of Towns and Forts.

“BY this their large Extent of Trade, they are become as it were Citizens of the whole World; and have ſo enlarged their Towns, that moſt of them, within theſe four hundred Years, are full as large again as they were before; *Amſterdam*, *Leyden*, and *Middleburgh*, having been lately twice enlarged, and their Streets and Buildings ſo good, that for Beauty and Strength they may compare with moſt in the World; upon which they beſtow infinite Sums of Money, all originally flowing from the Bounty of our Sea; from whence, by their Labour and Induſtry, they derive the Beginning of all that Wealth and Greatneſs.

“With this they build alſo the Havens of the aforeſaid Towns, whereof ſome have coſt forty, fifty, or an hundred thouſand Pounds. Their Fortifications alſo, both for Number and Strength, upon which they have beſtowed infinite Sums of Money, may compare with any other whatſoever.

CHAP. CV.

Encreaſe of Power abroad.

“SUCH is then the Number of the Ships and Mariners, and ſo great their Trade, occaſion'd principally by their Fiſhing, that they have not only ſtrengthened and fortified themſelves at Home to repel all foreign Invaſions, as lately in the War between them and *Spain*, but have likewiſe ſtretched their Power into the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*; in many Parts whereof, they are Lords of the Sea Coaſts, and have likewiſe fortified Places upon the Main, where the Kings and People are at their Devotion.

“More than this, all neighbouring Princes, in their Differences, by reaſon of this Power, are glad to have them of their Party; ſo that, next to the *Engliſh*, they are now become the moſt reſpected Nation at Sea.

CHAP. CVI.

Encreaſe of Publick Revenue.

“HOW vaſtly the publick Revenue, and Cuſtoms of that State, are encreas'd by their Fiſhing, may appear in that above thirty Years ſince, over and above the Cuſtoms of other Merchandiſe, Exciſe, Licenſes, Waſtage, and Laſtage, there was paid to the State, for Cuſtom of Herring, and other Salt Fiſh, above three hundred thouſand Pounds in one Year, beſides the tenth Fiſh and Caſk for Waſtage: this comes at the leaſt to as much more among the *Hollanders* only, whereto the tenth of other Nations being added, it amounts to a vaſt Sum.

“We are alſo to know, that a great Part of their Fiſh is ſold in other Countries for ready Money, which they commonly import of the fineſt Gold, and Silver, and coming Home recoin it of a baſer Allay, under their own Stamp, which is not a ſmall Means to augment their publick Treaſure.

CHAP. CVII.

Encreaſe of private Wealth.

“As to their private Wealth, if we conſider the abundant Store of Herrings, and other Fiſh they take, and the uſual Prices that they are ſold for, as alſo the Multitude of Tradeſmen and Artiſans, that by reaſon of this their Fiſhing are daily ſet on work, we muſt needs conclude, that the Gain made by private Men, muſt of Neceſſity be exceeding great.

“During the Wars between the King of *Spain* and the *Hollanders*, before the laſt Truce, *Dunkirk*, by taking, ſpoiling and burning the Buſſes of *Holland*, and ſetting great Ranſom upon their Fiſhermen, forced them to compound for great Sums, that they might fiſh quietly only for one Year.

“The next Year after, the Fiſhermen agreed amongſt themſelves to pay a Dollar upon every Laſt of Herrings, towards the Maintenance of certain Ships of War, to convoy and ſecure them in their Fiſhing. For this Reaſon there was a Record kept of the ſeveral Laſts of Herrings taken that Year, and it appeared thereby, that in one half Year there were caught thirty thouſand Laſts, which at Twenty Pounds *per* Laſt, amounts to Three Millions Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds: and at thirty Pound the Laſt they are ordinarily ſold: then tranſported into other Countries, it comes at leaſt to Five Millions.

“To this if we add the Herrings taken by other Nations, together with the Cod, Ling, Hake, and the Fiſh taken by the *Hollanders*, and other our Neighbours upon the *Britiſh* Coaſts all the Year long, the Total will evidently ariſe to more than Ten Millions.

“The great Trade of Fiſhing imploying ſo many Men and Ships at Sea, muſt likewiſe neceſſarily maintain as great a Number of Tradeſmen and Artizans on Land, Spinners and Hemp-winders to Cables, Cordage, Yarn, Twine for Nets and Lines, Weavers to make Sail Cloths, Packers, Tollers, Dreſſers, and Cowchers to ſort and make the Herrings fit Merchandiſe. Coopers to make Caſk, Block and Bowl-makers for Ships, Keelmen and Labourers for carrying and removing their Fiſh, Sawyers for Planks, Carpenters, Shipwrights, Smiths, Carmen, Boatmen, Brewers, Bakers, and a Number of others, whereof many are diſabled Perſons, and unfit to be otherwiſe employed. Beſides the Maintenance of all their Wives, Children and Families.

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CHAP. CVIII.

Encreaſe of Proviſions.

“To conclude, it is manifeſt that *Holland* affording only in itſelf ſome few Hops, Madder, Butter and Cheeſe, abounds notwithſtanding, by reaſon of this Art of Fiſhing, in a moſt plentiful Manner with all Kind of Proviſions as well for Life, as in Corn, Beef, Mutton, Hides, and Cloaths; as for Luxury, in Wines, Silks and Spices; and for Defence, as in Pitch, Tar, Cordage, Timber. All which they have not only in competent Proportion for their Uſe, but are able, from their ſeveral Magazines, to ſupply the neighbouring Countries.

“All this conſidered, it is much to the Shame of the *Engliſh* Nation, that God and Nature offering us ſo great a Treaſure even at our own Doors, we notwithſtanding neglect the Benefit thereof, and, by paying Money to Strangers for the Fiſh of our own Seas, impoveriſh ourſelves to make them rich. Inſomuch, that for Want of Induſtry and Care in this Particular, two hundred and twenty-five of Fiſher-Towns are decayed, and reduced to extreme Poverty: whereas on the contrary, by diligent endeavouring to make uſe of ſo great a Bleſſing, we might in a ſhort Time repair theſe decayed Towns of the Kingdom, and add Honour, Strength and Riches to our King and Country, which how eaſily it may be done, will appear by the Obſervations following.

“By erecting two hundred and fifty Buſſes of reaſonable Strength and Bigneſs, there will be Employment made for a thouſand Ships, and for at leaſt ten thouſand Fiſhermen and Mariners at Sea, and conſequently for as many Tradeſmen and Labourers at Land.

“The Herrings taken by the Buſſes will afford his Majeſty two hundred thouſand Pound yearly Cuſtom outward, and for Commodities returned inward, thirty thouſand Pounds and more.

“We have Timber ſufficient, and at reaſonable Rates, growing in our own Kingdom, for the building of Buſſes: every County affords hardy and able Men fit for ſuch Employment, who now live poorly and idly at home.

“We have Proviſions in great Plenty, ſold at eaſy Rates, without Payment of Exciſes, or Impoſt.

" Our Shores and Harbours are near the Places " where the Fiſh naturally haunt.

" For Nets, for ſalting and packing, and " for Succour in Streſs of Weather, we may " bring our Fiſh to Land, ſalt and pack it, and " from ſome part of his Majeſty's Dominions be " at our Markets in *France*, *Spain*, or *Italy*, be" fore the *Hollanders* can arrive at home.

" We have Means to tranſport our Fiſhing into " ſome Northern Countries, where the *Hollanders* " ſeldom or never come. And though we had " as many Buſſes as they have, yet there is Vent " for all; for in the Eaſt and Northern Coun" tries, and in many other Places, Herrings are " every Day's Food, Winter and Summer; and " in moſt Places the greateſt Part of the Year " they are ſcarce to be had; for preſently after " *Michaelmas*, the Sound and Rivers are frozen " up, ſo that no Herrings can be tranſported into " ſeveral Kingdoms till *July*, which is thirty " Weeks; ſo that when Lent comes, there are " few to be bought for Money.

" Laſtly, ſince by Care and Induſtry we gained " from the *Flemings*, doubtleſs ſo by the Means " we may as eaſily grow expert in the Art of " Fiſhing, and in Time make it a ſtaple Commo" dity of our own.

CHAP. CIX.

The Method of doing it.

" THIS we ſhall the better and ſooner do, " if we conſider and endeavour to reform " certain Wants and Abuſes, which hitherto have " hinder'd us from effecting that good and great " Work, whereof theſe that follow are none of " the leaſt.

" 1. Want of Order and Diſcretion in our Fiſh" ing, every Man being left to himſelf and per" mitted to fiſh as he likes beſt: whereas among " the *Hollanders* two of the beſt experienced " Fiſhermen are appointed to guide the reſt of " the Fleet; all others being bound to follow " them, and to caſt their Nets according to their " Direction.

" 2. The *Hollanders*, and other Nations, ſet " forth with their Buſſes in *June*, to find the Shoal " of Fiſh; and having found it, they remain a" mongſt it till *Novewber*; whereas we ſtay till " the Herrings come home to our Doors, and " ſometimes ſuffer them to paſs by before we " look out: our Herring Fiſhing continuing only " ſeven Weeks at the moſt, and theirs twenty.

" 4. The *Hollanders* Buſſes are great and ſtrong, " and able to bear foul Weather, whereas our " Cobles, Crayers, and Boats being ſmall, and thin " ſided, are eaſily ſwallowed by a rough Sea, not " daring to venture far in fair Weather, by reaſon " of their Weakneſs and Fear of Storms.

" 4. The *Hollanders* are induſtrious, and no " ſooner are diſcharged of their Lading, but pre" ſently put forth for more, and ſeek for Mar" kets abroad as well as at home; whereas our " *Engliſh*, after they have been once at Sea, ſel" dom return thither until all the Money taken " for their Fiſh is ſpent.

" 5. The *Hollanders* have certain Merchants, " who, during the Herring Seaſon, come to " the Places where the Buſſes arrive, and join" ing together in ſeveral Companies, preſently " agree for the Lading of thirty or forty Buſſes " at once; that ſo being diſcharged, they may " return at once to their former Work; whereas " our Fiſhermen are uncertain of their Chapmen, " and forced to ſpend much Time in putting " off their Fiſh by Parcels.

" Theſe and other Effects ſhould carefully be " taken into Conſideration, and certain Orders " made to make our Fiſhing proſperous and ſuc" ceſsful, eſpecially conſidering the Miſchiefs, the " Neglect of it has brought on the Kingdom in " general, and many good Towns and Corpora" tions in particular, as by Authority even of " Parliament itſelf, in the Statute of 33 *Henry* " the Eighth is plainly teſtified, which I have " ſummarily here ſet down, to avoid the Pro" lixity of the Original.

" Becauſe the *Engliſh* Fiſhermen dwelling on " the Sea Coaſts did leave off their Trade of " Fiſhing in our Seas, and went the half Seas " over, and thereupon they did buy Fiſh of " *Pickards*, *Flemings*, *Normans* and *Zealanders*, " by reaſon whereof many Incommodities did " grow to the Realm, *viz.* the Decay of the " Wealth and Proſperity as well of the Cinque" Ports, and Members of the ſame, as of other " Coaſt Towns by the Sea-ſide, which were built, " and inhabited by great Multitudes of People, by " reaſon of uſing and exerciſing the Craft and Feat " of Fiſhing. Secondly, the Decay of a great " Number of Boats and Ships. And, thirdly, the " Decay of many good Mariners, both able in " Body by their Diligence, Labour and continual " Exerciſe of Fiſhing, and expert by reaſon " thereof in the Knowledge of the Sea Coaſts, " as well within this Realm, as in other Parts be" yond the Seas. It was therefore enacted, that " no manner of Perſons, *Engliſh*, Denizens, or " Strangers at that Time, or any Time after dwel" ling in *England*, ſhould buy any Fiſh of any " Strangers in the ſaid Ports of *Flanders*, *Zealand*, " *Picardy*, *France*, or upon the Sea between Shore " and Shore, *&c.*

" This Act by many Renewals was continued " from Parliament to Parliament, till the firſt of " Queen *Mary*, and from thence to the End of " the next Parliament, and then expired.

" Now it evidently appears, that the Kings of " *England*, by immemorable Preſcription, conti" nual Uſage, and Poſſeſſion, the Acknowledg" ment of all of our Neighbour-ſtates, and the "municipal Laws of the Kingdom, have at all "Times held the Sovereignty of the Seas of *England* at leaſt; and that unto his Majeſty, by "Reaſon of his Sovereignty, the ſupreme Command and Juriſdiction over the Paſſage, and "Fiſhing there rightfully belongs. Conſidering "alſo, the Nature of thoſe our Seas that interpoſe "themſelves between the great Northern Commerce of that of the whole Word, and that of "the Eaſt, Weſt, and Southern Climates, and "withal the vaſt Profit that by Fiſhing in "them is daily made; it cannot be doubted, "but his Majeſty, by Means of his own excellent Wiſdom and Virtue, and by the Induſtry "of his faithful Subjects and People, may eaſily, "without Injuſtice to any Prince or Perſon whatſoever, be made the greateſt Monarch for Command and Wealth, and his People the moſt "opulent and flouriſhing Nation of any other "in the World, by a due Attention to this "Article. And this the rather, for that his Majeſty is now abſolute Commander of the *Britiſh* "Iſle, and hath alſo enlarged his Dominions over a great Part of the *Weſt Indies*; by Means "of which Extent of Empire, (croſſing in a Manner the whole Ocean) the Trade and Perſons of "all Nations removing from one Part of the "World to the other muſt of Neceſſity come "firſt or laſt, within Compaſs of his Power and "Juriſdiction.

"And therefore the Sovereignty of our Seas, being the moſt precious Jewel of his Majeſty's "Crown, and next under GOD the principal "Means of our Wealth and Safety, all Friends "of their Country are bound by all poſſible Means "and Diligence to preſerve and maintain this "Right, to the utmoſt Hazard of their Lives "and Fortunes.

"Thus we ſee what vaſt Advantages may redound to the Felicity and Glory of this Nation, "if GOD give Hearts and Reſolutions to vindicate thoſe Rights which have been long and "injuriouſly invaded."

This had the purpoſed Effect. The *Engliſh* ſaw they were able to maintain their Rights, and they determined they would do it.

CHAP. CX.

Affairs of England *in* 1653.

THE buſieſt Period of our Hiſtory now drew on: the King, the Parliament, and the General, *Cromwell*, had all their ſeparate Intereſts; but *Cromwell* knew beſt how to manage them.

The Parliament awed the Army, by keeping them in Arrears; the King fought the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*; and *Cromwell* his own Ambition. He determined to deſtroy the Authority of the Parliament; but he feared the King's Intereſt.

His Plan fully laid, he thus diſcloſed himſelf.

To the *Dutch*, whoſe only Hope was, that the *Engliſh* would come over in Numbers to their Fleet, when the King commanded, (who offered himſelf for that Purpoſe,) *Cromwell* ſent Aſſurances of their Miſtake, and Offers of an honourable and advantageous Peace. They acquieſced, and truſted in his Intereſt; which notwithſtanding his own Purpoſe, he employed for them thoroughly.

This Danger from the King over; he had only the Parliament to manage: with them he began by demanding the Arrears; and an Eſtabliſhment of a more regular Payment for the future.

They acted as he wiſhed: not conceiving his Purpoſe, they declared this Inſolence: and voted that the Officers ſhould be reprimanded for Preſumption.

With this Rebuke *Cromwell* enflamed the Army; and then returned for Anſwer, that it was expedient they ſhould reſign the Power they had ſo long exerciſed: that it would be fit to eſtabliſh a COUNCIL OF WAR to govern in the Interval; and that done, to diſſolve themſelves, and call a new Parliament.

They ſtared at one another. The Petition was rejected with Indignation, and they ſat down to a Bill, which made it High Treaſon in any to attempt this for the Future.

In the Midſt of the Debate entered *Cromwell*. He had ſettled all with the Officers, and he knew his Purpoſe.

Gentlemen, ſaid he, your Authority is at an End: ſince you will not diſſolve yourſelves, I will diſſolve you; and let me ſee the Man who dares oppoſe it.

The Speaker continuing in the Chair, he bade one of his Soldiers take the Child's Play-thing from him, and laying the Mace aſide, he locked the Door.

I tell you, continued he, you have ſat here too long, unleſs you had done more good: and your Authority is over.

The Officers, Land and Sea, were ſettled in the Buſineſs; and *Oliver* publiſhed ſoon after a Juſtification of his Conduct ſigned by them all. He ſummoned what he called a new Parliament; and giving Seats only to ſuch as he could command, roſe at once in Effect a King.

Oliver poſſeſſed of ſo much Power, was leſs in Haſte to give the *Dutch* a Peace, than they to accept it: they ſaw this; and with the obſtinate Bravery, that characteriſed their Nation at that Time ſo ſtrongly, oppoſed it; hoping to awe the Man who had deluded them.

They knew not *Cromwell*. He prepared to chaſtiſe them, and many deſperate Battles ſucceeded:

two Fleets under *Van Galen* on the *Dutch* Part, and *Bodley* on ours, fought a deſperate Day in the *Mediterranean*; and 'twas not eaſy to ſay whoſe Loſs was moſt.

Cromwell ſaw what was needful, and he prepared for it: he commiſſioned the Admirals, *Monk* and *Deane*, with a hundred Sail; and commanded them to bring him ſuch an Account of the *Dutch*, as became their Characters, and the Force he committed to their Care.

Vice Admirals *Penn* and *Lawſon*, the laſt new raiſed to that Dignity for his Service againſt the *Dutch*, were ſent to join theſe Admirals; and with this vaſt Force, raiſed with a ſurprizing Expedition, they harraſſed the Enemy in their Ports, and ravaged all before them.

This done, they returned; and *Van Trump* repreſenting to the States, the Neceſſity of a great Force to meet this Danger; they augmented their Navy to a hundred and twenty Sail; and ſent them out under his Command, aſſiſted by *De Ruyter*, *De Witte*, and *Evertzen*.

They ſailed; determined to diſpute the great Point deſperately: and on the Third of *June* the *Engliſh* met them. The Engagement began at Day-break, and was purſued with the moſt deſperate Fury.

Admiral *Lawſon* fought as one reſolved to ſhew the Government, how well Honours had been beſtowed upon him. He ſunk one of their ſtouteſt Ships; and purſuing the Attack, fought *De Ruyter's* Veſſel, till ſhe was alſo ſinking; but *Van Trump* himſelf came in to ſave her.

Monk and *Dean* were in the ſame Ship: a Cannon Shot took off the latter in the Beginning of the Action, but the other covering the Body with his Cloak, ſpirited up the People by his Example, as well as Words.

All Day the Fight continued obſtinate and furious: and juſt at the Cloſe of the Evening one of the *Dutch* Ships blew up.

Thus ended the firſt Day's Engagement.

At early Morning on the ſucceeding Day it began again with equal Fury. *Van Trump* now diſtinguiſhed himſelf more than in any former Action; he boarded one of the Vice Admirals; and ſhe was difficultly reſcued: he fought cloſe, and whenever he fired, was certain of terrible Execution.

Toward Noon, the Fortune of the Day was declaring for him, when *Blake* came up with Sixteen freſh Ships. This diſheartened the *Dutch*, and from that Moment they fought faintly.

The *Engliſh* ſaw it, and preſſed to give a deciſive Blow; *Van Trump's* Ship was boarded by a vaſt Number of freſh Men; and after fighting them in vain ſome Hours, he blew up his Deck.

This ſaved him for that Time, but on the Inſtant Vice Admiral *Penn*, whom he had boarded, came up on one Side, and another large Ship of the *Engliſh* on the other.

Van Trump covered with Smoak, placed himſelf on the remaining Deck of his ſhattered Veſſel, and expected them without Fear, when his two Vice Admirals, *De Ruyter* and *De Witte* ran in, one on each Side between, and engaging the two *Engliſh*, reſcued their glorious Chief, whoſe Veſſel now ſeem'd as ſome vaſt Oak, defying the Lightning which had blaſted it.

Night gave them an Opportunity to eſcape, but their Loſs was very great.

'Twas not a Victory eaſily obtained by the *Engliſh*; their Loſs was alſo conſiderable, but the Glory of the Day, and the Terror it ſtruck in the Enemy, compenſated.

CHAP. CXI.

The Dutch *ſue for Peace.*

VAN *Trump* now told the States the fatal Truth, that the *Engliſh* were at Sea ſuperior to all Nations: he offered his Service as long as they pleaſed to honour him with his Commiſſion; and aſſured them he would do all that Man cou'd: but he adviſed them to ſollicit Peace.

Oliver now Protector in *England* received their Propoſitions with great Dignity: he accuſed them of Raſhneſs in venturing ſo unequal a Contention: but he told them he was ready to liſten to any reaſonable Terms of Peace.

The Reception offended them; and tho' they did not break off upon it, they prepared for War.

Van Trump was out with Ninety-five Ships, and joined by *De Witte* with Twenty-five; and he ſailed directly for the *Engliſh* Fleet.

Early on the Twenty-ninth of *July*, they diſcovered one another; but it was Evening before they came up. The *Dutch* ſtood off from the *Engliſh*, to gain Advantage.

About five in the Afternoon, the lighter Ships of the *Engliſh* came up, and two Hours after Admiral *Monk* in the *Reſolution* attacked *Van Trump's* Ship; and as many as were come up join'd in the Action.

The *Dutch* Commander, who fought in a kind of Deſpair, came cloſe to the *Engliſh* Admiral's Ship, and in a few Minutes, tho' with great Hurt to himſelf, ſhatter'd the Hull in many Places, and fir'd the Rigging.

Night added to the Confuſion; but, this Fire extinguiſhed, the Engagement for that Day ceaſed.

The Day following was foul, and no Engagement happened; but early in the ſucceeding Morning, the *Dutch*, reinforc'd by a large Number of Ships, and *Van Trump* gaining and keeping the Wind all Day, in Spite of the utmoſt Efforts of the *Engliſh*, had clearly the Advantage many Hours: he fir'd two of the Ships, and committed horrible Deſtruction among the others: but toward Afternoon Fortune chang'd Sides; ſome of the *Dutch* fought remiſsly, and the *Engliſh* Commanders taking the Advantage puſh'd them to the utmoſt.

Van Trump, who ſaw the Hopes he had conceiv'd of Glory and of Conqueſt leaving him, fought with ten-fold Fury. Wherever there was Danger there he appear'd. If a Veſſel was preſs'd he run in between; and many an *Engliſh* Ship he robb'd of her expected Victory; two he ſunk by his Side, and immediately after fell, as he was engag'd with three at once: this Stroke gave all for *England*.

The *Dutch* muſter'd no Courage afterward; it was a running Fight till Night, and even ſome Hours under Darkneſs; but 'twas not known till Morning how compleat a Victory we had gain'd: Twenty-eight Veſſels of the *Dutch* were ſunk; and the Priſoners, among whom was the hardy *Evertzen*, amounted to fourteen hundred.

Monk would have diſgrac'd the Glory of the Day by Cruelty; for he order'd none to be taken up who ſwam to ſubmit themſelves: but to the Honour of the *Engliſh* at that Period be it recorded, that moſt of this Number were People ſo ſav'd: none were refus'd who threw themſelves upon the Mercy of the Conquerors.

CHAP. CXII.

Conduct of Oliver *at this Period.*

THE Ships which eſcap'd the *Engliſh* made with their beſt Speed for their Harbours; nor did they venture out again, even to the Protection of their Trade. *Lawſon* hung ſeveral Months upon their Coaſts, and ſent in more than eighty Prizes to the *Engliſh* Ports. Every thing they ſaw was at Stake, and they ſollicited Peace.

Cromwell was too great a Man to be more inſolent on his Succeſs: he gave them the ſame Terms he had at firſt propos'd; but caution'd them to be well aware how they broke a Peace ſo eſſential to their Exiſtence.

The next Tranſaction was the Eſtabliſhment of the Protectorſhip, veſting *Oliver Cromwell* under that Title with the ſole Power. This the Parliament themſelves, unequal to the Taſk they had aſſum'd, firſt promoted; and the Council of Officers confirm'd it. They declar'd themſelves, after five Months uſeleſs ſitting, unequal to the Affairs of Government; and *Oliver's* Council gave all Power to him.

The King, mean time, liv'd an unhappy Life in *France*; and heard of *Oliver* receiv'd with royal, or as great as royal Honours by his People.

Oliver, who had as much Addreſs as Courage, call'd a Parliament: but not pleas'd with their Conduct he diſſolv'd them. This was an Act of arbitrary Power, even againſt his own Eſtabliſhments; and nothing gave Men a more true Opinion of his Principles. His Object was the abſolute Rule of this powerful Nation.

If there were any ſecond Motive in the Breaſt of *Cromwell*, it was a Deſire of Revenge. He hated *Spain*: he determined to turn the whole Power of *England* againſt that Nation where it could do moſt Miſchief, and would be leaſt capable of Reſiſtance, and leaſt expected.

He fitted out, in the Year 1654, a powerful Fleet; and he put on board Land-Forces to a vaſt Amount. His Eſtabliſhment in Power was new, and he had few Alliances: few could aſk the Intent of his Preparations; and there were fewer yet to whom he needed trouble himſelf to give even an evaſive Anſwer.

He was ſilent to moſt Queſtions; and when he made any Anſwer, 'twas uniformly this: "I am "Protector of the *Engliſh* Nation; and I will always keep in Security its Sovereignty of the "Sea."

The Troops embark'd; the Fleet ſail'd; and the Eyes of *Europe* follow'd them, to *South America*.

Now the Intent was plain. Their Number and Force was enough to diſpute with *Spain* the Sovereignty of that new World; and it was ſoon ſeen their Intentions were not only againſt the Iſlands but the Continent.

All they wanted was Conduct: but that in ſo immoderate a Degree, that every thing on the Continent miſcarry'd. One Stroke made ſome Amends.

As ſoon as they had reimbark'd their unſucceſsful Troops at *Hiſpaniola*, they proceeded to *Jamaica*; and added that Iſland, never we hope to be again ſeparated, to the *Engliſh* Dominions.

CHAP. CXIII.

Blake attacks the Algerines.

CRomwell, who knew how unſecure he ſat on the exalted Place he had obtain'd in *England*, took every Meaſure to make himſelf fear'd by her Enemies; and reſpected by thoſe who had Intereſt in her Glory.

Blake was with a good Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; and the Protector ordered him to ſtop at *Tunis*, on Account of their Inſolence in attacking *Engliſh* Veſſels, and to demand immediate Satisfaction for the Damages. They were to be told farther, that *England* was Sovereign of the Sea, and they muſt pay Reſpect to her weakeſt Veſſels, or ſtand the Fury of her Fleets.

A better Man cou'd not have been choſen than *Blake* for this Service: intrepid, and naturally ſevere.

He ſail'd for the Coaſt of *Africa*; and demanded Juſtice.

The Dey of *Tunis* anſwer'd inſolently; and bad him aſk their Authority at their Caſtles. Before the principal of them lay nine of their Frigates; and theſe he reſolv'd to attempt in Spite of all the Preparations on Shore.

The Dey, to ſupport his Arrogance, had order'd Batteries all along the Shore at *Porto Farino*; and the Bay was defended by a Caſtle.

There have been *Engliſh* who wou'd have fear'd ſuch Oppoſition; but theſe were not of the Number. They determin'd to attack the Veſſels.

Blake, with his Vice and Rear Admiral Ships, caſt Anchor within Muſket-ſhot of the Fort, and ſoon diſmounted their Batteries, with great Deſtruction of the People. In the mean time he ſent in Fire-ſhips, and deſtroy'd all the Veſſels.

This done, he weigh'd and ſail'd for *Tripoli* and *Algiers*. All were terrify'd at his Succeſs; and he demanded his own Terms, with ſure Compliance. From hence he again went to *Tunis*; and now he receiv'd gentler Meſſages. All the *Engliſh* Slaves were deliver'd up, and many other Chriſtian Captives with them: the People promiſed better Behaviour for the future, and *Blake* return'd to *England* full of Glory.

CHAP. CXIV.

An Expedition againſt the Spaniards.

THE ſucceeding Year, *Cromwell*, who had found the good Effects of his former Expeditions, laid a Deſign to impoveriſh *Spain*, by cutting off her Reſources from the *Indies*.

Blake was diſpatch'd on this important Service; but a Perſon of inferior Rank perform'd it.

The firſt Buſineſs was to intercept the Flota; this they had expected off the Coaſt of *Spain* a long Time, and were put into *Portugal* for Water, when the ſmall Squadron, left on the Place for Obſervation, under Captain *Stayner*, ſaw the expected Veſſels. They were eight Gallions; and with Captain *Stayner* were only two Ships, beſide his own.

He encourag'd his Men to deſpiſe ſuperior Numbers, and rely on Courage: and judging it impoſſible to take all, he gave Orders for deſtroying the firſt of them they ſhould encounter.

They burnt one, ſunk another, and forc'd two a-ſhore. Two they took with a vaſt Booty. The Viceroy of *Mexico* was unfortunately on board the Veſſel which was burnt, and he periſh'd with her.

Thus far ſucceſsful, *Oliver* thought nothing needful to eſtabliſh himſelf perfectly but a Parliament. He knew the Temper of the People, and he choſe his Members with his beſt Care: but he was not ſucceſsful.

Before they took their Seats they were to ſign an Engagement not to diſturb the Government under a ſingle Perſon and a Parliament. More than a hundred refus'd, and were deny'd their Seats.

The reſt were devoted to *Cromwell*. They paſs'd an Act renouncing the Title of *Charles Stuart*: they ſucceeded this by another, making an Attempt upon the Life of the Protector High Treaſon; and for the reſt they granted Supplies as readily as he could aſk them. *Oliver* was thus eſtabliſh'd in full Power; for he who commands a Parliament rules powerfully in *Britain*.

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CHAP. CXV.

The Spaniſh *Plate-Fleet deſtroy'd by* Blake.

OLIVER found the People ſo much pleaſed with the Taking the two Galleons of *Spain*, that the next Year 1657 he ſent out *Blake* with a large Force to intercept the Plate Fleet from *Peru*. He received Intelligence off *Cadiz*, that theſe Veſſels were arrived at *Teneriffe*; and ſailing for them, he found them in the Bay of *Santa Cruz*: they were ſeven Gallions, and ten other Veſſels.

The *Spaniſh* Commander drew up the ten ſmaller Veſſels in a half Moon with a ſtrong Barricado before them: the Gallions, which could not come ſo near the Shore, were laid with their Broadſides to the Offing. The Bay itſelf was defended by ſix ſtrong Forts, and there were Batteries all round it. Two Caſtles defended the Entrance; and the whole Preparation of Defence was in perfect Order.

The Commander who expected *Blake*, now all was ready, invited him by a *Dutch* Veſſel going out; and lay in a ſuppoſed perfect Security.

Our Admiral determined to attack him: it was a Reſolution as deſperate as ever had been taken, but it ſucceeded; and as it was the laſt Action of this brave Man, it cloſed a bold Life worthily.

He ſaw it would be impoſſible to bring off the Gallions, but he determined to plunder and deſtroy them.

He ſelected Captain *Stayner*, who had ſo nobly diſtinguiſhed himſelf the preceding Year, to command the Squadron ſent in to attack them; and placing his leſſer Veſſels againſt their Breaſtworks, and himſelf with the other large ones againſt the Forts, he gave the Signal to begin the Attack on all Parts at once.

The Batteries were ſoon ſilenced; and the Admiral then led in Perſon againſt the Gallions. He gave one general Order; to receive their Fire, and immediately to board them; himſelf was one of the firſt on board, and all was executed ſucceſsfully. The Loſs on the *Engliſh* Part was not at all proportion'd to the apparent Hazard of the Enterprize; and the Gallions, after a general Plunder, they were burnt.

This done, the *Engliſh* ſtood out to Sea, the Wind happily favouring them; and returned ſucceſsful. The Admiral indeed never received the Applauſes of his Country: a Fever ſeized him on his Return, and he died entering *Plymouth* Sound.

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CHAP. CXVI.

The Conduct of Oliver *in theſe Succeſſes.*

THOSE honour'd *Cromwell* for his Conduct, who hated his Uſurpation; he had the general Voice as a great Man: though very few allowed him the better, though to him leſs deſired Title, of a good one.

His Parliament, perfectly devoted to his Service, offered him the Crown; which his wiſe Ambition taught him to refuſe. He was a ſecond Time inaugurated with great Pomp as Protector in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and many additional Articles of Power were given to the Office.

This was in the Year 1657. The ſame Year he made Peace with *France*; and nothing was left the exiled King, but Terms with *Spain*. He removed from *France*; and there were but little Expectations of his ever poſſeſſing the Sovereign Power, to which by all the Laws of GOD and Man he was ſo unexceptionably entitled.

Cromwell demanded largely for his Kingdom; and found Means to have all his Demands anſwered. *Mardyke* taken from the *Spaniards* by the *French*, with the Aſſiſtance of his Forces, was delivered up this Year to the *Engliſh*; and the next *Dunkirk*; taken by the ſame Aſſiſtance. *Cromwell* who knew the Importance of this Place, put into it a large *Engliſh* Garriſon, and ſwore devoutly no Treaty ſhould ever alienate it from the Kingdom.

This Year *Cromwell* propoſed a Houſe of Peers: but the moſt reſpected among thoſe who ſhould have compoſed it, refuſed to take their Seats. However, another Houſe was eſtabliſhed, though not a Houſe of Peers. It was called the Upper Houſe; and *Cromwell* expected the ſame Effects from it.

But now the Lower began to be troubleſome; they admitted the excluded Members, and *Oliver*, who knew whenever he ſuffered his Power to be controul'd, he gave it up, diſſolved them.

What Turn Things would have taken is not known; for the Death of the Protector follow'd. A Fever carried him off, on the Third of *September*, at Fifty-eight Years of Age; an Inſtance not to be parallel'd, at leaſt in modern Hiſtory, of ſucceſsful Ambition.

CHAP. CXVII.

The Reſtoration of Charles the Second.

STrange Confuſion followed the Death of *Cromwell*; but from that Moment the Generality thought of the Reſtoration of their proper King. *Monk* aſſiſted; *Montague* was his honeſt and ſucceſsful Agent; and when the Fleet and Army were prepared to acquieſce in the Reſolution of a full Parliament, the King's Reſtoration was declared as its unanimous Vote.

This happened in the Year 1660. He received the News at the *Hague*; and on the Twenty-ninth of *May*, his Birth-Day, took his Reſidence in *Whitehall*, acknowledged King of *England*.

Theſe Incidents in the general Hiſtory of our Country we paſs lighly: 'tis fit the Reader be reminded of them, to preſerve the Thread and Connection of this Relation, though its peculiar Object be Naval Tranſactions.

Trade ſet out proſperouſly this Reign; but the firſt Year of it ſtands blotted by an inglorious Tranſaction of Government. The Sale of *Dunkirk* is the Article of which we ſpeak: the King was evidently averſe to it; that Juſtice is done him by all who could know his private Thoughts; but the Lord *Clarendon*, on whoſe Judgment he relied greatly, was for it. The Place was ſold for a trivial Sum; and Lord *Clarendon* ſoon after impeached of Treaſon.

On him ſhould reſt the Blame; not on the King, who was not enough fixed upon his Throne to act at his own Pleaſure.

CHAP. CXVIII.

The Affairs of Trade and Commerce at this Period.

THE *Ruſſia* Company had by the ill Conduct of their People forfeited their Privileges in that Kingdom: a Compliment was ſent thence to the King on his Reſtoration; and the Embaſſador who went to return it, was entruſted with the Care of recovering theſe valuable Rights; but in vain. The Earl of *Carliſle* was the Perſon, and though received moſt favourably in all other Reſpects, he could in this do nothing.

The *Dutch*, who by this Time had forgot in ſome Meaſure the Chaſtiſement they had received from an *Engliſh* Navy, grew inſolent every where. The ſeveral trading Companies applied to the King with great Earneſtneſs: he demanded Satiſfaction of the States; they anſwer'd evaſively, or inſolently, and the whole Cry was War. Every thing conſpired to urge this. Sir *Robert Holmes* found among the Papers of a *Dutch* Ship which he ſearched on another Account, an Order to their Governor *Walkenburg*, to ſeize an *Engliſh* Fort.

On this Authority he treated the *Dutch* as Enemies wherever he met them, and plundered many of their Ships.

The next Year 1664, *New Amſterdam*, as the *Dutch* called it, was taken, and under another Name, *New York*, annex'd for ever to the *Engliſh* Crown.

Now all was open War. *Charles* the Second fitted out a large Fleet, and gave the Command to the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Sandwich*. The Parliament concurred heartily in the Deſign: large Sums were granted for the Purpoſe, a Declaration was publiſhed, authorizing Repriſals: Numbers of *Dutch* Ships were taken.

Early the next Year War was declared in Form, and every needful Preparation made for carrying it on with Vigour.

Our Vice Admiral *Allen* opened the Scene by attacking the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, convoyed by four Men of War: theſe he beat; he ſunk ſeveral of the others, and took four: Night and good Sailing ſaved the reſt.

The Duke of *York* with his Fleet ſailed for the Coaſt of *Holland*; and there was ſent out a large Force to oppoſe him: in this *Obdam de Waſſenaer* commanded in Chief; and there were with him the hardy *Evertzen*, and a young *Van Tramp*.

Theſe came out when the Duke was removed from the Coaſt, and they repaired in ſome Part their Loſſes by taking our *Hamburgh* Fleet.

The Duke of *York* vowed Revenge. He ſailed to find them; and dividing the Fleet into three Squadrons, commanded the firſt himſelf under the red Flag, and appointed for his Aſſiſtants *Penn* and *Lawſon*, diſtinguiſhed Commanders: The Earl of *Sandwich* commanded the third; and Prince *Rupert* the ſecond.

They had not been five Hours at Sea, when the *Dutch* Fleet appeared. It was off *Harwich*: the Wind was unfavourable to them, and the *Engliſh* Force better appointed than they had expected. They ſtood away, and retired before the Duke to the Mouth of the *Maeſe*.

Obdam thence ſent a Meſſage to the States, with his Reaſons for not engaging; and he received for Anſwer, an Order to fight the *Engliſh* under any Circumſtances, threatening his Life if he did not obey.

At Day-break, on the Third of *June*, the *Engliſh* came in Sight; and *Obdam*, having his final Orders, ſtood out to face them. The Fight began at Five in the Morning, and till Noon no Advantage appeared on either Side, though terrible Havock on both.

Soon after the Earl of *Sandwich*, falling in with the Centre of the Enemy's Fleet, broke it into two Parts. Now all was Confuſion; but this favoured the *Engliſh*, they grew ſucceſsful in many Parts; and *Obdam*, knowing how much depended on the Event, made a bold Attempt to recover the Glory of the Day.

He made up to the Admiral Ship, in which the Duke of *York* was; and without ſtaying to fire his Guns, boarded her. *Obdam* was the third upon the Deck, and he fought as a Man of Honour would, who was by that Action to wipe off an Imputation on his Courage.

Man could not do more; but it was in vain: he was driven wounded from the Deck, and all who could followed. The End was dreadful, the *Dutch* Admiral's Ship blew up; and of five hundred Perſons, only five eſcaped.

All was Confuſion on the *Dutch* Part, greater than before; and there were thoſe among the *Engliſh* who took all Advantage.

Lawſon, who ſaw four of their Ships foul of one another, adviſed to ſend a Fireſhip among them; 'twas done, and they were all fired together.

Three others were deſtroyed ſoon after, in the ſame Manner; and one ſingly fired by Captain *Smith*. The *Dutch* Commander, who had behaved well, he took from the Flames on board his own Ship; but he lived only to feel the *Engliſh* Clemency a few Minutes: he bled at too many Wounds for the Relief of Surgery.

No Victory was ever more compleat to the *Engliſh*, or more terrible to the Enemy. They loſt moſt of their greateſt Officers: their Vice Admiral *Stellingſwerf* was cut off at the Waiſt by a Chain Shot; and the other Vice Admiral *Cortenaer* fell by a Ball, which took off his Thigh. *Opdam* was blown up in his own Ship.

Eighteen of the *Dutch* Veſſels were taken, fourteen deſtroyed: four Thouſand of the Men fell in the Action; and two thouſand Priſoners were brought into *England*.

We want ſuch Days as this againſt our preſent Enemies: but even this had not all the Advantage it offered. The Remains of the *Dutch* Fleet ſhattered and incapable of Reſiſtance, got into Harbour, to their Aſtoniſhment of the People; for 'twas in our Power to have taken moſt of them.

CHAP. CXIX.

De Ruyter *takes the Command of the* Dutch.

THE poor Remains of the *Dutch* Fleet, amounting only to ſeventeen Veſſels that could be put to Service, were given in Command to *De Ruyter*, and his Inſtructions were to get to Sea as ſoon as poſſible, for the Convoy of their beſt Fleets of Merchant Veſſels.

France now took Part in theſe Broils; and the *Dutch* gained new Courage. *Evertzen* and the younger *Van Tromp* had eſcaped the fatal Day; and they were now with *De Ruyter*.

The *French* declared War; and fitted out a Fleet of thirty-ſix Ships, beſide Gallies. The Duke *de Beaufort* commanded; and the Purpoſe was to join the *Dutch* againſt the now common Enemy.

Preparations were made on our Part; and early in the ſucceeding Spring a Fleet of ſeventy-eight Ships of the Line, with the full Number of Attendants, put to Sea, commanded by Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle*.

A cunning Piece of falſe Intelligence divided the *Engliſh* Force. The Prince with a very great Squadron was order'd to the *Iſle of Wight* to intercept the *French* Fleet, pretended falſely to be put to Sea; and the *Dutch*, whom the ſame Wind brought out, fell upon the Duke of *Albemarle* with his Part of the Force.

He received them deſperately: and in the firſt Day's Fight *Evertzen* fell by the Hand of Sir *John Harman*, Vice Admiral of the White; attempting to board him. *Van Tromp* and *De Ruyter* were driven one after another from their Ships, diſabled by the *Engliſh*, and their other Admiral *Stagbaner* fell by a Shot.

The Day cloſed without any Advantage on either Side: at Day-break the Engagement began with the ſame Fury: but at Noon a Calm prevented the Continuance: toward Afternoon there ſprung a Breeze, and the Fight commenced again. *Van Tromp* behaved with a glorious Spirit; and was, after various Chances, reſcued from the moſt imminent Danger by *De Ruyter*.

At Night the Action ceaſed without more Advantage on either Part than the firſt Day. Both Sides loſt many Veſſels; and the Duke of *Albemarle*, who thought it only a Profuſion of his People's Blood to continue the Action longer under ſuch Diſadvantages, retired the next Morning in good Order to ſeek the Prince's Fleet.

He fought all the Way; and his Conduct in this Retreat gained him as much Honour as his Bravery the preceding Day.

Only one Ship was loſt in the Execution: this was Sir *George Ayſcough's*, who unfortunately running upon a Sand Bank was taken Priſoner with all his People, and his Ship burnt.

All this Time the flying Fight was continued: for the *Dutch* allowed no Intermiſſion. But toward Evening a new Scene open'd. Prince *Rupert* who had now Notice of the Falſhood of the News that had taken him from the reſt; and of the Danger to which the Duke of *Albemarle* was expoſed in his Abſence, was haſtening to his Aſſiſtance.

Toward Evening they came in Sight; and the *Engliſh* welcomed their Countrymen with three loud Huzza's.

They joined; they inſtantly determin'd upon the Attack of the Enemy; and with Drums beating, and Trumpets ſounding, they made their Way to the *Dutch*, through whoſe Fleet they charged with deſperate Execution.

Night came on; and they prepared for the great Event of the ſucceeding Morning.

They were on both Sides ready by Day-break; and a bloodier Day was never fought.

The Fury on both Sides continued equal, till a Miſt at about Seven in the Evening parting them, each Side had Time to enquire into its Loſs. The *Dutch* were terrified at the Account; the *Engliſh* found they had obtained a great Advantage at a great Expence.

The next Day the *Dutch* were not to be ſeen: they were retired to their Ports; and the *Engliſh* had Occaſion enough to ſeek the ſame Relief.

The Eyes of the whole Earth were upon this Diſpute; and there is not recorded in Hiſtory any ſo deſperate: the *Engliſh* Courage could not be conquer'd: and the *Dutch* Obſtinacy would not.

CHAP. CXX.

Another Engagement with the Dutch.

THE States were ſtruck with Confuſion at their repeated Loſſes, but they ſtill kept up their Spirits. They ordered the Fleet to be repaired and reinforced, and ſent it out in ſuch Haſte, that they took it for granted the *Engliſh*, little leſs harraſſed than themſelves by the laſt Action, could not be in Readineſs to meet them.

They gloried in their Expedition, and appeared before the Mouth of the *Thames*: but they were ſurprized to ſee a Fleet bear down to engage them; and they retired towards their own Coaſts.

The *Engliſh* followed; and it was a running Fight all Day, till toward Evening, the *Engliſh* were all come up: they ſeparated *Van Trump* by a Stratagem from the reſt, engaging his, which was the ſtrongeſt of the *Dutch*, with the weakeſt Squadron of ours; but when under this Advantage they had driven to Flight *De Ruyter* and the reſt, they returned upon him with all their Fury.

The Day was entirely on the *Engliſh* Side; and the Victory more compleat than any of the former.

The Reader who has conſulted the *Engliſh* Story only in the Hiſtory of *Rapin*, will perhaps think we give in this Hiſtory too much Glory to our Country, at the Expence of the *Dutch*: but 'tis not ſo: *Rapin* favoured them too much in his Relations.

This appears by every concurrent Teſtimony; and we have with Care ſteer'd clear of every Prejudice, no more following the Partial on our own Side than on theirs.

CHAP. CXXI.

The Conduct of the Dutch *after this Defeat.*

THIS final Victory damp'd the Spirits of thoſe who were braveſt among the *Dutch*: they no more thought of obtaining Glory againſt the *Engliſh*, but Revenge inſpired them in the Place of Hope. They determined upon ſome deſperate Attempt; and in Haſte refitted their Ships.

Our Squadrons in the mean Time rode off their own Coaſts, and braved and plundered them.

Sir *Robert Holmes* deſtroyed a vaſt Fleet of Merchant Veſſels at the *Vly*; and was ſo intent upon Revenge, that he forbad Plunder. The Fireſhips did the Execution; and it was terrible: the Fleet looked on.

After this they landed on the Iſland of *Shelling*, where they had Intelligence of Stores; and fired the Town of *Brandaris*, reducing to Aſhes more than a thouſand Houſes.

The *Dutch*, after our Veſſels were returned, ſent out their repaired Fleet; and, to the Aſtoniſhment of *Europe*, produced near eighty very noble Veſſels: the Hydra Heads grew numerous from their Wounds.

Prince *Rupert* followed them; and they run in cloſe with the Shore, when they could no other Way avoid fighting. A Storm that ſcattered Prince *Rupert*'s Fleet preſerved them, for they had elſe been burnt in their Stations.

The *French* Squadron was at this Time out; but our People taking a ſtraggling Veſſel, the

Commander, inſtead of joining the *Dutch*, ſtood into his own Ports.

This Year 1666, the City of *London* burnt three Days: the Fire was pretended to be wilfully kindled, and different Parties charged with it; but there is more Probability that it was accidental. The Circumſtances are however too confuſed for any certain Determination.

CHAP. CXXII.

The Dutch *inſult us at Home.*

THE Year 1667 opened with Terms of Peace. The *Dutch* had fitted out their laſt Fleet, to ſhew they were not under a Neceſſity of accepting any Conditions; and we nor *Europe* ſaw it in any other Light: but they whom no Terms of Honour ever bound, when Intereſt or Revenge was in the Way, meditated an unexpected Blow, and executed it; a Diſhonour as they thought to *England*, but indeed only to themſelves.

Breda was the Place of the Treaty; and towards the End of *May* the Plenipotentiaries met. The *Engliſh* fitted out no Fleet this Spring, for they had no Enemy.

The *Dutch* ſaw this with Joy, and they concerted Meaſures with the *French* Miniſter to take Advantage of our Faith in Treaties, and revenge their Loſſes.

The *Scots* firſt felt this: they had ſent out Privateers, and taken ſome *Dutch* Prizes; and that People, now the Seas were clear, ſent a ſtrong Force to bring the Ships back, or an Equivalent, with Revenge.

There were deeper Schemes which none ſuſpected, nor any who had Honour could ſuſpect. *Van Ghendt*, commiſſioned to this Purpoſe, did ſome Miſchief; but at an appointed Day returned: and joined *De Ruyter*, who hung about the *Thames* Mouth with ſeventy Sail.

Our People looked on, and could not gueſs the Intent. The Treaty was on Foot, and there was no Force ready to oppoſe them. They took the Fort of *Sheerneſs*, and burnt and plundered the Magazine and Stores. Sir *Edward Spragge* commanded there, and made his beſt Defence; but the Place was incapable of reſiſting ſo conſiderable and unexpected a Power.

The Duke of *Albemarle* marched down with ſome Forces, and expecting what would be their next Attempt, ſunk ſome Ships at the Entrance of the *Medway*; and drew a Chain acroſs.

The *Dutch* laughed at a Land Force, for they had no more to do on ſhore: but taking Advantage of a high Tide, and a favourable Wind, they made their Way over the Impediment.

Three Ships were placed to defend the Chain, Prizes from them in former Actions: theſe they immediately fired, and ſaw them burn down to the Water Edge.

On the Thirteenth they made their Way as far as *Upnore* Caſtle. Here they were received with a very warm Fire by the People of the Fort, and thoſe from the Shore; but tho' with great Loſs they did ſome further Miſchief; and in their Return took out with them the Hull of one Veſſel our People fited to prevent its falling into their Hands.

Beſide the Loſs of their Men, which was very conſiderable, they were obliged to leave two of their own Ships behind, which run aground in the *Medway*, and could not be got off: theſe they burnt down to the Water; and they had uſed eight Fireſhips in the Action. The Advantage to them was nothing; the Expence conſiderable; and the Infamy eternal.

From hence *De Ruyter* proceeded to *Portſmouth*, intending to burn alſo the Ships in the Harbour there; but this was not ſo eaſy, the Treachery of War when a Treaty was on Foot, gave the Fortune which had attended the other; here every Thing ill was believed of the *Dutch*, and every treacherous Attempt expected: the Earl of *Macclesfield* and Captain *Elliot* gave them ſo thorough Expectation of the Loſs they would ſuſtain, and they ſaw ſo little Proſpect of doing us any Damage, that they retired.

They went thence to *Torbay*, and attempted to Land; but they were repulſed: they came next to the *Thames* Mouth: and they ſailed with five and twenty ſtout Veſſels as far as the *Hope*. Here lay what Veſſels of ours were fitted out for Service under the Command of Sir *Edward Spragge*.

The Peace between *England* and *Holland* was now ſigned; and the Commander was on ſhore. He heard of the *Dutch* in Sight; but he could not ſuppoſe they intended Hoſtilities. They came near, and ſent in three Fireſhips.

Sir *Edward* threw himſelf on board, and joining ſome ſmall Veſſels of Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, bore upon them with a determined Purpoſe of Revenge.

Their Fireſhips had done ſome Damage among our Veſſels; but what they now received was tenfold. They ſtood a little Time, but terrified at ſo deſperate an Attack, they retired in Confuſion. He preſſed them cloſe behind; and they ſuffered more in the Flight than Action.

CHAP. CXXIII.

A ſecond Attempt at the Hope.

De Ruyter was incenſed at the Damage and Loſs he had ſuſtained in the Conflict of the *Hope*, and he reſolved to revenge himſelf on the ſame Spot; but for the preſent, to put his watchful Enemy off his Guard, he pretended another Purpoſe.

He made for *Harwich*, and landing a large Body of his Men attempted *Landguard* Fort. He left moſt of thoſe who made the Attack before the Place kill'd or diſabled; and gave up the impracticable Enterprize.

Thence, he ſailed again for the *Hope*, where the *Engliſh* Ships lay at Anchor, and he was prepared for them.

The Commander who had ſo well gauled them before, was now more ready: they came up near, and he taking the Advantage of the Tide, ſent in a Fire-ſhip upon one of their principal Veſſels.

Theſe burnt together; and another was fired and blown up beyond them.

The *Dutch* ſent in a Fire-Ship of theirs in Return, and as ſhe came, one from the *Engliſh* was diſpatched to meet her: they grappled, and burnt down together. Another of the *Dutch* was fired at the ſame Time; and ſoon after one run herſelf a-ground. This, themſelves alſo fired, to prevent its falling into our Hands.

The Blaze on all Parts was horrible. The *Dutch* ſaw they got no Advantage, and they made one final Effort: four Fire-Ships were ſent together; with one ſtout Veſſel to ſupport them, but with as little Succeſs as the reſt; one of them fell into our Hands, and the others burnt without Miſchief; the Veſſel which ſupported them making after the retiring Fleet.

Sir *Edward Spragge* now took his Turn to attack. He ſelected a ſingle Fire-ſhip, and himſelf with it made for the Enemy. They fired upon it inceſſantly, and avoided the Miſchief; the Courage of the Attempt was all.

The *Engliſh* retired to *Graveſend* in the Evening, and were ſurprized to learn that the Enemy anchor'd at the *Hope*.

They attacked them there early the next Morning, and had the Satiſfaction of a glorious Revenge.

The *Dutch* Admiral after this, alarmed our Weſtern Coaſts a few Weeks with Threats of landing; but when he found nothing could be expected of good to his Country, or of conſiderable hurt to ours, he pretended to have juſt received the News of the Peace, and retired to his own Ports.

Thus ended the firſt *Dutch* War, in which they tried to the utmoſt the *Engliſh* Courage, but to their great Loſs, and to our conſtant Glory.

Prejudice has repreſented many of the Actions favourably for them; but it has been a very ignorant Prejudice: their own Hiſtorians tell this Story.

CHAP. CXXIV.

Engagements in the American *Seas.*

The War was not confined to *Europe*; we have related its Tranſactions here, and muſt now add thoſe more diſtant.

Kruyſen commanded a Squadron in *America*, and joining the *French*, harraſſed our People in *St. Chriſtopher's*; and made themſelves Maſters of *Surinam*.

Lord *Willughby* fitted out a little Fleet at *Barbadoes*, they fell upon the *Dutch* at *Los Santos*, and burnt two of their richeſt Ships. They heard of the Diſtreſs of the People at *St. Chriſtopher's*, and they ſet ſail for their Aſſiſtance; but a Storm ſcattered them, and the greater Part fell into the Hands of the Enemy.

The *Engliſh* took *Tabago*, *St. Lucia's*, and ſeveral Iſlands from the *Dutch*, and were in general the moſt ſucceſsful for a conſiderable Time.

Evertzen joined *Kruyſen*, and they then recovered *Tabago*; and took many *Engliſh* Ship off *Virginia*.

Sir *John Harman* in the mean Time arrived in thoſe Seas with an *Engliſh* Squadron, and was ſucceſsful againſt the *French*.

The News joined the two Fleets of *France* and *Holland*, and they ſet ſail to meet and fight the *Engliſh*.

Our Commander did not avoid them: they came in Sight off *St. Chriſtopher's*; and fought a three Hours very bloody Battle.

The Coming on of Night parted them; and the Loſs on both Parts had been ſo conſiderable, that neither were eager for a ſecond Engagement.

The *French* loſt their Admiral, and ſeveral of their Ships; the Loſs of the *Dutch* was leſs; but ours very inconſiderable in Compariſon with the Miſchief we did them.

Our People afterwards toook *Surinam* from the *Dutch* which the ſucceeding Peace reſtor'd.

CHAP. CXXV.

The Diſcovery of the Iſland of Providence.

THE Period of which we now treat was too full of Buſtle to admit much Thought of Diſcovery, but Accident threw one Iſland in our Way, which we poſſeſſed; and which tho' after ſome Interruption from *Spain* we poſſeſs now.

The *Iſle of Providence* is the Name by which we ſhall be beſt underſtood in treating of it, tho' at the Period now before us, it had another.

The Proprietors of *Carolina*, had engaged in a Voyage of Commerce thither, Captain *William Sayle*, whoſe Integrity and good Senſe, raiſed him afterwards to be Governor of the Place.

He was driven upon this Iſland in a Storm, and as none knew there was ſuch a one before, it was called after him *Sayle's* Iſland.

He was a ſecond Time drove upon it, at ſome few Years diſtance; and as he ſaved himſelf, his People, and his Veſſel almoſt miraculouſly, then he called it *the Iſland of Providence.*

He gave an Account of it to the Proprietors of *Carolina*, in whoſe Service he then was; and recommended it ſo warmly, that a Party formed of the moſt ſanguine of them, obtained a Grant for it, and for all the *Bahama* Iſlands.

They planted it, and the People throve; but in a few Years, the *Spaniſh* Power prevailed againſt them.

Theſe People did not poſſeſs it for themſelves; but only diſpoſſeſſed the *Engliſh*: it lay uninhabited many Years, but we ſhall at a ſucceeding Period give the Origin of its preſent Condition.

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CHAP. CXXVI.

Conſequences of the Peace with Holland.

THE *Dutch* who had diſgraced themſelves by Hoſtilities during the Negotiation of a Peace, and even when it was compleated, made no better Figure in the Terms of it.

The great Point at ſetting out had been their diſputing our Sovereignty on our own Seas; and the firſt Shot fired were for the Refuſal.

This Point ſo deſperately conteſted, they now gave up, they confirmed the great Article of ſtriking the Flag; and lowering the Sails to our Ships of War in the *Britannic* Seas; and allowed us the undiſputed and unrivall'd Honour.

Remote Nations felt the Effect of a Union between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets. The *Algerines* had again grown inſolent; and they were ſoon brought by ſevere Loſſes to Reaſon and Humility.

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CHAP. CXXVII.

Sir John Narborough's *firſt Voyage to the* South Seas.

THERE were thoſe about King *Charles* the Second, who had Knowledge enough to comprehend the Advantages of a wiſe Propoſition; and Spirit to bring it into Execution. The Attempt of Sir *John Narborough* in 1668 was a Proof of it.

The Coaſt of *Chili* was repreſented as fertile and fit for the *Engliſh* Commerce. The Advantages was plain: *Baldivia* was fixed upon as the beſt Place for the Attempt, and Captain *Narborough*, afterwards honoured with a Title, was entruſted with the Commiſſion.

He commanded a Veſſel of ſome Size and Force, and he had as an Attendant, the *Batchelor Pink.*

They had Stores for a Year, and Goods of every Kind, likely to be acceptable to the Natives.

On the Twenty ſixth of *September* he ſailed: he touched at the Iſlands of *Madeira* and *Mayo*; and arrived on the Thirtieth of *October* at *Praya*, in the Iſland of St. *Jago.*

They came on the Twenty ſecond of *November* to Cape St. *Mary's* to the Entrance of the Streights of *Magellan*, and when they had entered the Streight, had ſome Intercourſe with the Natives at Iſle *Elizabeth*: at *Port Famine* they again traded with the People of the Country, and on the Fifteenth of *December* they arrived at the Port of *Baldivia.*

The *Spaniards* were in Want of many Things which the *Engliſh* could ſupply; and they received them upon civil Terms. They purchaſed what they wanted: but that done, they ſeized two of the Officers who were on Shore, and in the Name of the Captain General of *Chili*, commanded the Veſſel to come under the Command of the Fort.

The Captain had too much Underſtanding to comply with their Demands; and too little Force to attempt the Reſcue of his People. He had no Courſe to ſteer but his Return. He repaſſed the *Streights:* gave a good Account of the Country, and a juſt one of the *Spaniards*, and ſpirited up the principal People to a freſh Attempt.

CHAP. CXXVIII.

State of England *at this Period.*

CHARLES *the Second* was not ſo much addicted to his Pleaſures, but that he ſhew'd Ambition. Thoſe neareſt his Councils flatter'd it a wrong Way, and urg'd him to attempt an arbitrary Power: himſelf was more intent on Glory. He hated the *Dutch* for their Perfidy, tho' at Peace; and he inclined to *France*, whom it was his Intereſt to appeaſe, becauſe that Way he could beſt annoy thoſe Objects of his Deteſtation.

The triple Alliance protected the *Dutch*, and he uſed every poſſible Effort for getting through it.

The Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, with a proper Retinue, viſited *England*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* was ſent to *France* to ſign a Treaty.

The Deſtruction of the *Dutch* was the Purpoſe of this Union; but we may well know what we ought to think of it, when a *Frenchman* (*Voltaire*) ſays, it was contrary to true Policy; tending to elevate a Power our Intereſt ſhould have made us wiſh to humble.

Money was now the only Requiſite; his Parliament granted two Millions and a half, and *Lewis* the Fourteenth advanced a large Sum. Wou'd we could ſay no more: he ſhut up the Exchequer, and made *Clifford* Lord High Treaſurer for the Propoſal.

The *Dutch* were not ignorant of the Motives, or Deſigns of this Union: they went out guarded, and they were too ſurly for Submiſſion.

In 1672 all this being concluded, Sir *Robert Holmes* received the Command of ſix and thirty Ships of War; and a Commiſſion rather too abſolute againſt the *Dutch*.

Their *Smyrna* Fleet, ſeventy-two Sail of Merchant Ships, convoy'd by ſix Men of War, fell in with them off the *Iſle of Wight*, 'twas on the Thirteenth of *March*. He fir'd a Signal for them to ſtrike their Flags, and lower their Topſails. They refus'd: he fir'd again; and they then lower'd their Topſails, but the Flags ſtood unmov'd.

Sir *Robert* had with him but a ſmall Force, the reſt were expected every Hour to join him; but with theſe, tho' not a fair Match for the *Dutch* Convoy, he reſolv'd to reſent their Inſolence.

He engag'd them. Each Part well underſtood what they had to do: it was the Buſineſs of the *Engliſh* Admiral to keep them in play till his Force came up; and they who knew the Terms on which they ſtood with us, and wiſh'd to be way laid, had their Orders in caſe of an Attack. They clear'd their Ships of ſome Part of their Cargo, and immediately divided into three Squadrons, forming together an half Moon, with each two Men of War at their Head.

The Admiral was ſurpriz'd, but not confounded at this ready Preparation. He ſaw he was about to engage vaſtly to his Diſadvantage, and he endeavour'd to put off the Hour by Parley.

He came up with *De Hues*, a *Zealand* Captain, who commanded the Convoy, and called to him to come on board. The *Dutchman* refus'd; but ſent an under Officer, which Sir *Robert* underſtanding as a high Indignity, return'd with his Broadſide.

The *Dutchman* engag'd him warmly, and the Fight was bloody. 'Twas Evening when this happen'd, ſo that two Hours was the full Continuance of the Action.

The Commander in Chief of the *Dutch* fell by a Shot from the *Engliſh* Admiral; and tho' the Merchant Veſſels, many of which carry'd twenty, thirty, and thirty-five Guns, fought as deſperately as their Convoy, this Handful of *Engliſh* had all the Advantage.

In the Morning Sir *Robert* attack'd them again, a ſmall Reinforcement had come in to him; but he had been oblig'd to ſend in as many of his Ships diſabled, ſo that his Force now was not greater than at firſt: the whole Morning was ſpent without Advantage, but in the Afternoon one of the *Dutch* Men of War was taken, and ſoon after another; this turn'd the Fate of the Action, but unluckily the Night came on.

The *Dutch* thought no more of Reſiſtance, but Flight; three of the Merchant Veſſels fell into our Hands: the reſt eſcap'd.

Sir Robert return'd: and a Squadron was fitted out to intercept four of the returning *India* Ships of that Nation. Theſe were taken, and condemn'd by Authority as lawful Prizes; and the next Step was, ſeizing all the Veſſels of that People in our Harbours. A Declaration of War follow'd; and as well as it could, authorized the Proceeding.

The *Dutch* who ſaw the Diſtreſſes of ſuch a War, beg'd Peace. They engag'd to acknowledge the Rights of the *Britiſh* Flag; and in all Things to endeavour to give the King Satiſfaction.

His Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, whom he affected to patronize, they made Commander in Chief, in compliment to him, at an Age unequal to the Office; unleſs the World had ſeen more than one *Condé*.

The *French* preſs'd the *Dutch* as warmly by Land as the *Engliſh* by Sea; and the States ventured to repreſent modeſtly to *Charles* the Second, that he was aſſiſting *Lewis* the Fourteenth to deſtroy the only People on the Earth who could preſerve himſelf from becoming that ambitious Sovereign's Sacrifice.

England, blinded by her Revenge, was inexorable. The Fleet was fitted out; a hundred Sail; the *French* join'd it with forty, and the *Dutch* were doom'd to Deſtruction.

That People, when Prayers availed nothing, put on their natural Reſolution, launching into a vaſt Expence; and preferring to Life, Revenge.

They fitted out a great Force, *De Ruyter* commanded; and there was not a common Sailor among them but knew how much the Nation was inſulted, and that he fought to prevent his own Deſtruction.

Thus in the Year 1672, commenced the ſecond *Dutch* War.

On the fifth of *May* our Fleet in the *Downs* was join'd by the *French* Force under *D'Eſtrees*; and the *Dutch* ſailed in a few Days after. On the Nineteenth they appear'd: ſeeking, not avoiding them.

Thick Weather follow'd, and they loſt Sight of one another: the combin'd Fleet a Day or two after retired into *Solebay*; and there were thoſe in *England* who talked of thoſe Clouds with which the Deities of old had uſed to wrap up, and run away with their Heroes.

They lay here till the Twenty-eighth: this Time the *Dutch* had ſpent in preparing for a ſharp Conflict: and they appear'd at Day-break in the *Offing*, bearing down to attack them in the Bay.

Confuſion never was greater than among the *Engliſh*: Cables were cut; the Ships were foul of one another, and only *Dutch* Deliberation miſs'd an Opportunity of diſtreſſing them to the utmoſt. Forms were preſcrib'd, and *De Ruyter* could not attack the Enemy in this Confuſion till a Council of War had declared it proper.

The Time ſpent in this gave our Fleet Opportunity to get out, and range themſelves in tolerable Order.

The *Dutch* were inferior in Number, but about equal in real Force. They were commanded by *De Ruyter*, *Baukert*, and *Van Ghent*; the combin'd Fleet by the Duke of *York*, the Count *D'Eſtrees*, and the Earl of *Sandwich*.

De Ruyter began the Attack with theſe Words, "Beſt to the beſt," and threw himſelf upon the Duke of *York*'s Diviſion, *Bauckert* fell upon the *French*, and *Van Ghendt* deafen'd the Earl of *Sandwich* with his Thunder.

At Eight in the Morning the Engagement began, and the boldeſt were terrify'd at that Reſolution, and determin'd Fury which appear'd in the *Dutch*.

The Fortune of the Day early declared for them: *Bauckert* came up cloſe to *D'Eſtrees* own Veſſel, and gave him ſuch a Volley and Broadſide at once, as clear'd his Decks, and ſhook the Fabrick of his Veſſel. He had form'd other Notions of a Sea Fight; and could not ſtand theſe cloſe Engagements.

He gave Ground, his whole Force fainted with him, and the *Dutch* pour'd in their Fury more and more deſperately as they ſaw them flag.

De Ruyter kept as ſteadily to his Attempt. The Duke in the *St. Michael* ſtood his Fury bravely, but he could not reſiſt it. He was oblig'd to leave the Ship.

The next great Veſſel of the *Engliſh* was the *Royal James*; in this Lord *Sandwich* fought. *Brackell*, a *Dutchman* of great Spirit, attack'd him.

The *Dutchman* was inferior in Force, but he made this well up in a determin'd Courage. He bore down at once upon the *James*, and grappled her. Friends and Enemies ſtood aſtoniſh'd: the Earl of *Sandwich* fought with unprecedented Courage, but *Brackel* kept his Hold.

The *Dutch* ſeeing other Veſſels coming upon him, bore down with a whole Squadron, and kept the reſt at Bay while this brave Seaman fought for the glorious Prize.

An Hour and half he maintain'd this Combat, in which Time his Veſſel was reduced to a Wreck, and moſt of his Officers, and two-thirds of his Men killed: at length a Shot took him off; and even then the Earl of *Sandwich* thought it happy to be looſe from his Ship. If Boldneſs can demand the Applauſe and Admiration of Poſterity, brave *Hollander* receive it!

The *Dutch* who had been Spectators of this Gallantry, reveng'd their Soldier's Death. They ſent a Fire-ſhip in upon the *Engliſh* Veſſel ſo cloſe, ſhe could not be repulſed, or avoided; they kept off Aſſiſtance; and every Man on board attended thoſe they had killed, to the other World. The Earl of *Sandwich* periſh'd with the Ship: honour'd and lamented.

The Fight continued; the Duke of *York* was preſs'd hard; and none could ſay which Way Fortune now inclined.

Van Ghendt was driven ſome Hours from his Station; and in his Abſence *De Ruyter* was preſs'd hard: he fought with unabated Spirit, received three Wounds, which he concealed from his People; and when driven from his Ship, advanced immediately in another.

While he maintain'd this unequal Conflict, *Van Ghendt* return'd; the Fight on this recovered all its Fury, till Night parted the Fleets.

Hiſtory cannot ſay which Side behaved beſt, nor which had Claim to Victory.

The Profuſion of Lives was terrible, and the Advantage was a ſingle Ship taken from the *Dutch*. Many on both Sides were deſtroy'd.

In the Morning the *Dutch* ſhew'd no Deſire to renew the Fight, nor the *Engliſh* to attack them. The *French*, unequal to ſuch dreadful Conflicts, had all Day ſtood aloof, aſtoniſh'd at the Valour of the Combatants; had they come in, the Victory had been certain.

The King received the News with a deep Concern: he ordered the burnt and mangled Remains of the Earl of *Sandwich* to be buried with all Magnificence in *Weſtminſter Abbey*; and he now ſaw his Error. He perceived the *French* had no Deſign of aſſiſting him: but that their whole View was to ſee his Veſſels and the *Dutch* deſtroy each other.

The *Dutch* were hurt more at Land than by theſe Sea Conflicts. The *French* had *Guelderland* and *Utrecht*, *Overyſſel* was in the Hands of the Elector of *Cologne*, and *Frieſland* and *Groningen* were attacked. This ſhew'd them their Danger, and they burned with Indignation to ſee *England*, their natural Ally, aſſiſting againſt them an Enemy who palpably betrayed her.

Our own Kingdom was not without Confuſion. Religion was in Danger; not from the King, for he paid little Regard to any Communion; but from the Duke of *York*.

The Teſt Act, paſſed with Difficulty, took from this profeſſed Roman Catholick the Office of Lord High Admiral, and Prince *Rupert* was inveſted with the Dignity.

CHAP. CXXIX.

Farther Conflicts of the Dutch *and* Engliſh.

THE Beginning of *May*, in the ſucceeding Year, ſaw the Sea covered with the *Engliſh* Fleet, and the Prince eager to engage. The *Dutch* entruſted their long reſpected Admiral *De Ruyter*, and ſent out an equal Force, grieved to continue the ill deſigned War; and reſolute to chaſtiſe thoſe who compelled the Conflict.

The *French* ſent out their former Squadron, with their former truſty Commander: he joined the Prince; he promiſed largely; and what is much more ſtrange, he was believed.

'Twas on the Twenty-ſecond of *May* they fell in with *De Ruyter* off his own Coaſts.

The *Dutch* had poſted themſelves behind the Flats, where they could not be attacked but at a very great Diſadvantage; and here the *Engliſh* lay before them ſeveral Days.

It was at length reſolved to fight them againſt all this Hazard: and the firſt Care was to mix the *French* Ships ſeparately among the *Engliſh*, that they might not go off together, as they had done before.

The Numbers were not very unequal, and the Fight threatened Horror. Two *Dutch* Vice Admirals were killed in the firſt Onſet; and *Van Trump*, who fought wherever the Danger was greateſt, was driven from three diſabled Ships after one another. Night ſtopp'd the Action; and the *Dutch* having done at leaſt as much Damage as they had ſuffered, anchor'd on the Place of Battle.

Four Days after the *Dutch* hearing the Pretence of not attacking them again was the Advantage of their Situation, came out in Order, and attacked the combined Fleet. 'Twas Morning when they ſtood toward them, but late in the Afternoon before the Fight began; for to throw off Pretence, the *Engliſh* did not chuſe it. They made toward our own Coaſts; and the *Dutch*, animated by this apparent Unwillingneſs of the Enemy, charged them more violently, and compelled the Combat.

The Fury of the *Dutch* daunted the *French*; and the contagious Fear began to ſpread among the *Engliſh*. Sir *Edward Spragge* regained the Glory of the Day. He fought *Van Trump*, Ship to Ship; and drove his whole Squadron before him. The Event was favourable to the *Engliſh*, though the ſmall Advantage they could boaſt was very dearly purchaſed. They followed the *Dutch*, who took the Opportunity of the Night to retire homewards: but this was more a Boaſt than real Service.

CHAP. CXXX.

The Engliſh *Fleet reinforced.*

THE *Engliſh* Fleet, after the ſlight Bravado of following a little a retiring Enemy, made for their own Coaſts. They had Need of a Recruit, and their numerous Wounded required the Aſſiſtance of more Surgeons. Theſe they ſet on ſhore; they received their Reinforcement, and the King ſaw them ſail.

The long diſputed Point, Superiority at Sea, was to be fought once again. More was propoſed than before, for Land Forces were put on board for a Deſcent on *Zealand*.

The *Dutch* oppoſed a Force wherever they ſeemed to think of Landing. They hung however a very conſiderable Time upon the Coaſt: harraſſed their Troops with Marches; and took their beſt Veſſels of Commerce.

They called a Council of War, and *De Ruyter* propoſed to paſs the *Engliſh* under Shore, and fall upon them with the whole Force. He ſucceeded: he took out a vaſt Fleet, ſuperior in Number, and doubtleſs equal in Strength to the *Engliſh*, and he fought them with his accuſtomed Courage.

The *French* now were, as at the firſt, a ſeperate Squadron; and, as at the firſt Battle, they retired before the firing of the *Dutch*. It was not Cowardice, but Obedience to a treacherous Sovereign*. One of them only, a Rear Admiral, his Name *Martel*, continued in the Battle: he fought bravely, and he was ſent to the Baſtile on his Return to *France*.

Van Trump perceived that all the *Engliſh* Hope reſted in the Valour of one Commander: this was Sir *Edward Spragge*. He made up to him, and fought him Ship to Ship three Hours. Both were diſabled, but neither beaten: the Commanders were obliged to go into other Ships.

Van Trump, who kept his Veſſel longeſt, watched where his glorious Antagoniſt would place himſelf. As ſoon as he ſaw him on board the *St. George*, he threw himſelf into the *Comet*, and hoiſting his Flag bore down upon him. The *Engliſh* Commander, as ſoon as he ſaw the Flag, made alſo his Courſe toward him, and the Thunder of the two Broadſides eechoed from the Clouds together.

Briton! — if thou can'ſt read this Story without Bluſhes, without Tears of Admiration and Applauſe, thy Country's Spirit is extinct in thee.

They fought with their firſt Fury; and 'twas the *Dutchman's* Fortune to cut down his Enemy's Maſt by the board. Sir *Edward* left the Ship; and in his Barge ſought another: but never reach'd it: a Shot from the *Dutch* Admiral pierced thro' and thro' his Veſſel, and ſunk his Barge beyond it.

When *Van Trump* heard the News he wept: "My Hope, ſaid he, was to have taken thee, "brave *Briton*, or to have ſeen thee fall upon thy "Deck, not to have drowned thee in a Boat.

Prince *Rupert*, all this Time, retired before *De Ruyter*; but he had Reſpite from the Danger of *Van Trump*. The *Dutchman*, who had ſunk his ſingle Adverſary, was attacked at once by ſeveral Ships; and *De Ruyter* left the retreating Enemy to aſſiſt his Friend.

Prince *Rupert* came in among thoſe whom he failed to oppoſe, and the Fight again grew obſtinate and bloody. Night at length put a Stop to it.

Neither renewed it in the ſucceeding Morning. Each Side had fought bravely; and if there was Advantage on either Part, the *Engliſh* had it not. Their Enemies did them Honour; and *De Ruyter* obtained the Name, Preſerver of his Country. This Engagement ended the ſecond *Dutch* War.

The Prince of *Orange* was ſucceſsful at Land; and the King of *France*, toward the Cloſe of the Year, withdrawing his Troops, gave up the Conteſt, and abandoned his Conqueſts.

During theſe Conflicts in *Europe*, the *American* Iſlands often changed Maſters. *St. Euſtatia* was taken and retaken. Sir *Tobias Bridges* added *Tabago* to our Dominions, and the *Dutch* took *St. Helena*.

The People of *England* made Peace their Point. They ſaw the King purſuing dangerous Meaſures; and, among the worſt of them, they conſidered this of eſpouſing *France*, their natural Enemy, againſt *Holland* their moſt proper Friend.

They croſſed their Sovereign in the Parliament; and the Steps they took ſo much reſembled thoſe of 1641, that the Council trembled. The King gave ſome Way; and the People were taught to moderate their Fury.

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CHAP. CXXXI.

An Expedition to Tripoli.

IN 1675, while the Lords were diſputing with the Commons; and the King, who wiſhed to diſſolve, was obliged twice to prorogue what *Engliſh* Hiſtory calls the Long Parliament; the Corſairs of *Tripoli* continued thoſe Depredations on our Ships, which they had begun under the Security of our full Employment in the *Dutch* War: *Narborough* was commiſſioned with a due Force to chaſtiſe them. Here Mr. *Shovell*, afterwards Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell*, firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

In the Harbour of *Tripoli* lay four of their moſt conſiderable Veſſels; and at the Mouth of it was ſtation'd their uſual Guard Ship.

The *Engliſh* Purpoſe was perfectly unknown; and Sir *John Narborough*, who came up about Noon, ordered all his Veſſels out of Sight of Shore.

He prepared every Thing for his Deſign; and half an Hour after Midnight ſent in Mr. *Shovell*, with all his Boats full mann'd, and every Man prepared for the Buſineſs.

They were on board the Guard Ship before the Centinels took the Alarm. This was ſecured in Silence; and they then diſperſed themſelves to the ſeveral Ships, according to Orders, and fired them all. This done, they retreated without the Loſs of a Man.

The People did not know till Morning who had done it. They ſaw the *Engliſh*, and they propoſed Terms of Peace. The Admiral liſten'd to theſe, but he demanded a large Satisfaction.

They delayed; he preſſed his Anſwer, and to haſten them fired their Magazine of Ship Timber, and cannonaded the Town.

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* *Voltaire* applauds the *French* Courage in theſe Engagements; and relates the Story to the Honour of *Lewis* the Fourteenth: great Talents were never more meanly proſtituted.

This only made them deſperate; and the *Engliſh*, who knew their proper Courſe, failed for *Malta*.

Returning thence, the Admiral demanded his old Terms, and obtained them. The *Algerines* ſhared the ſame Fate; and ſome Satisfaction was made, and a Proſpect of laſting Security offered to our Commerce.

CHAP. CXXXII.

A Voyage of Diſcovery.

THE Year ſucceeding this produced a Project which ſeemed very rational of a new North Eaſt Paſſage to *China* and *Japan*.

Wood, an experienced and intelligent Man, deceived himſelf and others.

The King took the Expence of the Voyage, and gave one of his Ships; to which the Duke of *York* and other Perſons of Diſtinction added a Pink. The Crew were ſelected, Proviſions for ſixteen Months laid in, and on the Twenty-eighth of *May* they ſailed. The Preſumption was ſo ſtrong, that they carried Merchandize for *Japan*.

The Loſs of the principal Ship ſent back the Adventurers.

England was mean Time involved in Troubles. The Duke of *York* was ſuſpected of a Deſign to overthrow the national Religion. *France* alſo inſulted the Nation by Captures after their Peace with the *Dutch*, and the People cried out for a War.

This Year was laid the unſeen Foundation of a great Event; the Daughter of the Duke of *York* was married to the Prince of *Orange*.

The Year 1678 is diſtinguiſhed by the Plot of *Titus Oates*; and the next by the Diſſolution of the long Parliament. It had ſat eighteen Years.

The Duke of *York* left the Kingdom at the King's expreſs Deſire; and the new Parliament met on their third Day upon the Bill to exclude him the Succeſſion. The King diſſolved this Parliament; and his ſucceeding Sickneſs brought back the Duke; who, after a ſhort Stay, retired to *Scotland*.

At this Time *Dampier*, with various Changes of Fortune, made his Way round the Globe, viſiting the ſince famed Places, *Juan Fernandes* and the reſt. Of this Adventure we are poſſeſſed of an original Manuſcript Account, written as it appears by the Navigator's own Hand.

We ſhall give it the Reader in his Words, and hope it will be the more acceptable, as it comprizes the Subject of a Volume in a few Pages; and as *Burchet*, *Lediard*, and the reſt, give no Account of the Tranſaction.

CHAP. CXXXIII.

Departure from England.

“I Set out from *England* on this Voyage at the Beginning of the Year 1679, in the *Loyal Merchant* of *London*, bound for *Jamaica*, Captain *Knapman* Commander, and arrived ſafe at *Port Royal* in *April* the ſame Year.

“Mr. *Hobby* here invited me to go a ſhort Trading Voyage to the Country of the *Moſkito's*.

“Soon after out ſetting out we came to an Anchor again in *Negril* Bay, at the Weſt End of *Jamaica*; but finding there the Captains *Coxon*, *Sawkins*, *Sharp*, and other Privateers, Mr. *Hobby's* Men all left him to go with them upon an Expedition they had contrived, leaving not one with him, beſide my ſelf; and being thus left alone, after three or four Days Stay with Mr. *Hobby*, I was the more eaſily perſuaded to go with them alſo.

“Shortly after *Chriſtmas* 1679 we ſet out. The firſt Expedition was to *Portobello*; which being ſucceſsfully accompliſh'd, it was reſolv'd to march by Land over the Iſthmus of *Darien*, upon ſome new Adventures in the *South Seas*. Accordingly on the Fifth of *April* 1680, we went aſhore on the Iſthmus, near *Golden Iſland*, one of the *Sambaloes*, to the Number of between three and four hundred Men, carrying with us ſuch Proviſions as were neceſſary, and Toys wherewith to gratify the *Indians*, through whoſe Country we were to paſs.

“In nine Days March we arrived at *Santa Maria*, and took it; and after a Stay of about three Days, we went on to the *South Sea* Coaſt; and there embarked our ſelves in ſuch Canoes and Periagua's, as our *Indian* Friends furniſhed us with.

“We were in Sight of *Panama* by the Twenty-third of *April*; and having in vain attempted *Puebla Nova*, before which *Sawkins*, then Commander in Chief, and ſome others were kill'd: we made ſome Stay at the neighbouring Iſles of *Quibo*.

“Here we reſolved to change our Courſe, and ſtand away to the Southward for the Coaſt of *Peru*. Accordingly we left the Keys or Iſles of *Quibo* the Sixth of *June*, and ſpent the reſt of “the Year in that ſouthern Courſe; for touching at the Iſles of *Gorgonia* and *Plata*, we came to *Ylo*, a ſmall Town on the Coaſt of *Peru*, and took it.

“This was in *October*: and in *November* we went thence to *Coquimbo* on the ſame Coaſt: and about *Chriſtmas* were got as far as the Iſle of *Juan Fernandes*, which was the Extent of our Courſe to the Southward.

“After *Chriſtmas* we went back to the Northward, having a Deſign upon *Arica*, a ſtrong Town advantageouſly ſituated in the hollow of the Elbow, or Bending of the *Peruvian* Coaſt: but being there repulſed with great Loſs, we continued our Courſe Northward; till by the Middle of *April* we were come in Sight of the Iſle of *Plata*; a little to the Southward of the Equinoctial Line.

“While we lay at the Iſle of *Juan Fernandes*, Captain *Sharp* was, by general Conſent, diſplaced from being Commander; the Company being not ſatisfied either with his Courage or Behaviour.

“In his Stead, Captain *Watling* was advanced: but he being loſt ſhortly after before *Arica*, we were without a Commander during all the reſt of our Return towards *Plata*.

“Captain *Watling* being kill'd, a great Number of the meaner Sort began to be as earneſt for chuſing Captain *Sharp* again into the Vacancy, as before they had been forward to turn him out: and, on the other Side, the abler and more experienced Men, being altogether diſſatisfied with his former Conduct, would by no means conſent.

“By that Time we were come in Sight of the Iſland *Plata*, the Difference between the contending Parties was grown ſo high, that they reſolved to part Companies; having firſt made an Agreement, that which Party ſoever ſhould upon Polling appear to have the Majority, ſhould keep the Ship: and the other ſhould content themſelves with the Long-boat, and Canoes, and return back over the Iſthmus, or go to ſeek their Fortune other-ways, as they choſe.

“We put it to the Vote; and upon dividing, Captain *Sharp*'s Party carried it. I, who had never been pleaſed with his Management, though I had hitherto kept my Mind to my ſelf, now declared on the Side of thoſe that were out-voted; and, according to our Agreement, we took our Shares of ſuch Neceſſaries, as were fit to carry over Land with us, for that was our Reſolution; and prepared for our Departure.

CHAP. CXXXIV.

From the Return out of the South Seas, *to the Landing near* Cape St. Laurence, *in the Iſthmus of* Darien.

“APRIL the 17th, 1681, we ſet out for the River of *Santa Maria*, in the Gulf of *St. Michael*, two hundred Leagues from the Iſle of *Plata*. We were in Number forty-four white Men who bore Arms, one *Spaniſh Indian* who bore Arms alſo, and two *Moſkito Indians*.

“At Seven o'Clock we came abreaſt of Cape *Paſſao*, and found a ſmall Bark at Anchor in a little Bay to the Leeward of the Cape, which we took, our own Boats being too ſmall to tranſport us.

“The Nineteenth in the Morning we came to an Anchor about twelve Leagues to the Southward of Cape *St. Franciſco*.

“The Twenty-ninth, at Nine o'Clock in the Morning, we came to an Anchor at Point *Garrachina*, about ſeven Leagues from the Gulf of *St. Michael*. This was the Place where we firſt came into the South Seas, and the Way by which we deſigned to return.

“The Thirtieth in the Morning, at Eight o'Clock, we came into the Gulf of *St. Michael*'s Mouth. About Nine we came to an Anchor a Mile without a large Iſland, which lies four Miles from the Mouth of the River.

“We juſt got about Cape *St. Lorenzo* in the Morning; and ſailed four Miles farther to the Weſtward, and then run into a ſmall Creek within two Keys, or little Iſlands, and rowed up to the Head of the Creek, being a Mile up, and there we landed on the Firſt of *May* 1681.

“We got out all our Proviſion and Cloaths, and then ſunk our Veſſel.

CHAP. CXXXV.

Journey from the South *to the* North Sea, *over the Iſthmus of* Darien.

“WE began our March about Three o'Clock that Afternoon, directing our Courſe by our Pocket Compaſſes North Eaſt; and having gone about two Miles, we came to the Foot of a Hill where we built ſmall Huts, and lay that Night; having exceſſive Rains till Twelve o'Clock. We diſcovered ſome Houſes in a Valley on the North-ſide of the Hill, but it being ſteep we could not deſcend on that Side. We followed the ſmall Path which led us down the Hill on the Eaſt Part; where we preſently found ſeveral other *Indian* Houſes.

“The ſixth Day we firſt croſſed the River *Congo* in a Canoe.

“The Eighteenth we ſet out at Ten o'Clock and the *Indians* with five Canoes carried us a League up the River.

“The Twentieth, by Twelve o'Clock, we came to *Cheapo* River.

“The Twenty-ſecond we marched over a very high Mountain, keeping on the Ridge five Miles. When we came to the North End of this, we to our great Comfort ſaw the Sea; then we deſcended, parted ourſelves into three Companies, and lay by the Side of a River, which was the firſt we met with that runs into the North Sea.

“The Twenty-third we paſſed through ſeveral large Plantain Walks, and at Ten o'Clock came to an *Indian* Habitation, not far from the *North Seas*. Here we got Canoes to carry us down the River *Conception* to the Sea-ſide.

“Thus we finiſhed our Journey from the *South Sea* to the *North* in twenty-three Days; in which time, by my Account, we travelled an hundred and ten Miles, croſſing ſome very high Mountains; but our common Courſe was in the Vallies, among deep and dangerous Rivers.

“On the Twenty-fourth of *May*, having lain one Night at the River's Mouth, we all went on board a Privateer, who lay at *La Sound's* Key,

CHAP. CXXXVI.

Cruiſing with the Privateers.

“THE Privateer being cleaned, and our *Indian* Guides ſatisfied and ſet aſhore, we ſet ſail for *Springer's* Key, one of the *Samballoes* Iſles, and about ſeven or eight Leagues from *La Sound's* Key.

“Here lay eight Sail of Privateers more.

“Captain *Coxon*, ten Guns, 100 Men.

“Captain *Payne*, ten Guns, 100 Men.

“Captain *Wright*, a Barcolongo, four Guns, and 40 Men.

“Captain *Williams*, a ſmall Barcolongo.

“Theſe four Veſſels had *Engliſh* Commanders and Men.

“Captain *Yankes*, in a Barcolongo, with four Guns, about 60 Men, *Engliſh*, *Dutch* and *French*; himſelf a *Dutchman*.

“Captain *Archembo*, eight Guns, 40 Men.

“Captain *Tucker*, ſix Guns, 70 Men.

“Captain *Roſe*, a Barcolongo.

“Theſe three *French* Commanders and Men.

“We ſailed: directing our Courſe towards *St. Andreas*. We kept Company the firſt Day; but at Night it blew a hard Gale at North Eaſt, and ſome of our Ships bore away. The next Day others were forced to leave us, and the ſecond Night we loſt all our Company. I was now with Captain *Archembo*; for all the reſt of the Fleet were over-mann'd.

“We ſailed from hence again in queſt of our ſcattered Fleet, directing our Courſe for ſome Iſlands lying near the Main, called by the Privateers the *Corn-Iſlands*; being in Hopes to get Corn there.

“Finding no Proviſion here, we ſailed toward *Bluefield* River, where we careened our Tartane.

“We ſailed hence, bound for *Bocatoro*, which is an Opening between two Iſlands, about 10 Deg. 10 Min. North Latitude, between the Rivers of *Veragne* and *Chagre*.

“Our Fleet being ſcattered, there were now no Hopes of getting together again; therefore every one did what he thought moſt conducive to obtain his Ends.

“From hence we paſſed on to the *Rio Grande*, where we took up freſh Water.

“Being advanced five or ſix Leagues to the Eaſtward of *Santa Martha*, we left our Ships at Anchor, and returned back in our Canoes to the River *Grande*; entring it by a Mouth of it that diſembogues itſelf near *Santa Martha*: purpoſing to attempt ſome Towns that lie a pretty Way up the River. But this Deſign meeting with Diſcouragements, we returned to our Ships, and ſet ſail to the *Rio la Hacha*.

“Here we entered the Fort, and brought two ſmall Guns aboard.

“From thence we went to the *Rancho-Reys*, one or two ſmall *Indian* Villages, where the *Spaniards* keep two Barks to fiſh for Pearl.

“At this Place we went aſhore. We found one of the Barks, and ſaw great Heaps of Oyſter-ſhells, but the People fled.

“When we had ſpent ſome Time here, we returned again towards the Coaſt of *Carthagene*; and, being between *Rio Grande* and that Place, in the Morning we deſcried a Sail off at Sea, which we chaſed till Noon: Captain *Wright*, who ſailed beſt, came up with her, and engaged her; and in half an Hour after Captain *Yanky*, who ſailed better than the Tartan (the Veſſel that I was in) came up with her likewiſe, and laid her aboard, then Capt. *Wright* did the ſame; and they took her before we came up. They loſt three Men, and had ſeven or eight wounded. The Prize was a Ship of twelve Guns and 40 Men, who had all good ſmall Arms. She was laden with Sugar and Tobacco, and had eight or ten Tuns of Marmalade on board: ſhe came from *St. Jago* on *Cuba*, and was bound to *Cartagene*.

“We ſailed from thence to *Queriſao*, a *Dutch* Iſland. Captain *Wright* went aſhore to the Go-

“Governor, and offered him the Sale of the Sugar. The Governor told him he had a great Trade with the *Spaniards*, therefore he could not admit us in there; but if we could go to *St. Thomas*, which is an Iſland, and free Port, belonging to the *Danes*, and a Sanctuary for Privateers, he would ſend a Sloop with ſuch Goods as we wanted, and Money to buy the Sugar, which he would take at a certain Rate: but it was not agreed to.

“Not driving a Bargain for our Sugar with the Governor of *Queriſao*, we went from thence to *Bon-Airy*.

“From *Bon-Airy* we went to the Iſle of *Aves*.

“There is another Iſland to the Eaſtward of the Iſle of *Aves*, about four Leagues, called by Privateers the little Iſle of *Aves*, which is overgrown with Mangrove Trees. I have ſeen it, but was never on it.

“We went from hence to the Iſles *Roca's*, to careen the Sugar Prize. While we lay here, a *French* Man of War of thirty-ſix Guns came through the Keys or little Iſlands; to whom we ſold about ten Tun of Sugar.

“After we had filled what Water we could from hence, we ſet out again in *April* 1682, and came to *Salt Tortuga*.

“At this Iſle we thought to have ſold our Sugar among the *Engliſh* Ships that come hither for Salt. Failing there, we deſign'd for *Trinidada*, an Iſland near the Main; but the Current and Eaſterly Winds hindering us, we paſſed through between *Margarita* and the Main, and went to *Blanco*, a pretty large Iſland almoſt North of *Margarita*, about thirty Leagues from the Main, and in 11 Deg. 50 Min. North Latitude.

“It is a flat, even, low, uninhabited Iſland, dry and healthy: moſt Savannahs of long Graſs, and hath ſome Trees of *Lignum Vitæ* growing in Spots, with ſhrubby Buſhes of other Wood about them.

“It is plentifully ſtored with *Guana's*, an Animal like a Lizard. Their Fleſh is much eſteemed by Privateers, who commonly dreſs them for their ſick Men; for they make very good Broth.

“The Road is on the North Weſt End againſt a ſmall Cove, or little ſandy Bay. There is no riding any where elſe, for it is deep Water, and ſteep cloſe to the Land. There is one ſmall Spring on the Weſt-ſide, and there is a ſandy Bay round the Iſland, where Turtle or Tortoiſe come up in great Abundance, going aſhore in the Night. Thoſe that frequent this Iſland are called green Turtle, and they are the beſt of that Sort, both for Largeneſs and Sweetneſs, of any in all the *Weſt Indies*.

“We ſtaid at the Iſle of *Blanco* ten Days, and then went back to *Salt-Tortuga* again. Here Captain *Tanky* parted with us: and from thence, after about four Days, all which Time our Men were drunk and quarrelling, we of Captain *Wright*'s Ship went to the Coaſt of *Caraccas* on the main Land.

“While we lay on this Coaſt, we went aſhore in ſome of the Bays, and took ſeven or eight Tun of Cocoa; and after that three Barks, one laden with Hides, the ſecond with *European* Commodities, the third with Earthen Ware and Brandy. With theſe three Barks we went again to the Iſland of *Roca's*, where we ſhared our Commodities, and ſeparated; having Veſſels enough to tranſport us all whither we thought moſt convenient. I, with twenty more, for we were about ſixty, took one of the Veſſels, and our Share of the Goods, and went directly for *Virginia*.

“We met nothing elſe worth Remark in our Voyage to *Virginia*; where we arrived in *July* 1682. That Country is well known to our Nation, and ſhall not detain the Reader with the Story of my own Affairs, during about thirteen Months of my Stay there; but enter immediately upon my Second Voyage into the *South Seas*, and round the Globe.

* * *

CHAP. CXXXVII.

Voyage to the Iſle of Juan Fernandes.

“AMong thoſe who accompanied Captain *Sharp* into the *South Seas* in our former Expedition, and leaving him there, returned over Land, there was one *Cook*, an *Engliſh* Native of *St. Chriſtophers*: he was a ſenſible Man, and had been ſome Years a Privateer.

“At our joining our ſelves with thoſe Privateers, we met at our coming again to the *North Seas*, his Lot was to be with Captain *Tanky*, who kept Company for ſome conſiderable Time with Captain *Wright*, in whoſe Ship I was; and parted with us at our ſecond Anchoring at the Iſle of *Tortuga*.

“After our parting, Mr. *Cook* being Quarter Maſter under Captain *Tanky*, the ſecond Place in the Ship, according to the Law of Privateers, laid Claim to a Ship they took from the *Spaniards*; and ſuch of Captain *Tanky*'s Men as were ſo diſpoſed, particularly all thoſe who came with us over Land, went aboard this Prize Ship under the new Captain *Cook*.

“This Diſtribution was made at the Iſle of *Vacca*, or the Iſle of *Aſh* as we call it; and here they parted alſo ſuch Goods as they had taken. But Captain *Cook* having no Commiſſion, as Captain *Tanky*, Captain *Triſtian*, and ſome other *French* Commanders had, who lay then at that Iſland, and they grudging the *Engliſh* ſuch a Veſſel, they all joined together, plundered them of their Ship, Goods “and Arms, and turned them aſhore. Captain *Triſtian* afterwards took in about eight or ten of theſe *Engliſh*, and carried them with him to *Petit Guavres*. Of this Number Captain *Cook* was one, and Captain *Davis* another, who with the reſt found Means to ſeize the Ship as ſhe lay at Anchor in the Road. Captain *Triſtian* and many of his Men were then aſhore: and the *Engliſh* ſending aſhore ſuch *Frenchmen* as remained in the Ship, and were maſtered by them, though ſuperior in Number, ſtood away with her immediately for the Iſle of *Vacca*, before any Notice of the Action could reach the *French* Governor of that Iſle; ſo deceiving him alſo by a Stratagem, they got on board the reſt of their Countrymen, who had been left on that Iſland; and going thence, they took a Ship newly come from *France* laden with Wine.

“They alſo took a Ship of good Force, in which they reſolved to embark themſelves, and make a new Expedition into the *South Seas*, to cruiſe on the Coaſt of *Chili* and *Peru*.

“But firſt they went for *Virginia* with their Prizes: there they arrived the *April* after my coming thither. The largeſt of them carried eighteen Guns; this they fitted up with Sails, and every thing neceſſary for ſo long a Voyage; ſelling the Wines they had taken for ſuch Proviſions as they wanted.

“Myſelf, with thoſe of our Fellow-Travellers over the Iſthmus of *America*, who came with me to *Virginia* the Year before this (moſt of which had ſince made a ſhort Voyage to *Carolina*, and were again returned to *Virginia*) reſolved to join our ſelves to theſe new Adventurers: and as many more engaged in the ſame Deſign, as made our whole Crew conſiſt of about ſeventy Men. Having furniſhed our ſelves with neceſſary Materials, and agreed upon ſome particular Rules, eſpecially of Temperance and Sobriety, by reaſon of the length of our intended Voyage, we went on board our Ship.

“*Auguſt* the 23d, 1683, we ſailed from *Achamack* in *Virginia*, under the Command of Captain *Cook*, bound for the *South Seas*.

“We met nothing worth Obſervation till we came to the Iſlands of *Cape Verd*: in a ſhort Time we arrived at the Iſland *Sall*, which is one of the Eaſtermoſt of them.

“We went from this Iſland of *Sall* to *St Nicholas*, another of the *Cape Verd* Iſlands. Here we cleaned the Bottom of our Ship, and dug Wells aſhore on the Bay, filled all our Water, and after five or ſix Days Stay, we went from hence to *Mayo*.

“Our Entrance among theſe Iſlands was from the North Eaſt; for in our Paſſage from *Virginia* we ran pretty far toward the Coaſt of *Gualata* in *Africk*, to preſerve the Trade Wind, leſt we ſhould be borne off too much to the Weſtward, and ſo loſe the Iſlands.

“We anchored at the South of *Sall*; and paſſing by the South of *St. Nicholas*, anchored again at *Mayo*; where we made the ſhorter Stay, becauſe we could get no Fleſh among the Inhabitants, by reaſon of the Reſentment they had at their Governor and his Men being carried away by Captain *Bond*. So leaving the Iſles of *Cape Verd* we ſtood away to the Southward with the Wind at Eaſt North Eaſt, intending to have touched at Land no more till we came to the Streights of *Magellan*.

“When we came into the Latitude of 10 Deg. North, we met the Winds at South by Weſt and South South-Weſt, therefore we altered our Reſolutions, and ſteered away for the Coaſt of *Guinea*, and in few Days came to the Mouth of the River of *Sherborn*, which is an *Engliſh* Factory, lying South of *Sierra Liona*. We had one of our Men who was well acquainted there; and by his Direction we went in among the Shoals and came to an Anchor.

“At this Time many of our Men were taken with Fevers; yet we loſt but one.

“We carried what Sail we could to get to the Southward till we paſt the Equinoctial Line, which we croſſed about a Degree to the Eaſtward of the Meridian of the Iſle of *St. Jago*, one of the *Cape Verd* Iſlands.

“In the Latitude of 3 South we had the Wind at South Eaſt. In the Latitude of 5 we had it at Eaſt-South, where it ſtood a conſiderable Time, and blew a freſh Top-gallant Gale. We then made the beſt uſe of it, ſteering on briſkly with all the Sail we could; and this Wind, by the Eighteenth of *January*, carried us into the Latitude of 36 South. In all this Time we met nothing worthy Remark.

“*January* the 28th we made the *Sibbil de Wards*, which are three Iſlands lying in the Latitude of 51 deg. 25 min. South, and Longitude Weſt from the *Lizard* in *England*, by my Account, 57 deg. 28 min. the Variation here we found to be 23 deg. 10 min.

“I had for a Month before we came hither, endeavoured to perſuade Captain *Cook*, and his Company, to anchor at theſe Iſlands, where I told them we might probably get Water, as I then thought; and in caſe we ſhould miſs of it here, yet by being good Huſbands of what we had, we might reach *Juan Fernandes* in the *South Seas*, before it was ſpent.

“This I urged to hinder their Deſigns of going through the Streights of *Magellan*, which I knew would prove very dangerous to us; the rather, becauſe our Men being Privateers, and ſo more wilful, and leſs under Command, would not be ſo ready to give a watchful Attendance in a Paſſage ſo little known. For altho' theſe Men were under more Command than I had ever ſeen any Privateers, yet I could not expect to find them at a Minute's Call in coming to an Anchor, or weighing Anchor. Beſide, if ever we ſhould have Occaſion to moor, or caſt out two Anchors, we had not a Boat to carry out or weigh an Anchor.

“Theſe Iſlands of *Sibbel de Wards* were ſo named by the *Dutch*.

“The two Northernmoſt we could not come near: the Southernmoſt we came cloſe by, but could not ſtrike Ground till within two Cables length of the Shore, and there found it to be foul and rocky.

“Leaving therefore the *Sibbel de Ward* Iſlands, as having neither good Anchorage nor Water, we ſailed on, directing our Courſe for the Streights of *Magellan*: but the Winds hanging in the Weſtern-board, and blowing hard, often put us by our Topſails, ſo that we could not fetch it.

“ The Sixth of *February* we fell in with the Streights of *Le Mair*, which has very high Land on both Sides, and the Streights are very narrow. We had the Wind at North North-Weſt, a freſh Gale; and ſeeing the Opening of the Streights, we ran in with it, till within four Miles of the Mouth, and then it fell calm, and we found a ſtrong Tide ſetting out of the Streights to the Northward, and like to founder our Ship. It made ſuch a ſhort cockling Sea, as if it had been in a Race, or Place where two Tides meet; for it ran every way, ſometimes breaking in over our Waſte, ſometimes over our Poop, ſometimes over our Bow, and the Ship toſſed like an Egg-ſhell, ſo that I never felt ſuch uncertain Jerks in a Veſſel. At Eight o'Clock in the Evening we had a ſmall Breeze at Weſt North Weſt, and ſteered away to the Eaſtward, intending to go round the *States Iſland*, the Eaſt-end of which we reached the next Day by Noon, having a freſh Breeze all Night.

“ The Seventh at Noon, being off the Eaſt-end of *States Iſland*, I had a good Obſervation of the Sun, and found myſelf in Latitude 54 deg. 52 min. South.

“ At the Eaſt-end of *States Iſland* are three ſmall Iſlands, or rather Rocks, pretty high, and white with the Dung of Fowls. Wherefore having obſerved the Sun, we haled up South, deſigning to paſs round to the Southward of Cape *Horne*, which is the Southernmoſt Land of *Terra del Fuego*. The Winds hung in the Weſtern Quarter betwixt the North Weſt and the Weſt, ſo that we could not get much to the Weſtward, and we never ſaw *Terra del Fuego* after that Evening that we made the Streight *Le Maire*. I have heard that there have been Smoaks and Fires on *Terra del Fuego*, not on the Tops of Hills, but in Plains and Vallies, ſeen by thoſe who have ſailed through the Streights of *Magellan*; ſuppoſed to be made by the Natives.

“ We did not ſee the Sun at Riſing or Setting, in order to take an Amplitude after we left the *Sibbel de Wards*, till we got into the *South Sea*: therefore I know not whether the Variation increaſed any more or no. Indeed I had an Obſervation of the Sun at Noon, in Latitude 59 deg. 30 min. and we were then ſtanding to the Southward with the Wind at Weſt by North, and that Night the Wind came about more to the Southward of the Weſt, and we tack'd. I was then in Latitude 60 by reckoning, which was the fartheſt South Latitude I ever was in.

“ The Fourteenth of *February*, being in Latitude 57, and to the Weſt of Cape *Horne*, we had a violent Storm, which held us to the Third of *March*, blowing commonly South Weſt, and South Weſt by Weſt and Weſt South-Weſt, thick Weather all the Time, with ſmall drizling Rain, but not hard. We made a ſhift however to ſave twenty-three Barrels of Rain Water, beſides what we dreſt our Victuals withal.

“ *March* the 3d the Wind ſhifted at once, and came about at South, blowing a fierce Gale of Wind; and ſoon after it came about to the Eaſtward, and we ſtood into the *South Seas*.

“ The 9th Day, having an Obſervation of the Sun, not having ſeen it of late, we found ourſelves in Latitude 47 deg. 10 min and the Variation to be but 15 deg. 30 min. Eaſt.

“ The Wind ſtood at South Eaſt, we had fair Weather, and a moderate Gale, and the 17th Day we were in Latitude 36 by Obſervation, and then found the Variation to be but 8 deg. Eaſt.

“ The 19th Day, when we looked out in the Morning, we ſaw a Ship to the Southward of us, coming with all the Sail ſhe could make after us. We lay muzled to let her come up with us, for we ſuppoſed her to be a *Spaniſh* Ship come from *Baldivia* bound to *Lima*: we being now to the Northward of *Baldivia*, and this being the Time of the Year when Ships that trade thence to *Baldivia* return home. They had the ſame Opinion of us, and therefore made ſure to take us; but coming nearer we both found our Miſtakes. This proved to be one Captain *Eaton* in a Ship ſent purpoſely from *London* to the *South Seas*.

“ *March* the 22d 1684, we came in Sight of *Juan Fernandes*, and the next Day got in and anchored in a Bay at the South-end of the Iſland, and twenty-five Fathom Water, not two Cables length from the Shore. We preſently got out our Canoe, and went aſhore to ſee for a *Moſkito Indian*, whom we left here when we were chaſed hence by three *Spaniſh* Ships in the Year 1681, a little before we went to *Arica*; Captain *Watlin* being then our Commander, after Captain *Sharp* was turned out.

“ This *Indian* lived here alone above three Years, and although he was ſeveral Times ſought after by the *Spaniards*, who knew he was left on the Iſland, they could never find him.

“ There are only two Bays in the whole Iſland, where Ships may anchor; theſe are both at the Eaſt-end, and in both of them is a Rivulet of good freſh Water. Either of theſe Bays may be fortified with little Charge, to that Degree, that fifty Men in each may be able to keep off a Thouſand; and there is no coming into them from the Weſt-end, but with great Difficulty, over the Mountains; where if three Men are placed, they may keep down as many as come againſt them on any Side.

“ This was partly experienced by five *Engliſhmen*, that Captain *Davis* left here, who defended themſelves againſt a great Body of *Spaniards*, who landed in the Bays, and came up to deſtroy them; and though the ſecond Time one of their Conſorts deſerted and fled to the *Spaniards*, yet the other four kept their Ground, and were afterwards taken in from hence by Captain *Strong* of *London*.

“ We remained at *Juan Fernandes* ſixteen Days; our ſick Men were aſhore all the Time, and one of Captain *Eaton*'s Doctors, for he had four in “his Ship, tending and feeding them with Goat and ſeveral Herbs, whereof here is Plenty growing in the Brooks; and their Diſeaſes were chiefly Scorbutick.

CHAP. CXXXVIII.

Departure from Juan Fernandes.

“THE 8th of *April* 1684, we ſailed from the Iſle of *Juan Fernandes*, with the Wind at South Eaſt. We were now two Ships in Company: Captain *Cook*'s, whoſe Ship I was in, and who here took the Sickneſs of which he died a little after; and Captain *Eaton*'s.

“Our Paſſage lay now along the *Pacifick Sea*, properly ſo called. For though it be uſual with our Map-makers to give that Name to this whole Ocean, calling it *Mare Auſtrale*, *Mar del Zur*, or *Mare Pacificum*: yet, in my Opinion, the Name of the *Pacifick Sea* ought not to be extended from South to North farther than from 30 to about 4 deg. South Latitude, and from the *American* Shore Weſtward indefinitely, at leaſt with Reſpect to my Obſervation; who have been in theſe Parts 250 Leagues or more from Land, and ſtill had the Sea very quiet from Winds. For in all this Tract of Water, of which I have ſpoken, there are no dark rainy Clouds, though often a thick Horizon, ſo as to hinder an Obſervation of the Sun with the Quadrant; and in the Morning hazy Weather frequently, and thick Miſts, but ſcarce able to wet one. Nor are there in this Sea any Winds but the Trade-Wind: no Tempeſts, no Tornadoes or Hurricanes (though North of the Equator, they are met with as well in this Ocean as in the Atlantick) yet the Sea itſelf, at the New and Full of the Moon, runs with high, large, long Surges, but ſuch as never break out at Sea, and ſo are ſafe enough; unleſs that where they fall in and break upon the Shore, they make it bad Landing.

“In this Sea we made the beſt of our Way toward the Line, till in the Latitude of 24 South, where we fell in with the main Land of the *South America*. All this Courſe of the Land, both of *Chili* and *Peru*, is vaſtly high.

“We kept twelve or fourteen Leagues off from ſhore, being unwilling to be ſeen by the *Spaniards* dwelling there. The Land (eſpecially beyond this, from 24 deg. South Latitude 17, and from 14 to 10) is of a moſt prodigious Height. It lies generally in Ridges parallel to the Shore, and three or four Ridges one within another, each ſurpaſſing other in height; and thoſe that are fartheſt within Land, are much higher than others. They always appear blue when ſeen at Sea: ſometimes they are obſcured with Clouds, but not ſo often as the high Lands in other Parts of the World, for here are ſeldom or never any Rain on theſe Hills, any more than in the Sea near it; neither are they ſubject to Fogs. Theſe are the higheſt Mountains that ever I ſaw, far ſurpaſſing the *Pike of Teneriffe*, or *Santa Martha*, and I believe any Mountains in the World.

“We kept ſtill along in Sight of this Coaſt, but at a good Diſtance from it, encountring with nothing of Note, till in the Latitude of 9 deg. 40 min. South, on the 3d of *May*, we deſcried a Sail to the Northward of us. She was plying to Windward: we chaſed her, and Captain *Eaton* being a-head ſoon took her: ſhe came from *Guiaquil* about a Month before, laden with Timber, and was bound to *Lima*.

“Three Days before we took her, ſhe came from *Santa*, whither ſhe had gone for Water, and where they had News of our being in theſe Seas by an Expreſs from *Baldivia*; for, as we afterwards heard, Captain *Swan* had been at *Baldivia* to ſeek a Trade there; and he having met Captain *Eaton* in the Streights of *Magellan*, the *Spaniards* of *Baldivia* were doubtleſs informed of us by him, ſuſpecting him alſo to be one of us, though he was not. Upon this News, the Viceroy of *Lima* ſent Expreſſes to all the Sea Ports, that they might provide themſelves againſt our Aſſaults.

“We immediately ſteered away for the Iſland *Lobos*, which lies in Latitude 6 deg. 24 min. South Latitude, (I took the Elevation of it aſhore with an Aſtrolabe) and it is five Leagues from the Main. It is called *Lobos de la Mar*, to diſtinguiſh it from another that is not far from it, and extremely like it, called *Lobos de Terra*, for it lies nearer the Main. *Lobos*, or *Lovos*, is the *Spaniſh* Term for a Seal, of which there are great Plenty about theſe and ſeveral other Iſlands in theſe Seas that go by this Name.

“The 9th of *May* we arrived at this Iſle of *Lobos de la Mar*, and came to an Anchor with our Prize. This *Lobos* conſiſts indeed of two little Iſlands, each about a Mile round, of an indifferent Height, with a ſmall Channel between, fit for Boats only; and ſeveral Rocks lying on the North-ſide of the Iſlands, a little Way from Shore. There is a ſmall Cove or ſandy Bay, ſheltered from the Winds at the Weſt-end of the Eaſternmoſt Iſland, where Ships may careen. The reſt of the Shore, as well round the two Iſlands as between them, is a rocky Coaſt, conſiſting of ſmall Cliffs.

“Here we cleaned our Ships, and being in a Readineſs to ſail, the Priſoners were examined, to know if any of them could conduct us to any Town where we might make an Attempt; for they had before informed us, that we were deſcried by the *Spaniards*; and by that we knew that they would ſend no Riches by Sea ſo long as we were here. Many Towns were

“ conſidered on, as *Guiaquil*, *Zana*, *Truxillo*, and others: at laſt *Truxillo* was pitched on, as the moſt important; therefore the likelieſt to make us Advantage if we could conquer it: which we did not much queſtion, tho' we know it to be a very populous City. The greateſt Difficulty was in Landing; for *Guanchaquo*, which is the neareſt Sea-port to it, but ſix Miles off, is an ill Place to land, ſince ſometimes the very Fiſhermen that live there, are not able to go in for three or four Days.

“ However, the 17th of *May* in the Afternoon, our Men were muſtered of both Ships Companies, and their Arms proved. We were in all 108 fit for Service, beſide the ſick: and the next Day we intended to ſail and take the *Wood* Prize with us.

“ The next Day, one of our Men being aſhore betimes on the Iſland, deſcried three Sail bound to the Northward; two of them without the Iſland to the Weſtward, the other between it and the Continent.

“ We ſoon got our Anchors up and chaſed: and Captain *Eaton*, who drew the leaſt Draught of Water, put through between the Weſternmoſt Iſland and the Rocks, and went after thoſe two that were without the Iſlands.

“ We in Captain *Cook*'s Ship went after the other, which ſtood in for the Main Land, but we ſoon fetched her up, and having taken her, ſtood in again with her to the Iſland; for we ſaw that Captain *Eaton* wanted no Help, having taken both thoſe he went after.

“ He came in with one of his Prizes; but the other was ſo far to Leeward, and ſo deep, that he could not then get her up, but he hoped to get her in the next Day: but being deep laden, as deſigned to go down before the Wind to *Panama*, ſhe would not bear ſail.

“ Theſe Ships that we took the Day before we came from *Guanchaquo*, all three laden with Flour, bound for *Panama*. Two of them were laden as deep as they could ſwim, the other was not above half laden, but was ordered by the Vice-Roy of *Lima* to ſail with the other two, or elſe ſhe ſhould not ſail till we were gone out of the Seas; for he hoped they might eſcape us by ſetting out early.

“ In the biggeſt Ship was a Letter to the Preſident of *Panama* from the Vice-Roy of *Lima*; aſſuring him that there were Enemies come into that Sea; for which Reaſon he had diſpatched theſe three Ships with Flour, that they might not want; (for *Panama* is ſupplied from *Peru*) and deſired him to be frugal of it, for he knew not when he ſhould ſend more.

“ In this Ship were likewiſe ſeven or eight Tons of Marmalade of Quinces, and a ſtately Mule ſent to the Preſident, and a very large Image of the Virgin *Mary* in Wood, carved and painted, to adorn a new Church at *Panama*, and ſent from *Lima* by the Vice-Roy; for this great Ship came from thence not long before. She brought alſo from *Lima* eight hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight, to carry with her to *Panama*: but while ſhe lay at *Guanchaquo*, taking in her Lading of Flour, the Merchants hearing of Captain *Swan*'s being in *Baldivia*, ordered the Money aſhore again.

“ Theſe Priſoners likewiſe informed us, that the Gentlemen (Inhabitants of *Truxillo*) were building a Fort at *Guanchaquo* (which is the Sea-Port for *Truxillo*) cloſe by the Sea, purpoſely to hinder the Deſigns of any that ſhould attempt to land there. Upon this News we altered our former Reſolutions, and reſolved to go with our three Prizes to the *Gallapagos*; which are a great many large Iſlands, lying ſome under the Equator, others on each Side of it.

“ There are good wide Channels between theſe Iſlands fit for Ships to paſs, and in ſome Places ſhoal Water, where there grows Plenty of Turtle Graſs; therefore theſe Iſlands are well ſtored with Sea Turtle, of that Sort which is called the green Turtle.

“ We ſtaid at one of the Iſlands, which lies under the Equator but one Night, becauſe our Prizes could not get in to Anchor. We refreſhed ourſelves very well both with Land and Sea Turtles; and the next Day we ſailed from thence.

“ We now deſigned to touch at the Iſland of *Cocos*, as well to put aſhore ſome Flour there, as to ſee the Iſland, becauſe it was in our Way to *Rio Lexa*. We ſteered North, till in Latitude 4 deg. 40 min. intending then to ſteer Weſt by North, for we expected to have had the Wind at South by Eaſt, or South South-Eaſt, as we had on the South ſide of the Equator.

“ We ſtood that Courſe till we were in the Latitude of 5 deg. 40 min. North; and then deſpairing, as the Winds were, to find the Iſland *Cocos*, we ſteered over to the Main; for had we ſeen the Iſland then, we could not have fetch'd it, being ſo far to the North of it.

“ Captain *Cook*, who was taken ſick at *Juan Fernandes*, continued ſo till we came within two or three Leagues of Cape *Blanco*, and then died of a ſudden.

“ The 26th of *July* Captain *Eaton* came aboard our Ship, to conſult with Captain *Davis*, how to get ſome *Indians* to aſſiſt us in careening: it was concluded that, when we came near the Gulf, Captain *Davis* ſhould take two Canoes well mann'd, and go before, and Captain *Eaton* ſhould ſtay aboard. According to this Agreement Captain *Davis* went away for the Gulf the next Day.

“ The Gulf of *Amapalla* is a great Arm of the Sea, running eight or ten Leagues into the Country. It is bounded on the South-ſide of its Entrance with Point *Caſivina*, and on the North Weſt Side with St. *Michael*'s Mount. Both theſe Places are very remarkable.

“ In the Afternoon the Ships came into the Gulf between Point *Caſivina* and *Mangera*, and anchored near the Iſland *Amapalla*, on the Eaſt Side, in ten Fathom Water, clean hard Sand.

“ It was at this Iſland *Amapalla* that a Party of *Engliſhmen* and *Frenchmen* came afterwards, and ſtayed a great while, and at laſt landed on the Main, and marched over Land to *Cape River*, which diſembogues into the North Seas near

“*Cape Gratia Dios*, and is therefore called the *Cape River*. Near the Head of this River they made Bark-logs, and ſo went into the North Seas.

“This was the Way that Captain *Sharp* had propoſed to go if he had been put to it; for this Way was partly known by Privateers by the Diſcovery that was made into the Country about thirty Years before, by a Party of *Engliſhmen* that went up that River in Canoes, about as far as the Place where theſe *Frenchmen* made their Bark-logs: there they landed and marched to a Town called *Segovia* up in the Country.

“They were near a Month getting up the River, for there were many Cataracts, where they were often forced to leave the River, and hale their Canoes aſhore over the Land, till they were paſſed them, and then launch their Canoes again into the River. I have diſcourſed ſeveral Men that were in that Expedition, and if I miſtake not, Captain *Sharp* was one of them.

“To return to our Voyage; when both our Ships were clean, and our Water filled, Captain *Davis* and Captain *Eaton* broke off Conſortſhip. Captain *Eaton* took aboard four hundred Packs of Flour, and ſailed out of the Gulf the Second of *September*.

CHAP. CXXXIX.

Depart from Amapalla.

“THE Third of *September* 1684, we ſailed out with a Land-Wind, paſſing between *Amapalla* and *Mangera*. We ſteered towards the Coaſt of *Peru*. We had Tornadoes every Day till we made Cape *St. Franciſco*, which from *June* to *November* are very common on theſe Coaſts; and we had with the Tornadoes very much Thunder, Lightning and Rain.

“The Twentieth of *September* we came to the Iſland *Plata*, and anchored in ſixteen Fathom. We had very good Weather from the Time that we fell in with Cape *St. Franciſco*; and were now fallen in again with the ſame Places from whence I began the Account of this Voyage, having compaſſed the whole Continent of *South America*.

“The Iſland *Plata*, as ſome report, was ſo named by the *Spaniards*, after Sir *Francis Drake* took the *Cacafogo*, a Ship chiefly laden with Plate, which they ſay he brought hither, and divided it here with his Men. It is about four Mile long, and a Mile and a half broad, and of a good height.

“We ſtaid no longer than the Day enſuing, and then we ſailed towards Point *St. Hellena*, intending there to land ſome Men purpoſely to get Priſoners for Intelligence.

“In the Evening we ſent out ſome Men in our Bark lately taken, and Canoes, to an *Indian* Village called *Manta*.

“This is a ſmall Village on the Main, diſtant from the Iſland *Plata* ſeven or eight Leagues. It ſtands ſo advantageouſly to be ſeen, being built on a ſmall Aſcent, that it makes a very fine Proſpect to the Sea; yet there are but a few poor ſcattering *Indian* Houſes. There is a very fine Church, adorned with a great deal of carved Work. It was formerly a Habitation for *Spaniards*, but they are all removed from hence now.

“We lay ſtill at the Iſland *Plata*, being not reſolved what to do; till the Second of *October*, and then Captain *Swan* in the *Cygnet of London* arrived there. He was fitted out by very eminent Merchants of that City, on a Deſign only to trade with the *Spaniards* or *Indians*, having a very conſiderable Cargo well ſorted for theſe Parts of the World; but meeting with divers Diſappointments, and being out of Hopes to obtain a Trade in theſe Seas, his Men forced him to entertain a Company of Privateers which he met with near *Nicoya*, a Town whither he was going to ſeek a Trade, and theſe Privateers were bound thither in Boats to get a Ship.

“The third Day after our Bark was ſent to cruiſe, ſhe brought in a Prize of 400 Tons, laden with Timber: they took her in the Bay of *Guiaquil*; ſhe came from a Town of that Name, and was bound to *Lima*. The Commander of this Prize ſaid, that it was generally reported and believed at *Guiaquil*, that the Vice-Roy was fitting out ten Sail of Frigates to drive us out of theſe Seas.

“The Nineteenth of *October* we finiſhed our Buſineſs, and next Day we ſailed towards the Iſland *Lobos*, where our Bark was ordered to ſtay for us, or meet us again at *Plata*. We had but little Wind, therefore it was the Twenty-third before we paſſed by Point *St. Hellena*.

“The Twenty-fifth we croſſed over the Bay of *Guiaquil*.

“The Thirtieth we doubled *Cape Blanco*. This Cape is in Latitude 3 deg. 45 min. It is counted the worſt Cape in all the *South Seas* to double, paſſing to the Southward.

“The Second of *November* we got as high as *Payta*: we lay about ſix Leagues off Shoar all the Day, that the *Spaniards* might not ſee us; and in the Evening ſent our Canoes aſhore to take it, mann'd with 110 Men.

“*November* the 3d, at Six o'Clock in the Morning, our Men landed about four Miles to the South of the Town, and took ſome Priſoners that were ſent thither to watch for fear of us; and theſe Priſoners ſaid, that the Governor of *Plura* came with an hundred armed Men to *Payta* the Night before, purpoſely to oppoſe our Landing there, if we ſhould attempt it.

" Our Men marched directly to the Fort on the " Hill, and took it without the Loſs of one Man. " Hereupon the Governor of *Piura*, with all his " Men, and the Inhabitants of the Town ran away " as faſt as they could. Then our Men entered " the Town, and found it emptied both of Money " and Goods; there was not ſo much as a Meal of " Victuals left for them.

" In the Evening we came in with our Ships, " and anchored before the Town in ten Fathom " Water, near a Mile from the Shore.

" Here we ſtay'd till the Sixth, in hopes to " get a Ranſom for the Town. Our Captains " demanded 300 Packs of Flour, 3000 Pound of " Sugar, 25 Jars of Wine, and 1000 Jars of Wa- " ter to be brought off to us; but we got nothing " of it: therefore Captain *Swan* ordered the Town " to be fired, which was preſently done. Then all " our Men came aboard, and Captain *Swan* or- " dered the Bark which Captain *Harris* command- " ed to be burnt, becauſe ſhe did not ſail well.

" At Night, when the Land-Wind came off, " we ſailed from hence towards *Lobos*.

" Being victualled, we returned again towards " *Plata*. There we parted ſome Prize Cloths that " were taken in a Cloth Bark into two Lots or " Shares; Captain *Davis* and his Men had one " Part, and Captain *Swan* and his Men had the " other. The Bark which the Cloth was in Cap- " tain *Swan* kept for a Tender.

" We concluded to go into the Bay of *Panama*, " to a Town called *La Velia*; but becauſe we " had not Canoes enough to land our Men, we " were reſolved to ſearch ſome Rivers where the " *Spaniards* have no Commerce, there to get *In-* " *dian* Canoes.

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CHAP. CXL.

Leave the Iſle of Plata.

" THE Twenty-third of *December* 1684 we " ſailed from the Iſland *Plata*, towards the " Bay of *Panama*: the Wind at South South-Eaſt, " a fine briſk Gale, and fine Weather.

" The next Morning we paſſed by Cape *Paſſao*.

" Between this Cape and the Iſle *Gallo* there are " many large and navigable Rivers. We paſſed " by them all till we came to the River *St. Jago*.

" This River is near 2 deg. North of the Equa- " tor. It is large and navigable ſome Leagues up, " and ſeven Leagues from the Sea it divides itſelf " into two Parts, making an Iſland that is four " Leagues wide againſt the Sea.

" It was to this River that we were bound, to " ſeek for Canoes: therefore on the Twenty-ſixth, " ſuppoſing ourſelves to be abreaſt of it, we went " from our Ships with four Boats.

" The Twenty-ſeventh in the Morning we en- " tered at half Flood into the ſmaller Branch of " that River, and rowed up ſix Leagues before " we met any Inhabitants. There we found two " ſmall Huts thatched with Palmeto Leaves. The " *Indians* ſeeing us row towards their Houſes, " got their Wives and little ones, with their " Houſhold-ſtuff, into their Canoes, and padled " away faſter than we could row; for we were " forced to keep in the middle of the River, be- " cauſe of our Oars, but they with their Paddles " kept cloſe under the Banks, and had not the " Strength of the Stream againſt them, as we had. " Theſe Huts were cloſe by the River, on the Eaſt- " ſide of it, juſt againſt the End of the Iſland. " We ſaw a great many other Houſes, a League " from us on the other Side of the River. The " main Stream, into which we were now come, " ſeemed to be ſo ſwift, that we were afraid to " put over, for fear we ſhould not be able to get " back again.

" After we had refreſhed ourſelves, we returned " toward the Mouth of the River. It was the " Evening when we came from thence, and we " got to the River's Mouth next Morning be- " fore Day: our Ships, when we left them, were " ordered to go to *Gallo*, where they were to ſtay " for us.

" The Twenty-eighth we left the River of *St.* " *Jago*, croſſing ſome Creeks in our Way with " our Canoes; and came to an *Indian* Houſe, " where we took in the Man and all his Family. " We ſtay'd here till the Afternoon, and then " rowed towards *Tomaco*, with the Man of this " Houſe for our Guide.

" We arrived at *Tomaco* about Twelve o'Clock " at Night. Here we took Priſoners all the Inha- " bitants of the Village, and a *Spaniſh* Knight, " called Don *Diego de Pinus*. This Knight came " in a Ship from *Lima* to lade Timber. The Ship " was riding in a Creek about a Mile off, and there " were only one *Spaniard* and eight *Indians* aboard.

" The Firſt of *January* 1685, we went from " *Tomaco* towards *Gallo*. We carried the Knight " with us and two ſmall Canoes which we took " there; and while we were rowing over, one of " our Canoes took a Packet-Boat that was ſent " from *Panama* to *Lima*. The *Spaniards* threw " the Packet of Letters overboard with a Line and " a Buoy to it; but our Men ſeeing it took it " up, and brought the Letters and all the Pri- " ſoners aboard our Ships, that were then at an " Anchor at *Gallo*.

" Here we ſtay'd till the Sixth, reading the " Letters, by which we underſtood that the Ar- " mada from *Old Spain* was come to *Portobello*: " and that the Preſident of *Panama* had ſent this " Packet on purpoſe to haſten the Plate-Fleet " thither from *Lima*.

" We were very joyful at this News, and there- " fore ſent away the Packet-Boat with all her " Letters; and we altered our former Reſolutions " of going to *Lavelia*.

"We now concluded to careen our Ships as ſpeedily as we could, that we might be ready to intercept this Fleet: the propereſt Place that we could think on for doing it was among the *King's Iſlands* or *Pearl Keys*, becauſe they are near *Panama*, and all Ships bound to *Panama* from the Coaſt of *Lima* paſs by them; ſo that being there, we could not poſſibly miſs the Fleet.

"According to theſe Reſolutions we ſailed the next Morning, in order to execute what we deſigned. We were two Ships and three Barks in Company, *viz.* Captain *Davis*, Captain *Swan*, a Fireſhip, and two ſmall Barks as Tenders; one on Captain *Davis*'s Ship, the other on Captain *Swan*'s. We weighed before Day, and got out all but Captain *Swan*'s Tender, which never budged; for the Men were all aſleep when we went out, and the Tide of Flood coming on before they waked, we were forced to ſtay for them till the next Day.

"The Eighth in the Morning we deſcried a Sail to the Weſt of us; the Wind was at South, and we chaſed her, and before Noon took her. She was a Ship of about ninety Tun laden with Flour; ſhe came from *Truxillo*, and was bound to *Panama*.

"We ſailed on after this, with a gentle Gale, towards *Gorgonia*, an Iſland lying about twenty-five Leagues from the Iſland *Gallo*.

"The Ninth we anchored at *Gorgonia*, on the Weſt-ſide of the Iſland, in thirty-eight Fathom clean Ground, not two Cables length from the Shore.

"The Thirteenth we ſailed from hence towards the *King's Iſlands*. We were now ſix Sail, two Men of War, two Tenders, a Fireſhip and the Prize. We had but little Wind, but what we had was the common Trade at South. The Land we ſailed by on the Main, is very low towards the Sea-ſide, but in the Country there are very high Mountains.

"The Sixteenth we paſſed by Cape *Corientes*. This Cape is in Latitude 5 deg. 10 min. it is high bluff Land, with three or four ſmall Hillocks on the Top. It appears at a Diſtance like an Iſland. Here we found a ſtrong Current running to the North; but whether it be always ſo, I know not.

"The Day after we paſſed by the Cape, we ſaw a ſmall white Iſland, which we chaſed, ſuppoſing it had been a Sail; till coming near we found our Error.

"The Twenty-firſt we ſaw Port *Garrachina*. This Point is in Latitude 7 deg. 20 min. North; it is pretty high Land, rocky, and deſtitute of Trees; yet within Land it is woody. It is fenced with Rocks againſt the Sea. Within the Point, by the Sea, at low Water, you may find ſtore of Oyſters and Muſcles.

"The *King's Iſlands*, or *Pearl Keys*, are about twelve Leagues diſtant from this Point. Between Point *Garachina* and them there is a ſmall low flat barren Iſland called *Gallera*, at which Captain *Harris* was ſharing with his Men the Gold he took in his pillaging *Santa Maria*; when on a ſudden five *Spaniſh* Barks fitted out on purpoſe at *Panama*, came upon him; but he fought them ſo ſtoutly with one ſmall Bark he had, and ſome few Canoes, boarding their Admiral particularly, that they were all glad to leave him. By this Iſland we anchored, and ſent our Boats to the *King's Iſlands* for a good careening Place.

"The Fourteenth of *February* 1685, we made an End of cleaning our Ship, filled all our Water, and ſtock'd ourſelves with Fire-wood.

"The Fifteenth we went out from among the Iſlands, and anchored in the Channel between them and the Main, in twenty-five Fathom Water, ſoft oozy Ground. The Plate Fleet was not yet arrived; therefore we intended to cruiſe before the City of *Panama*, which is from this Place about twenty-five Leagues.

"The next Day we ſailed towards *Panama*, paſſing in the Channel between the *King's Iſlands* and the Main.

"After an appointed Stay there of about ſixty Days, as I take it, the Plate Fleet goes thence to *Portobello*, where it lies thirty Days and no longer. Therefore the Vice-Roy of *Lima*, on Notice of the Armada's Arrival at *Carthagena*, immediately ſends away the King's Treaſure to *Panama*, where it is landed, and lies ready to ſend to *Portobello*, upon the firſt News of the Armada's Arrival there. This is the Reaſon partly of their ſending Expreſſes ſo early to *Lima*, that upon the Armada's firſt coming to *Portobello*, the Treaſure and Goods may lie ready at *Panama*, to be ſent away upon the Mules, and it requires ſome Time for the *Lima* Fleet to unlade, becauſe the Ships ride not at *Panama*, but at *Perica*, which are three ſmall Iſlands two Leagues from thence.

"The King's Treaſure is ſaid to amount commonly to about Twenty-four Millions of Pieces of Eight: beſides Abundance of Merchants Money.

"All this Treaſure is carried on Mules, and there are large Stables at both Places to lodge them. Sometimes the Merchants to ſteal the Cuſtom pack up Money among Goods, and ſend it to *Venta de Cruzes* on the River *Chagre*; from thence down the River, and afterwards by Sea to *Portobello*; in which Paſſage I have known a whole Fleet of Periaguas and Canoes taken.

"The Twentieth, we went and anchored within a League of the Iſlands *Perico* (which are only three little barren rocky Iſlands) in Expectation of the Preſident of *Panama*'s Anſwer to the Letter we ſent him by Don *Diego*, treating about Exchange of Priſoners.

"The next Day he brought aboard our two Men, and had forty Priſoners in Exchange.

"The Twenty-fourth, we ran over to the Iſland *Tabago*, which is in the Bay, and about ſix Leagues South of *Panama*.

"The Second of *March* 1685 we ſailed from hence towards the Gulf of *St. Michael*.

"The Twenty-fifth we arrived at the Harbour of *Porto Pinas*, but did not go in with our Ship, finding it but an ordinary Place to lie at. We ſent in our Boats to ſearch it, and they found a Stream of good Water running into the Sea; but there were ſuch great ſwelling

“ Surges came into the Harbour, that we could “ not conveniently fill our Water there.

“ The Twenty-ſixth we returned to Point *Garrachina* again. In our Way we took a ſmall “ Veſſel laden with Cocoa: ſhe came from *Guiaquil*.

“ Becauſe we could not fill our Water here, we “ deſigned to go to *Tabago* again, where we were “ ſure to be ſupplied.

“ The Third of *April* we anchored by *Perica*, “ and next Morning went to *Tabago*; where we “ filled our Water, and cut Firewood.

“ The Tenth we ſailed from *Tabago* towards “ the *King's Iſlands* again, becauſe our Pilots told “ us, that the King's Ships did always come this “ Way.

“ The Twentieth, we ſent 250 Men in fifteen “ Canoes to the River *Cheapo*, to take the Town “ of *Cheapo*.

“ The Twenty-fourth they returned out of the “ River, having taken the Town without any “ Oppoſition, but they found nothing in it.

“ The Twenty-fifth Captain *Harris* came to us, “ have cleaned his Ship.

“ The Twenty-ſixth we went again toward *Tabago*; where we arrived the Twenty-eighth.

“ The Fourth of *May* we ſailed hence again, “ bound for the *King's Iſlands*; and there we con“tinued cruiſing from one End of theſe Iſlands to “ the other, till the Twenty-ſecond Day.

“ The Twenty-eighth we had a very wet Morn“ing, for the Rains were come in, as they do “ uſually in *May* or *June*, ſooner or later; ſo “ that *May* is here a very uncertain Month.

“ Hitherto, till within a few Days, we had good “ fair Weather, the Wind at North North-Eaſt, “ but now the Weather was altered, and the Wind “ at South South-Weſt.

“ However about Eleven o'Clock it cleared up, “ and we ſaw the *Spaniſh* Fleet about three Leagues “ Weſt North-Weſt from the Iſland *Pacheque*, “ ſtanding cloſe on a Wind to the Eaſtward: but “ they could not fetch the Iſland by a League.

“ We were riding a League South-Eaſt from “ the Iſland between it and the Main; only Cap“tain *Gronet* was about a Mile to the Northward “ of us near the Iſland: he weighed as ſoon as “ they came in Sight, and ſtood over for the “ Main; and we lay ſtill, expecting when he “ would tack and come to us: but he took Care “ to keep himſelf out of Harm's Way.

“ Captains *Swan* and *Townley* came aboard of “ Captain *Davis*, in order to know how to engage “ the Enemy, who we ſaw came purpoſely to fight “ us, they being in all 14 Sail, beſides Periaguas, “ rowing with twelve and fourteen Oars apiece. “ Six Sail of them were Ships of good Force: “ firſt the Admiral of 48 Guns, 450 Men; the “ Vice-Admiral 40 Guns, 400 Men; the Rear“Admiral 36 Guns, 360 Men; a Ship of 24 “ Guns, 300 Men; one of 18 Guns, 250 Men; “ and one of eight Guns, 200 Men; two great “ Fireſhips, ſix Ships only with ſmall Arms, “ having 800 Men on board them all; beſides “ 2 or 300 Men in Periaguas.

“ This Account of their Strength we had after“wards from Captain *Knight*, who being to the “ Windward on the Coaſt of *Peru*, took Pri“ſoners, of whom he had this Information, being “ what they brought from *Lima*.

“ Beſides theſe Men, they had alſo ſome Hun“dreds of *Old Spain* Men, that came from *Portobello*, and met them at *Lavelia*, from whence “ they now came: and their Strength of Men “ from *Lima* was 3000, being all they could “ raiſe in that Kingdom; and for greater Se“curity, they had firſt landed their Treaſure at “ *Lavelia*.

“ Our Fleet conſiſted of ten Sail: firſt Captain “ *Davis*, 36 Guns, 156 Men, moſt *Engliſh*; “ Captain *Swan* 16 Guns, 140 Men, all *Engliſh*: “ theſe were the only Ships of Force that we “ had; the reſt having none but Small Arms. “ Captain *Townley* had 110 Men, all *Engliſh*. “ Captain *Gronet* 308 Men, all *French*. Captain “ *Harris* 100 Men, moſt *Engliſh*. Captain *Branly* “ 36 Men, ſome *Engliſh*, ſome *French*. *Davis's* “ Tender eight Men; *Swan's* Tender eight Men; “ *Townley's* Bark 80 Men; and a ſmall Bark of “ 30 Tuns made a Fireſhip, with a Canoes Crew “ in her: we had in all 960 Men. But Captain “ *Gronet* came not to us till all was over; yet we “ were not diſcouraged at it, but reſolved to fight “ them; for, being to Windward of the Enemy, “ we had it at our Choice, whether we would fight “ or not.

“ It was Three o'Clock in the Afternoon when “ we weighed; and being all under ſail, we bore “ down right afore the Wind on our Enemies, “ who kept cloſe on a Wind to come to us; but “ Night came on without doing any thing, beſide “ the exchanging of a few Shot on each Side.

“ When it grew dark, the *Spaniſh* Admiral put “ out a Light, as a Signal for his Fleet to come “ to an Anchor. We ſaw the Light in the Admi“ral's Top, which continued about half an Hour, “ and then it was taken down. In a ſhort Time “ after we ſaw the Light again, and being to “ Windward we kept under ſail, ſuppoſing the “ Light had been in the Admiral's Top; but “ as it proved, this was only a Stratagem of theirs, “ for this Light was put out the ſecond Time at “ one of their Barks Topmaſt head, and then ſhe “ was ſent to Leeward; which deceived us: for “ we thought ſtill the Light was in the Admiral's “ Top, and by that Means thought ourſelves to “ Windward of them.

“ In the Morning therefore, contrary to our “ Expectation, we found they had got the Weather“gage of us, and were coming upon us with full “ Sail: ſo we ran for it; and after a running “ Fight all Day, and having taken a Turn almoſt “ round the Bay of *Panama*, we came to an An“chor again at the Iſle of *Pacheque*, in the very “ ſame Place from whence we ſet out in the “ Morning.

“ Thus ended this Day's Work, and with it all “ that we had been projecting for five or ſix “ Months; when inſtead of making ourſelves “ Maſters of the *Spaniſh* Fleet and Treaſure, we “ were glad to eſcape them; and owed that too, “ in great Meaſure, to their Want of Courage to “ purſue their Advantage.

“ The Thirtieth in the Morning, when we

“looked out, we ſaw the *Spaniſh* Fleet all together three Leagues to Leeward of us at an Anchor. It was but little Wind till Ten o'Clock, and then ſprung up a ſmall Breeze at South, and the *Spaniſh* Fleet went away to *Panama.*

“What Loſs they had, I know not; we loſt but one Man: and having held a Conſult, we reſolved to go to the Keys of *Quibo* or *Coboya*, to ſeek Captain *Harris*, who was forced away from us in the Fight; that being the Place appointed for our Rendezvous upon any ſuch Accident. As for *Gronet*, he ſaid his Men would not ſuffer him to join us in the Fight: but we were not ſatisfied with that Excuſe; ſo we ſuffered him to go with us to the Iſles of *Quibo*, and there caſhiered our cowardly Companion. Some were for taking from him the Ship which we had given him: but at length he was ſuffered to keep it with his Men, and we ſent them away in it to ſome other Place.

CHAP. CXLI.

Sets out from Tabago.

“WE ſailed *June* the 1ſt, 1685, paſſing between Point *Garrachina* and the *King's Iſlands*. The Wind was at South South Weſt, rainy Weather, with Tornadoes of Thunder and Lightning.

“The Third we paſſed by the Iſland *Chuche*, the laſt Remainder of the Iſles in the Bay of *Panama.*

“We met with very wet Weather in our Voyage to *Quibo*; and with South South-Weſt and ſometimes South Weſt Winds, which retarded our Courſe. It was the Fifteenth of *June* when we arrived at *Quibo.*

“*June* the 16th, Captain *Swan* came to an Anchor by us: and then our Captains conſulted about new Methods to advance their Fortunes: and becauſe they were now out of Hopes to get any thing at Sea, they reſolved to try what the Land would afford.

“They demanded of our Pilots, what Towns on the Coaſt of *Mexico* they could carry us to. The City of *Leon* being the Chiefeſt in the Country (any thing near us) though a pretty Way within Land, was pitched on. But now we wanted Canoes to land our Men, and we had no other Way but to cut down Trees, and make as many as we had Occaſion for; theſe Iſlands affording Plenty of large Trees fit for that Purpoſe.

“While this was doing, we ſent 150 Men to take *Puebla Nova* (a Town upon the Main near the innermoſt of theſe Iſlands) to get Proviſion: it was in going to take this Town, that Captain *Sawkins* was killed in the Year 1680, who was ſucceeded by *Sharp*. Our Men took the Town with much Eaſe, although there was more Strength of Men than when Captain *Sawkins* was killed.

“They returned again the Twenty-fourth, but got no Proviſion there. They took an empty Bark in their Way, and brought her to us.

“The Fifth of *July* Captain *Knight* came to us. He had been cruiſing a great Way to the Weſtward, but got nothing beſide a good Ship: At laſt he went to the Southward, as high as the Bay of *Guaiaquil*, where he took a Bark-log, or pair of Bark-logs as we call it, laden chiefly with Flour.

“The Twentieth of *July* we ſailed from *Quibo*, bending our Courſe for *Ria Lexa*, which is the Port for *Leon*, this City that we now deſigned to attempt.

“We were now 640 Men in eight Sail of Ships, commanded by Captain *Davis*, Captain *Swan*, Captain *Townley* and Captain *Knight*, with a Fireſhip and three Tenders, which laſt had not a conſtant Crew.

“We paſſed out between the River *Quibo* and the *Rancheria*, leaving *Quibo* and *Quicaro* on our Larboard-ſide, and the *Rancheria*, with the reſt of the Iſlands and the Main, on our Starboard-ſide. The Wind at firſt was at South South-Weſt: we coaſted along Shore, paſſing by the Gulf of *Nicoya*, the Gulf of *Dulce*, and by the Iſland *Caneo*. All this Coaſt is low Land over-grown with thick Woods, and there are but few Inhabitants near the Shore.

“The Ninth of *Auguſt* in the Morning, being about eight Leagues from the Shore, we left our Ships under the Charge of a few Men, and 520 of us went away in 31 Canoes, rowing towards the Harbour of *Ria Lexa.*

“We had fair Weather and little Wind till Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, then we had a Tornado from the Shore, with much Thunder, Lightning and Rain, and ſuch a Guſt of Wind, that we were all like to be founder'd.

“In this Extremity we put right afore the Wind, every Canoes Crew making what ſhift they could to avoid the threatening Danger. The ſmall Canoes being moſt light and buoyant, mounted nimbly over the Surges, but the great heavy Canoes lay like Logs in the Sea, ready to be ſwallowed by every foaming Billow. Some of our Canoes were half full of Water, yet kept two Men conſtantly heaving it out. The Fierceneſs of the Wind continued about half an Hour, and abated by Degrees; and as the Wind died away, ſo the Fury of the Sea abated.

“At Seven o'Clock in the Evening it was quite calm, and the Sea as ſmooth as a Mill-pond. Then we tugg'd to get into the Shore, but finding we could not do it before Day, we rowed off again to keep ourſelves out of Sight. By that Time it was Day, we were five Leagues from the Land, which we thought was far

" enough off Shore. Here we intended to lye till " the Evening, but at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon we had another Tornado, more fierce than " that which we had the Day before. This put " us in greater Peril of our Lives, but did not " laſt ſo long.

" As ſoon as the Violence of the Tornado was " over, we rowed in for the Shore, and enter'd " the Harbour in the Night: the Creek which " leads towards *Leon* lies on the South Eaſt-ſide " of the Harbour. Our Pilot being very well acquainted here, carried us into the Mouth of it, " but could take us no farther till Day, becauſe " it is but a ſmall Creek, and there are others " like it.

" The next Morning, as ſoon as it was light, " we rowed into the Creek, which is very narrow; " the Land on both Sides lying ſo low, that every " Tide it is overflown with the Sea.

" This Sort of Land produces red Mangrove-Trees, which are here ſo plentiful and thick, " that there is no paſſing through them.

" Beyond theſe Mangroves, on the firm Land, " cloſe by the Side of the River, the *Spaniards* " have built a Breaſt-work, purpoſely to hinder " an Enemy from Landing. When we came in " Sight of the Breaſt-work, we rowed as faſt as " we could to get aſhore: the Noiſe of our Oars " alarmed the *Indians* who were ſet to watch, and " preſently they ran away towards the City of " *Leon*, to give Notice of our Approach.

" We landed as ſoon as we could, and marched " after them: 470 Men were drawn out to " march to the Town, and I was left with 59 " Men more to ſtay and guard the Canoes till " their Return.

" The City of *Leon* is twenty Miles up in the " Country: the way to it plain and even, thro' a " champion Country, of long graſſy Savannahs, " and Spots of high Woods.

" About five Miles from the Landing-place " there is a Sugar-Work; three Miles farther " there is another, and two Miles beyond that, " there is a fine River to ford, which is not very " deep; beſide which, there is no Water in all " the Way, till you come to an *Indian* Town, " which is two Miles before you reach the City, " and from thence it is a pleaſant ſtrait ſandy " Way to *Leon*.

" This City ſtands in a Plain, not far from a " high peeked Mountain, which oftentimes caſts " forth Fire and Smoak from its Top. It may " be ſeen at Sea, and it is called the *Volcano* of " *Leon*. The Houſes of *Leon* are not high built, " but ſtrong and large, with Gardens about them. " The Walls are Stone, and the Covering of Pantile: there are three Churches and a Cathedral, " which is the head Church in theſe Parts.

" Our Men were now marching thither; they " went from their Canoes about Eight o'Clock. " Captain *Townley*, with 80 of the briſkeſt Men, " marched before; Captain *Swan* with 100 Men " marched next; Captain *Davis* with 170 Men " followed him; and Captain *Knight* brought up " the Rear. Captain *Townley*, who was near two " Miles a-head of the reſt, met about 70 Horſemen, four Miles before he came to the City, " but they never ſtood him.

" About Three o'Clock Captain *Townley*, only " with his 80 Men, entered the Town, and was " briſkly charged in a broad Street, with 170 or " 200 *Spaniſh* Horſemen; but two or three of " their Leaders being knock'd down, the reſt fled. " Their Foot conſiſted of about 500 Men, which " were drawn up in the Parade; for the *Spaniards* " in theſe Parts made a large Square in every " Town, though the Town itſelf be ſmall. The " Square is called the Parade: commonly the " Church makes one Side of it, and the Gentlemens Houſes, with their Galleries about them, " the other. But the Foot alſo ſeeing their Horſe " retire, left an empty City to Captain *Townley*; " beginning to ſave themſelves by Flight.

" The Governor ſent in a Flag of Truce about " Noon, pretending to ranſom the Town, rather than let it be burnt: our Captains demanded three hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight " for its Ranſom, and as much Proviſion as " would victual a thouſand Men four Months; " the *Spaniards* did not intend to ranſom it, but " only capitulated Day after Day to prolong Time, " till they had got more Men. Our Captains " therefore, conſidering the Diſtance that they " were from the Canoes, reſolved to be marching " down.

" The Fourteenth in the Morning they ordered the City to be ſet on fire, which was preſently done, and then they came away; but " they took more Time in coming down than in " going up.

" The Twenty-fifth Captain *Davis* and Captain " *Swan* broke off Conſortſhip; for Captain *Davis* " was reſolved to return again on the Coaſt of " *Peru*; and Captain *Swan* deſired to go farther " to the Weſtward.

" I had till this Time been with Captain *Davis*, " but now left him, and went aboard of Captain " *Swan*. It was not from any Diſlike to my old " Captain, but to get ſome Knowledge of the " Northern Parts of this Continent of *Mexico*: " and I knew that Captain *Swan* determined to " coaſt it as far North, as he found convenient, " and then paſs over for the *Eaſt Indies*; which " was a Way very agreeable to my Inclination. " Captain *Townley*, with his two Barks, was reſolved to keep us Company; but Capt. *Knight* " and Capt. *Harris* followed Captain *Davis*.

" We ſtayed here ſome Time afterwards to fill " our Water and cut Fire-wood; but our Men, " who had been very healthy till now, began to " fall down apace in Fevers.

" We hence coaſted farther, and came to *Guatalco*. " This Port is in Latitude 15 deg. 30 min. It is " one of the beſt in all this Kingdom of *Mexico*.

CHAP. CXLII.

Sets out from Guatalco.

“THE Twelfth of *October* 1685 we ſet out of the Harbour of *Guatalco.*

“The Eighteenth we ſailed from hence, coaſting to the Weſtward after our Canoes.

“We were now abreaſt off *Port Angels,* though our Men in the Canoes did not know it; therefore we went in and anchored there. This is a broad open Bay, with two or three Rocks at the Weſt-ſide.

“The Twenty ſeventh in the Morning we ſailed from hence, with the Land Wind at North by Weſt.

“The Second of *November* we paſſed by a Rock, called by the *Spaniards* the *Algatroſs.* The great Deſign we had then in Hand, was to lie and wait for a rich Ship, which comes to *Acapulco* every Year richly laden from the *Philippine* Iſlands. But it was neceſſary we ſhould be well ſtored with Proviſions, to enable us to cruiſe about, and wait the Time of her coming.

“The *Manila* Ships are each 1000 Tons. Theſe make their Voyages alternately, ſo that one or other of them is always at the *Manila*'s. When either of them ſets out from *Acapulco,* it is at the latter End of *March,* or the Beginning of *April*; ſhe always touches to refreſh at *Guam,* one of the *Ladrone* Iſlands, about ſixty Days ſpace after ſhe ſets out: there ſhe ſtays but two or three Days, and then proſecutes her Voyage to *Manila,* where ſhe commonly arrives ſome time in *June*: by that Time the other is ready to ſail from thence, laden with *Eaſt-India* Commodities. She ſtretches away to the North as far as 36, or ſometimes into 40 deg. of North Latitude, before ſhe gets a Wind to ſtand over to the *American* Shore. She falls in firſt with the Coaſt of *California,* and then coaſts along the Shore to the South again, and never miſſes a Wind to bring her away from thence quite to *Acapulco.* When ſhe gets the Length of Cape *St. Lucar,* which is the Southernmoſt Point of *California,* ſhe ſtretches over to Cape *Corrientes,* which is in about the 20th Degree of North Latitude; from thence ſhe coaſts along till ſhe comes to *Sallagua,* and there ſhe ſets aſhore Paſſengers that are bound to the City of *Mexico*: from thence ſhe makes her beſt Way, coaſting ſtill along Shore, till ſhe arrives at *Acapulco,* which is commonly about *Chriſtmas,* never more than eight or ten Days before or after. Upon the Return of this Ship to the *Manila,* the other which ſtays there till her Arrival, takes her Turn back to *Acapulco.*

“The Eleventh we made ſail again farther on to the Weſtward, with the Land-Wind, which is commonly at North Eaſt, but the Sea-Winds are at South Weſt. We paſſed by a long ſandy Bay of above twenty Leagues.

“The Firſt of *December* we paſſed by the Port of *Sallagua.* This Port is in Latitude 18 deg. 52 min. It is only a pretty deep Bay, divided in the middle with a rocky Point, which makes as it were two Harbours. Ships may ride ſecurely in either, but the Weſt Harbour is the beſt.

“We now intended to cruiſe off Cape *Corrientes,* to wait for the *Philippine* Ship. So the Sixth of *December* we ſet ſail, coaſting to the Weſtward towards Cape *Corrientes.*

“The Eleventh we were fair in ſight of the Cape; it bore North by Weſt, and the *Crown Land* bore North. Here we had reſolved to cruiſe for the *Philippine* Ship, becauſe ſhe always makes this Cape in her Voyage homeward.

“We were four Ships in Company; Captain *Swan,* and his Tender; Captain *Townley* and his Tender. It was ſo ordered, that Captain *Swan* ſhould lie eight or ten Leagues off Shore, and the reſt about a League diſtant each from other, between him and the Cape, that ſo we might not miſs the *Philippine* Ship: but we wanted Proviſion.

“The Eighteenth we ſailed to the Keys or Iſlands of *Chametly* to fill our Water. Theſe Iſlands are about ſixteen or eighteen Leagues to the Eaſtward of Cape *Corrientes*: they are ſmall, low, and woody, invironed with Rocks; there are five of them lying in the Form of a half Moon, not a Mile from the Shore; and between them and the Main is very good Riding, ſecure from any Wind.

“The Tenth, we entered within theſe Iſlands, paſſing in on the South Eaſt ſide, and anchored between the Iſlands and the Main, in five Fathom clean Sand.

“We cruiſed off the Cape till the Firſt of *January* 1686 in vain.

“Hitherto we had coaſted along here with two different Deſigns; the one was to get the *Manila* Ship, which would have enriched us beyond Meaſure; and this Captain *Townley* was moſt for. Sir *Thomas Cavendiſh* formerly took the *Manila* Ship off Cape *St. Lucar* in *California,* (where we alſo would have waited for her, had we been early enough ſtored with Proviſions to have met her there) and threw much rich Goods overboard. The other Deſign, which Captain *Swan* and our Crew were moſt for, was to ſearch along the Coaſt for rich Towns and Mines, chiefly of Gold and Silver, which we were aſſured were in this Country, and we hoped near the Shore: not knowing (as we afterwards found) that it was in effect an Inland Country, its Wealth remote from the *South Sea* Coaſt, and having little or no Commerce with it, its Trade being driven Eaſtward with *Europe* by *La Vera Cruz.* Yet we had ſtill ſome Expectation of Mines, and ſo reſolved to ſteer on farther Northward; but Captain *Townley*, who had no other Deſign in coming on this Coaſt, but to meet this Ship, reſolved to return again towards the Coaſt of *Peru*.

“ In all this Voyage on the *Mexican* Coaſt, we had with us a Captain, and two or three of his Men of our friendly *Indians* of the Iſthmus of *Darien*, who having conducted over ſome Parties of our Privateers, and expreſſing a Deſire to go along with us, were received and kindly entertained aboard our Ships; and we were pleaſed in having, by this Means, Guides ready provided, ſhould we be for returning over Land, as ſeveral of us thought to do, rather than ſail round about.

“ But at this Time, we of Captain *Swan*'s Ship deſigning farther to the North Weſt, and Captain *Townley* going back, we committed theſe our *Indian* Friends to his Care, to carry them home. So here we parted; he to the Eaſtward, and we to the Weſtward, intending to ſearch as far that Way as the *Spaniards* were ſettled.

“ It was the Seventh of *January* in the Morning when we ſailed. The Wind was at North Eaſt, and the Weather fair. At Eleven o'Clock the Sea Wind came at North Weſt. Before Night we paſſed by Point *Pontique*; this is the Weſt-point of the Bay of the Valley of *Valderas*, and is diſtant from Cape *Corrientes* ten Leagues.

“ We lay here till the Second of *February*; and then Captain *Swan* went away with about 80 Men to the River *Roſario*; where they landed, and marched to an *Indian* Town of the ſame Name. They found it about nine Miles from the Sea; the Way to it fair and even. This was a fine little Town, of about ſixty or ſeventy Houſes, with a fair Church; and it was chiefly inhabited with *Indians*, they took ſome Priſoners there, which told them, that the River *Roſario* is rich in Gold, and that the Mines are not above two Leagues from the Town.

“ Captain *Swan* now propoſed to go to Cape *St. Lucas* on *California* to careen. He had two Reaſons for this: firſt, that he thought he could lie there ſecure from the *Spaniards*; and next, that if he could get a Commerce with the *Indians* there, he might make a Diſcovery in the Lake of *California*, and by their Aſſiſtance try for ſome of the Plate of *New Mexico*.

“ This Lake of *California* (for ſo the Sea, Channel or Streight, between that and the Continent is called) is but little known to the *Spaniards*.

“ We ſteered away more to the Eaſtward for the Iſlands *Maria*'s, and the Seventh we came to an Anchor at the Eaſt end of the middle Iſland, in eight Fathom Water, good clean Sand.

“ The *Maria*'s are three uninhabited Iſlands in Latitude 21 deg. 40 min. they are diſtant from Cape *St. Lucas* on *California*, forty Leagues, bearing Eaſt South Eaſt, and they are diſtant from Cape *Corrientes* twenty Leagues, bearing upon the ſame Points of the Compaſs with Cape *St. Lucas*.

“ Captain *Swan* gave the middle Iſland the Name of *Prince George's Iſland*.

“ The Eighth we run near the Iſland, and anchored in five Fathom. We ſtay'd here till the Twenty-ſixth; and then both Veſſels being clean, we ſailed to the Valley of *Balderas* to water, for we could not do it here now.

“ Having provided our ſelves, we had nothing more to do, but to put in Execution our intended Expedition to the *Eaſt Indies*, in hopes of ſome better Succeſs there, than we had met with on this little frequented Coaſt.

◆

C H A P. CXLIII.

Departure from Cape Corrientes.

“ HAving more calmly conſidered on the Length of our Voyage to *Guam*, one of the *Ladrone* Iſlands, which is the firſt Place that we could touch at, and there alſo being not certain to find Proviſions, moſt of our Men were almoſt daunted at the Thoughts of it; for we had not ſixty Days Proviſion, at a little more than half a Pint of Maiz a Day for each Man, and no other Proviſion, except three Meals of ſalted *Jew-fiſh*; and we had a great many Rats aboard, which we could not hinder from eating part of our Maiz.

“ Beſide, the great Diſtance between Cape *Corrientes* and *Guam*; which is variouſly ſet down. The *Spaniards*, who have the greateſt Reaſon to know beſt, make it, to be between 2300 and 2400 Leagues: our Books alſo reckon it differently, between 90 and 100 Degrees, which all comes ſhort indeed of 2000 Leagues; but even that was a Voyage enough to frighten us, conſidering our ſcanty Proviſions.

“ Captain *Swan*, to encourage his Men to go with him, perſuaded them that the *Engliſh* Books gave the beſt Account of the Diſtance; his Reaſons were many, although but weak. He urged among the reſt, that Sir *Thomas Candiſh* and Sir *Francis Drake* did run it leſs than fifty Days, and that he did not queſtion but that that our Ships were better Sailors, than thoſe which were built in that Age, and that we ſhould get there in little more than forty Days.

“ Of all Captain *Swan*'s Arguments, that which prevailed moſt with them was, his promiſing them to cruiſe off the *Manila*'s. So he and his Men being now agreed, and they encouraged with the Hope of Gain, which works its Way through all Difficulties, we ſet out from Cape

“ *Corrientes*, *March* the 31ſt, 1686. We were two Ships in Company, Captain *Swan*'s Ship, and a Bark commanded under Captain *Swan*, by Captain *Teat*, and we were 150 Men, 100 aboard of the Ship, and 50 aboard the Bark, beſides Slaves.

“ After the 31ſt Day of *March* we made great Runs every Day, having very fair clear Weather, and a freſh Trade wind, which we made uſe of with all our Sails, and we made many good Obſervations of the Sun.

“ The Twentieth of *May*, our Bark being about three Leagues a-head of our Ship, failed over a rocky Shoal, on which there was but four Fathom Water, and Abundance of Fiſh ſwimming about the Rocks. They imagined by this that the Land was not far off, ſo they clapt on a Wind with the Bark's Head to the North; and being paſs'd the Shoal, lay by for us. When we came up with them, Captain *Teat* came aboard us, and related what he had ſeen. We were then in Latitude 12 deg. 55 min. ſteering Weſt.

“ The Iſland *Guam* is laid down in Latitude 13 deg. North by the *Spaniards*, who are Maſters of it, keeping it as a baiting Place as they go to the *Philippine* Iſlands. Therefore we clapt on a Wind and ſtood to Northward, being ſomewhat troubled and doubtful whether we were right, becauſe there is no Shoal laid down in the *Spaniſh* Drafts about the Iſland *Guam*. At Four o'Clock, to our great Joy, we ſaw the Iſland *Guam*, at about eight Leagues Diſtance.

“ The Iſland *Guam* or *Guahan*, as the Native *Indians* pronounce it, is one of the *Ladrone* Iſlands, belongs to the *Spaniards*, who have a ſmall Fort with ſix Guns in it, with a Governor, and twenty or thirty Soldiers. They keep it for the Relief and Refreſhment of their *Philippine* Ships, that touch here in their Way from *Acapulco* to *Manila*; but the Winds will not ſo eaſily let them take this Way back again.

“ The Twenty-firſt of *May*, 1686, at Eleven o'Clock in the Evening, we anchored near the middle of the Iſland *Guam*, on the Weſt-ſide, a Mile from the Shore.

“ About Eleven o'Clock, that ſame Morning, the Governor of the Iſland ſent a Letter to Captain *Swan*, promiſing to ſupply us with as much Proviſion as he could poſſibly ſpare.

“ We had a delicate large *Engliſh* Dog the Governor deſired, and had it given him very freely by the Captain; and it was well returned.

“ Captain *Swan* endeavoured to get this Governor's Letter of Recommendation to ſome Merchants at *Manila*, for he had then a Deſign to go to Fort *St. George*, and from thence intended to trade to *Manila*: but this his Deſign was concealed from the Company.

“ While we lay here the *Acapulco* Ship arrived off the Iſland, but did not come in the Sight of us; for the Governor ſent an *Indian* Proe, with Advice of our being here: our Men heard this too late, but they were in a great Heat to go out after her; but Captain *Swan* perſuaded them out of that Humour, for he was now wholly averſe to any hoſtile Action.

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CHAP. CXLIV.

Departure from Guam.

“ WHILE we lay at *Guam* we took up a Reſolution of going to *Mindanao*.

“ *June* the 2d, 1686, we left *Guam*, bound for *Mindanao*.

“ The Twenty-firſt of *June* we arrived at the Iſland *St. John*, which is one of the *Philippine* Iſlands.

“ The chiefeſt Iſland in this Range is *Luconia*, which lies on the North of them all. At this Iſland *Magellan* died on the Voyage that he was making round the World.

“ The Iſland *Mindanao* is the biggeſt of all the *Philippine* Iſlands except *Luconia*. It is about ſixty Leagues long, and forty or fifty broad.

“ This Iſland lies very convenient for Trade.

“ The Courſe that I would chuſe ſhould be to ſet out of *England* about the latter End of *Auguſt*, and to paſs round *Terra del Fuego*, and ſo ſtretching over towards *New Holland*, coaſt it along that Shore till I came near to *Mindanao*; or firſt I would coaſt down near the *American* Shore, as far as I found convenient, and then direct my Courſe accordingly for the Iſland. By this I ſhould avoid coming near any of the *Dutch* Settlements, and be ſure to meet always with a conſtant briſk eaſterly Trade-Wind, after I was once paſſed *Terra del Fuego*. Whereas in paſſing about the Cape of *Good Hope*, after you are ſhot over the *Eaſt-Indian* Ocean, and are come to the Iſlands, you muſt paſs through the Streights of *Malacca* or *Sundy*, or elſe ſome other Streights Eaſt from *Java*, where you will be ſure to meet with Country-Winds, go on which Side of the Equator you pleaſe; and this would require ordinarily ſeven or eight Months for the Voyage, but the other I ſhould hope to perform in ſix or ſeven at moſt. In your Return from thence alſo you muſt obſerve the ſame Rule as the *Spaniards* do in going from *Manila* to *Acapulco*; only as they run towards the North-Pole for variable Winds, ſo you muſt run to the Southward, till you meet with a Wind that will carry you over to *Terra del Fuego*. There are Places enough to touch at for Re-

“freſhment, either going or coming. You may touch going thither on either ſide of *Terra Patagonia*, or, if you pleaſe, at the *Gallapagoes Iſlands*, where there is Refreſhment enough; and returning, you may probably touch ſomewhere on *New Holland*, and ſo make ſome profitable Diſcovery in theſe Places without going out of your Way. And to ſpeak my Thoughts freely, I believe 'tis owing to the Neglect of this eaſy Way, that all that vaſt Tract of *Terra Auſtralis* which bounds the *South Sea* is yet undiſcovered: thoſe that croſs that Sea ſeeming to deſign ſome Buſineſs on the *Peruvian* or *Mexican* Coaſt, and ſo leaving that at a Diſtance.

“To confirm this, I ſhall add what Captain *Davis* has told me, That after his Departure from us at the Haven of *Ria Lexa*, he went, after ſeveral Traverſes to the *Gallapagoes*; and that ſtanding thence Southward for Wind, to bring him about *Terra del Fuego*, in Latitude of 27 South, about 500 Leagues from *Copayapo*, on the Coaſt of *Chili*, he ſaw a ſmall ſandy Iſland juſt by him; and alſo ſaw to the Weſtward of it a long Tract of pretty high Land, tending away toward the North Weſt out of Sight. This might probably be the Coaſt of *Terra Auſtralis Incognita*.

“About the Middle of *November* we began to work on our Ship's Bottom, which we found very much eaten with the Worm: for this is a horrid Place for them. We did not know this till after we had been in the River a Month, and then we found our Canoes Bottoms eaten like Honey-combs; our Bark, which was a ſingle Bottom, was eaten through, ſo that ſhe could not ſwim. But our Ship was ſheathed, and the Worm came no farther than the Hair between the ſheathing and the main Plank.

“We did not miſtruſt the General's Knavery till now: for when he came down to our Ship, and found us ripping off the ſheathing Plank, and ſaw the firm Bottom underneath, he ſhook his Head, and ſeemed to be diſcontented; ſaying, he did never ſee a Ship with two Bottoms before.

“We were told that in this Place, where we now lay, a *Dutch* Ship was eaten up in two Months Time, and the General had all her Guns; and it is probable he expected to have had ours: which I believe was the main Reaſon that made him ſo forward in aſſiſting us to get our Ship into the River, for when we came out again we had no Aſſiſtance from him.

“We had no Worms till we came to this Place: for when we careen'd at the *Marias*, the Worm had not touch'd us; nor at *Guam*, for there we ſcrubb'd; nor after we came to the Iſland *Mindanao*; for at the South Eaſt End of the Iſland we heel'd and ſcrubb'd alſo.

“The *Mindanaians* are ſo ſenſible of theſe deſtructive Inſects, that whenever they come from Sea, they immediately hale their Ship into a dry Dock, and burn her Bottom, and there let her lie dry till they are ready to go to Sea again. The Canoes or Proes they hale up dry, and never ſuffer them to be long in the Water. It is reported, that thoſe Worms which get into a Ship's Bottom in the ſalt Water, will die in the freſh Water; and that the freſh Water Worms will die in ſalt Water; but in the brackiſh Water both ſorts will increaſe prodigiouſly. Now this Place where we lay was ſometimes brackiſh Water, yet commonly freſh; but what ſort of Worm this was I know not.

“Some Men are of Opinion, that theſe Worms breed in the Plank; but I am perſuaded they breed in the Sea: for I have ſeen Millions of them ſwimming in the Water, particularly in the Bay of *Panama*, for there Captain *Davis*, Captain *Swan* and myſelf, and moſt of our Men, took Notice of them divers Times, which was the Reaſon of our cleaning ſo often while we were there: and theſe were the largeſt Worms that I ever ſaw.

“I have alſo ſeen them in *Virginia*, and in the Bay of *Campeachy*; in the latter of which Places the Worms eat prodigiouſly. They are always in Bays, Creeks, Mouths of Rivers, and ſuch Places as are near the Shore; being never found far out at Sea, that I could learn: yet a Ship will bring them lodg'd in its Plank a great Way.

“Having ripp'd off all our Worm-eaten Plank, and clap'd on new, by the Beginning of *December* 1686, our Ship's Bottom was ſheathed and tallowed, and the Tenth we went over the Bar, took aboard the Iron and Lead that we could not ſell, and began to fill our Water, and fetch aboard Rice for our Voyage: but Captain *Swan* remained aſhore ſtill, and was not yet determined when to ſail, or whither. I am well aſſured that he did never intend to cruiſe about *Manila*.

“About this Time ſome of our Men, who were weary and tired with wandring, ran away into the Country and abſconded.

“The whole Crew were alſo under a general Diſaffection, and full of very different Projects; and all for want of Action. The main Diviſion was between thoſe that had Money and thoſe that had none. There was a great Difference in the Humours of theſe; for they that had Money lived aſhore, and did not care for leaving *Mindanao*; whilſt thoſe that were poor lived aboard, and urged Captain *Swan* to go to Sea.

“The Thirteenth in the Morning we weighed, and we left Captain *Swan* and about thirty-ſix Men aſhore in the City, and ſix or eight that run away; and about ſixteen we had buried there, the moſt of which died by Poiſon.

CHAP. CXLV.

Departure from Mindanao.

“THE Fourteenth of *January* 1687, at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, we ſailed from the River of *Mindanao*, deſigning to cruiſe before *Manila*.

“The next Day we were abreaſt of *Chambongo*; a Town in this Iſland, and thirty Leagues from the River of *Mindanao*.

“About ſix Leagues before we came to the Weſt-end of the Iſland *Mindanao*, we fell in with a great many ſmall low Iſlands or Keys.

“The Seventeenth we anchored on the Eaſt-ſide of all theſe Keys, in eight Fathom Water, clean Sand.

“We weigh'd again the Nineteenth, and went through between the Keys; but met ſuch uncertain Tides, that we were forced to anchor again.

“We ſtay'd here till the Tenth of *February* 1687, and then having compleated our Buſineſs, we ſailed hence with the Wind at North.

“The Eighteenth of *February* we anchored at the North Weſt-end of the Iſland *Mindora*, in ten Fathom Water, about three quarters of a Mile from Shore.

“The Twenty-firſt we went from hence with the Wind at Eaſt North-Eaſt, a ſmall Gale.

“The Twenty-third in the Morning we were fair by the South Eaſt-end of the Iſland *Luconia*, the Place that had been ſo long deſired by us. We preſently ſaw a Sail coming from the Northward, and making after her we took her in two Hours. She was a *Spaniſh* Bark, that came from a Place called *Pangaſanam*, a ſmall Town on the North-end of *Luconia*, as they told us; probably the ſame with *Pongaſſiny*, which lies on a Bay at the North Weſt-ſide of the Iſland. She was bound to *Manila*, but had no Goods aboard; and therefore we turned her adrift.

“The next Day we took another *Spaniſh* Veſſel that came from the ſame Place as the other. She was laden with Rice and Cotton-Cloth, and bound for *Manila* alſo. The Maſter of this Prize was the Boatſwain of the *Acapulco* Ship which eſcaped us at *Guam*, and was now at *Manila*.

“It was the Thirteenth of *March* before we came in Sight of *Pulo Condore*, or the Iſland *Condore*, as *Pulo* ſignifies.

“The Fourteenth, about Noon, we anchored on the North-ſide of the Iſland, againſt a ſandy Bay two Mile from the Shore, in ten Fathom clean hard Sand, with both Ship and Prize. *Pulo Condore* is the principal of a Heap of Iſlands, and the only inhabited one of them.

“Theſe Iſlands lie very commodiouſly in the Way to and from *Japan*, *China*, *Manila*, *Tonquin*, *Cochinchina*, and in general all this moſt eaſterly Coaſt of the *Indian* Continent; whether you go through the Streights of *Malacca*, or the Streights of *Sunda*, between *Sumatra* and *Java*: and one of them you muſt paſs in the common Way from *Europe*, or other Parts of the *Eaſt Indies*; unleſs you mean to fetch a great Compaſs round moſt of the *Eaſt-India* Iſlands, as we did.

“We arrived at theſe Iſlands the Fourteenth of *March* 1687. The next Day we ſearched about for a Place to careen in; and the Sixteenth we enter'd the Harbour, and immediately provided to careen.

“We ſtay'd in this Harbour from the Sixteenth of *March* till the Sixteenth of *April*.

“The Twenty-firſt of *April* 1687, we ſailed from *Pulo Condore*, directing our Courſe Weſt by South for the Bay of *Siam*. We had fair Weather, and a fine moderate Gale of Wind at Eaſt North Eaſt.

“The Twenty-third, we arrived at *Pulo Ubi*, or the Iſland *Ubi*, which is forty Leagues to the Weſtward of *Pulo Condore*: it lies juſt at the Entrance of the Bay of *Siam*, at the South Weſt Point of Land, that makes the Bay, namely the Point of *Cambodia*.

“The Twenty-fourth we went into the Bay of *Siam*.

“The Twenty-firſt of *May* we went back from hence to *Pulo Condore*.

CHAP. CXLVI.

Leave Pulo Condore.

“HAving filled our Water, cut our Wood, and got out Ship in a ſailing Poſture, while the bluſtering hard Winds laſted, we took the firſt Opportunity of a ſettled Gale to ſail towards *Manila*.

“*June* the 4th 1687, we looſed from *Pulo Condore*, with the Wind at South Weſt, fair Weather, and a briſk Gale; but next Day the eaſterly Winds returned, and continuing ſome Days, we deſpaired of getting to *Manila*; and therefore began to project ſome new Deſign. The Reſult was, to viſit the Iſland *Plata*, about the Latitude of 20 deg. 40 min. North; and not far from us at that Time.

“It was the Twenty-fifth of *June* when we made the Land; and running in towards the Shore we came to an Anchor the ſame Day, on the North Eaſt-end of *St. John's* Iſland.

“The Natives of this Iſland are *Chineſe*. It is ſubject to the Crown of *China*, and conſequently at this Time to the *Tartars*.

“Some of our Men went over to a pretty large Town on the Continent of *China*, where we might have furniſhed ourſelves with Proviſion, which was a Thing we were much in want of, and was our chief Buſineſs here; but we were afraid to lie in this Place any longer, for we had ſome Signs of an approaching Storm; this being the Time of the Year in which they are expected: accordingly we weighed Anchor, and ſet out.

“We ſailed by the South Weſt-end of *Formoſa*, leaving it on our Larboard-ſide.

“The Sixth Day of *Auguſt* we arrived at the *Piſcadores*.

“When we went from hence, we coaſted about two Leagues to the Southward, on the Weſt-ſide of *Monmouth* Iſland; and finding no Anchor Ground, we ſtood over to the *Baſhee* Iſland, and came to an Anchor on the North-Eaſt Part of it, againſt a ſmall ſandy Bay, in ſeven Fathom clean hard Sand.

“It was the Twenty-ninth of *September* when the Wind came to the South Weſt. Then we made all the Sail we could for the Iſland.

“The Thirtieth we had the Wind at Weſt, and ſaw the Iſlands; but could not get in before Night. Therefore we ſtood off to the Southward till Two o'Clock in the Morning; then we tack'd and ſtood in all the Morning, and about Twelve o'Clock, the Firſt of *October*, we anchored again at the Place from whence we were driven.

“Now every Man wiſh'd himſelf at home, as they had done an hundred Times before: but Captain *Read*, and Captain *Teat* the Maſter, perſuaded them to go towards Cape *Comorin*, and then they would tell them more of their Minds, intending doubtleſs to cruiſe in the *Red Sea*; and they eaſily prevailed with the Crew.

“The eaſtern Monſoon was now at hand, and the beſt Way had been to go thro' the Streights of *Malacca*: but Captain *Teat* ſaid it was dangerous, by reaſon of many Iſlands and Shoals there, with which none of us were acquainted. Therefore he thought it beſt to go round on the Eaſt-ſide of all the *Philippine* Iſlands, and ſo keeping South toward the *Spice-Iſlands*, to paſs out into the *Eaſt-Indian* Ocean about the Iſland *Timor*.

“This ſeemed to be a very tedious Way about, and as dangerous altogether for Shoals; but not for meeting with *Engliſh* or *Dutch* Ships, which was their greateſt Fear.

“I was well enough ſatisfied, knowing that the farther we went, the more Knowledge and Experience I ſhould get, which was the main Thing that I regarded; and ſhould alſo have the more Variety of Places to attempt an Eſcape from them, being fully reſolved to take the firſt Opportunity of giving them the Slip.

CHAP. CXLVII.

Departure from the Baſhee Iſlands.

“THE Third of *October* 1687, we ſailed from theſe Iſlands, ſtanding to the Southward, intending to ſail through among the *Spice Iſlands*.

“The Fourteenth we came cloſe by a ſmall low woody Iſland, that lies Eaſt from the South Eaſt-end of *Mindanao*, diſtant from it about twenty Leagues.

“The Fifteenth we had the Wind at North Eaſt, and we ſteered Weſt for the Iſland *Mindanao*, and arrived at the South Eaſt-end again the next Day.

“This Wind continued till we came in Sight of the Iſland *Celebes*; then it veered about to the Weſt, and to the Southward of the Weſt.

“Here we ſtay'd ſeveral Days, and ſent out our Canoes ſtriking of Turtle every Day.

“So leaving it, having no more Buſineſs here, we weighed, and ſet from hence the Twenty-ninth of *November*.

“The Firſt of *December*, we had a gentle Gale at Eaſt-South-Eaſt, we ſteered South; and at Noon I was, by Obſervation, in Latitude 3 deg. 34 min. South. Then we ſaw the Iſland *Bouton* bearing South Weſt, and about ten Leagues diſtant.

“The Twentieth we paſſed by the Iſland *Omba*, which is a pretty high Iſland, lying in Latitude 8 deg. 20 min. and not above five or ſix Leagues from the North Eaſt Part of the Iſland *Timor*. It is about thirteen or fourteen Leagues long, and five or ſix wide.

“The Twenty-third in the Evening, having a ſmall Gale at North, we got through, keeping cloſe by *Pencare*.

“The Twentieth-ninth we ſaw the North Weſt Point of *Timor* South Eaſt by Eaſt, diſtant about eight Leagues.

“Being now clear of all the Iſlands, we ſtood off South, intending to touch at *New Holland*, a Part of *Terra Auſtralis Incognita*, to ſee what that Country would afford us.

“The Fourth of *January* 1688, we fell in with the Land of *New Holland*, in the Latitude of 16 deg. 50 min.

“At laſt we went over to the Iſlands, and there we found a great many of the Natives.

“While we lay here, I endeavoured to perſuade

“ our

out Men to go to ſome *Engliſh* Factory; but was threaten'd to be turned aſhore, and left here for it. This made me deſiſt, and patiently wait for ſome more convenient Place and Opportunity to leave them; which I hoped I ſhould accompliſh in a ſhort Time.

CHAP. CXLVIII.

Leave New Holland.

“THE Twelfth of *March* 1688, we ſailed from *New Holland*, with the Wind at North North-Weſt, and fair Weather. We directed our Courſe to the Northward, intending to touch at the Iſland *Cocos*: but we met with the Winds at North Weſt, Weſt North-Weſt, and North North-Weſt for ſeveral Days; which obliged us to keep a more eaſterly Courſe than was convenient to find that Iſland. We had ſoon after our ſetting out very bad Weather, with much Thunder and Lightning, Rain and high bluſtring Winds.

“It was the Twenty-ſixth of *March* before we were in the Latitude of the Iſland *Cocos*, which is in 12 deg. 12 min. and then, by Judgment, we were forty or fifty Leagues to the Eaſt of it; and the Wind was now at South Weſt. Therefore we choſe rather to bear away towards ſome Iſlands on the Weſt-ſide of *Sumatra*, than to beat againſt the Wind for the Iſland *Cocos*. I was very glad of this; being in hopes to make my Eſcape from them to *Sumatra*, or to ſome other Place.

“About One o'Clock in the Afternoon we made ſail from this Iſland, with the Wind at South Weſt, and we ſteered North Weſt.

“We met nothing remarkable till the Seventh of *April*; and then, being in Latitude 7 deg. South, we ſaw the Land of *Sumatra* at a great Diſtance, bearing North.

“The Eighth, we ſaw the Eaſt-end of the Iſland *Sumatra* very plainly.

“*May* the 1ſt, we ran down by the North Weſt End of the Iſland *Sumatra*, within ſeven or eight Leagues of the Shore. All this Weſt-ſide of *Sumatra* which we thus coaſted along, our *Engliſhmen* at *Fort St. George*, call the *Weſt-Coaſt* ſimply, without adding the Name of *Sumatra*. The Priſoners, who were taken the Day before, ſhewed us the Iſlands that lie off of *Achen* Harbour, and the Channels through which Ships go in; and told us alſo that there was an *Engliſh* Factory at *Achin*. I wiſh'd myſelf there, but was forced to wait with Patience till my Time was come.

“The Fifth of *May*, about Ten in the Morning, we anchor'd on the Weſt-ſide of the Iſland *Nicobar*: Captain *Read* immediately ordered his Men to heel the Ship, in order to clean her: which was done this Day and the next. All the Water Veſſels were filled, they intended to go to Sea at Night; for the Winds being yet at North North-Eaſt, the Captain was in hopes to get over to Cape *Comorin* before the Wind ſhifted; otherwiſe it would have been ſomewhat difficult for him to get thither, becauſe the weſterly Monſoon was not at hand.

“I had, till this Time, made no open Show of going aſhore here: but now, the Water being filled, and the Ship in a Readineſs to ſail, I deſired Captain *Read* to ſet me aſhore on this Iſland; to which he conſented.

“I had not been aſhore an Hour before Captain *Teat* and one *John Damarel*, with three or four armed Men more, came to fetch me aboard again.

“When I came back, I found the Ship in an Uproar; for there were three Men more, who taking Courage by my Example, deſired Leave alſo to accompany me. One of them was the Surgeon Mr. *Coppinger*, the other was Mr. *Robert Hall*, and one named *Ambroſe*, I have forgot his Sirname. Theſe Men had always harboured the ſame Deſigns as I had. The two laſt were not much oppoſed; but Captain *Read* and his Crew would not part with the Surgeon.

“Then Mr. *Hall* and *Ambroſe* and I were again ſet aſhore; and one of the Men that rowed us ſtole an Ax, and gave it to us, knowing it was a good Commodity with the *Indians*. It was now dark; therefore we lighted a Candle, and I being the oldeſt Stander in our new Country, conducted them into one of the Houſes, where we did preſently hang up our Hammocks.

“The *Achineſe* fix'd our Canoe with Outlagers on each Side; and they alſo cut a good Maſt for her, and made a ſubſtantial Sail with Mats.

“We now deſigned to go for *Achin*, a Town on the North Weſt-end of the Iſland *Sumatra*.

“It was the Fifteenth of *May* 1688, about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, when we left *Nicobar* Iſland, directing our Courſe towards *Achin*, being eight Men of us in Company, *viz.* three *Engliſh*, four *Malayans* who were born at *Achin*, and a mungrel *Portugueſe*.

“Our Veſſel, the *Nicobar* Canoe, was not one of the biggeſt, nor of the leaſt Size: ſhe was much about the Burden of one of our *London* Wherries below Bridge, and built ſharp at both Ends, like the fore-part of a Wherry.

“The Seventeenth in the Morning we looked out for the Iſland *Sumatra*, ſuppoſing that we were now within twenty Leagues of it; for we had rowed and ſailed, by our Reckoning, twenty-four Leagues from *Nicobar* Iſland; and the Diſtance from *Nicobar* to *Achin* is about forty Leagues. But we looked in vain for the Iſland *Sumatra*; for turning ourſelves about, we ſaw, to our Grief, *Nicobar* Iſland lying Weſt North-Weſt, and not above eight Leagues diſtant.

“The Nineteenth, about Noon, we ſaw Land, an high Mountain on the Iſland *Sumatra*, called by the *Engliſh* the *Golden Mountain*. Our Wind continued till about Seven o'Clock at Night; then it abated, and at Ten o'Clock it died away: and then we ſtuck to our Oars again, though all of us quite tired with our former Fatigues and Hardſhips.

“The next Morning, we ſaw all the low Land plain, and judged ourſelves not above eight Leagues off. About Eight o'Clock, we had the Wind again at Weſt, a freſh Gale, and ſteering in ſtill for the Shore, at Five o'Clock in the Afternoon we run to the Mouth of a River on the Iſland *Sumatra*, called *Paſſange Jonca*. It is thirty-four Leagues to the Weſt of *Achin*, and ſix Leagues to the Weſt of *Diamond Point*, which makes with three Angles a Rhombus, and is low Land.

“We ſtay'd here ten or twelve Days, in hopes to recover our Health, but finding no Amendment, we deſired to go to *Achin*.

“When we arrived at *Achin*, I was carried before the *Shebander*, the chief Magiſtrate in the City. One Mr. *Dennis Driſcal*, an *Iriſhman*, and a Reſident there, in the Factory which our *Eaſt-India* Company had there then, was Interpreter. I being weak, was ſuffered to ſtand in the *Shebander*'s Preſence; for it is their Cuſtom to make Men ſit on the Floor, as they do, croſs-legg'd: but I had not Strength then to pluck up my Heels in that Manner. The *Shebander* aſked of me ſeveral Queſtions, eſpecially how we durſt adventure to come in a Canoe from the *Nicobar* Iſlands to *Sumatra*. I told him, that I had been accuſtomed to Hardſhips and Hazards, therefore I did with much Freedom undertake it. He enquired alſo concerning our Ship, whence ſhe came, *&c.* I told him, from the *South Seas*; that ſhe had ranged about the *Philippine* Iſlands, *&c.* and was now gone towards *Arabia* and the *Red Sea*. The *Malayans* alſo and *Portugueſe* were afterwards examined, and confirmed what I declared, and in leſs than half an Hour I was diſmiſs'd with Mr. *Driſcal*, who then lived in the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company's Factory.

“Soon after I was kindly invited to Captain *Bowrey*'s Houſe there, who had a Ship in the Road, but lived aſhore. This Gentleman was extraordinary kind to us all, particularly to me, and importuned me to go his Boatſwain to *Perſia*; whither he was bound, with a Deſign to ſell his Ship there, as I was told, though not by him. From thence he intended to paſs with the Caravan to *Aleppo*, and ſo home for *England*.

“A ſhort Time after this, Captain *Welden* arrived from *Fort St. George*, in a Ship called the *Curtana*, bound to *Tonqueen*. This being a more agreeable Voyage than to *Perſia*, at that Time of the Year; beſides, that the Ship was better accommodated, eſpecially with a Surgeon; and I being ſtill ſick, I choſe rather to ſerve Captain *Welden* than Captain *Bowry*.

“I ſet out for *Tonqueen* with Captain *Welden* about *July* 1688, and returned to *Achin* in the *April* following. I ſtay'd here till the latter End of *September* 1689; and making a ſhort Voyage to *Malacca*, came thither again about *Chriſtmas*. Soon after that, I went to *Fort St. George*, and ſtaying there above five Months, I returned once more to *Sumatra*; not to *Achin*, but *Bencouli*, an *Engliſh* Factory on the Weſt Coaſt; of which I was Gunner about five Months more.

“Now having brought my Reader to *Sumatra*; without carrying him back, I ſhall bring him on next Way from thence to *England*.

“At my Return from *Malacca*, a little before *Chriſtmas* 1689, I found at *Achin* Mr. *Morgan*, who was one of our Ship's Crew that left me aſhore at *Nicobar*, now Mate of a *Daniſh* Ship of *Tranquebar*; which is a Town on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, near Cape *Comorin*, belonging to the *Danes*.

“I was very intimately acquainted with Mr. *Moody*, who was ordered by the Governor of *Fort St. George* to prepare to go to *Indrapore*, an *Engliſh* Factory on the Weſt Coaſt of *Sumatra*, in order to ſucceed Mr. *Gibbons*, who was the Chief of that Place. He importuned me to go with him, and to be Gunner of the Fort there.

“I told him I had a great Deſire to go to the Bay of *Bengal*; and that I had now an Offer to go thither with Captain *Metcalf*, who wanted a Mate, and had already ſpoke to me.

“Mr. *Moody*, to encourage me to go with him to *Indrapore*, told me, he would buy a ſmall Veſſel there, and ſend me to the Iſland *Meangis* Commander of her; and that I ſhould carry Prince *Jeoly* and his Mother with me, (that being their Country) by which Means I might gain a Commerce with his People for Cloves.

“This Deſign I liked very well, and therefore conſented to go thither.

“It was ſome Time in *July* 1690, when we went from *Fort St. George* in a ſmall Ship called the *Diamond*, Capt. *Howel* Commander.

“Upon our Arrival at *Bencouli*, we ſaluted the Fort, and were welcomed by them. The ſame Day we came to an Anchor, and Captain *Howell* and Mr. *Moody*, with the other Merchants, went aſhore, and were kindly received by the Governor of the Fort.

“It was two Days before I went aſhore, and then I was importuned by the Governor to ſtay there to be Gunner of this Fort; the Gunner being lately dead: and as this was a Place of greater Import than *Indrapore*, I ſhould do the Company more Service here than there. I told the Governor, if he would augment my Salary, which by Agreement with the Governor of *Fort St. George* I was to have had at *Indrapore*, I was willing to ſerve him, provided Mr. *Moody* would conſent to it. As to my Salary, he told me I ſhould have twenty-four Dollars a Month, which was as much as he gave to the old Gunner.

“The Year 1690 drew towards an End, and not finding the Governor keep to his Agreement with me, nor ſeeing by his Carriage towards others any great Reaſon I had to expect he would, I began to wiſh myſelf away again.

"I went to the Governor and Council, and deſired that I might have my Diſcharge to go for *England* with the next Ship that came. The Council thought it reaſonable, and they conſented to it; he alſo gave me his Word that I ſhould go.

"On the Second of *January* 1691, there came to anchor in *Bencouli* Road, the *Defence*, Captain *Heath*, bound for *England*, in the Service of the *Eaſt-India* Company.

"Mr. *Goddard* was chief Mate of this Ship: on his coming aſhore, I deſired his Aſſiſtance to fetch me off, and conceal me aboard his Ship, if there ſhould be Occaſion: he promiſed to do it; and the Captain offered to entertain me. For it proved, as I had foreſeen, that upon Captain *Heath*'s Arrival, the Governor repented him of his Promiſe, and would not ſuffer me to depart. I importuned him all I could; but in vain; ſo did Captain *Heath* alſo, but to no Purpoſe.

"In ſhort, after ſeveral Eſſays, I ſlipt away at Midnight (underſtanding the Ship was to ſail away the next Morning, and that they had taken Leave of the Fort) and creeping through one of the Port-holes of the Fort, I got to the Shore, where the Ship's Boat waited for me, and carried me on board. I brought with me my Journal, and moſt of my written Papers; but ſome Books of Value I left in haſte, and all my Furniture; being glad I was myſelf at Liberty, and had Hopes of ſeeing *England* again.

CHAP. CXLIX.

Departure from Bencouli.

"BEING thus got on board the *Defence*, I was concealed there, till a Boat which came from the Fort laden with Pepper was gone off again; and then we ſet ſail for the *Cape of Good Hope*, *January* 25, 1691.

"We had not been at Sea long, before our Men began to droop, in a ſort of Diſtemper that ſtole inſenſibly on them, and proved fatal to above thirty, who died before we arrived at the Cape.

"In a ſhort Time after this, it pleaſed God to favour us with a fine Wind, which being improved by inceſſant Labour, brought us in a ſhort Time to the Cape.

"The Twenty-third of *May* we ſailed from the Cape, in Company of the *James and Mary*, and the *Joſiah*, directing our Courſe towards the Iſland *St. Hellena*, where we arrived the Twentieth of *June*. There we found the *Princeſs Ann* at an Anchor waiting for us.

"We ſtay'd here five or ſix Days; all which Time the Iſlanders lived at the Town to entertain the Seamen; who conſtantly flock aſhore, to enjoy themſelves among their Countrymen.

"Our Water being filled, and the Ships all ſtock'd with freſh Proviſion, we ſailed from hence in Company of the *Princeſs Ann*, the *James and Mary*, and the *Joſiah*, the Second of *July* 1691, directing our Courſe towards *England*, and deſigning to touch no where by the Way.

"When we came as high as the *South Foreland*, we left them ſtanding on their Courſe, keeping on the Back of the *Goodwin Sands*; and we lufft in for the *Downs*, where we anchored the Sixteenth of *September* 1691.

CHAP. CL.

The Settlement of Penſilvania.

A Son of Sir *William Penn*, who had ſerved ſo honourably in the *Dutch* War, in 1686 put himſelf at the Head of the Quakers; and upon the Strength of his Father's Services, obtained a Grant of the Land, on which now ſubſiſts the flouriſhing Colony of that People: 'twas called from this Proprietor *Penſylvania*.

He got together a very conſiderable Number of Perſons, and more followed: the firſt Colony conſiſted of above two Thouſand; and they have ſince encreaſed in Number as faſt as Riches, the Effects of Temperance and Application.

This Year the Commons paſſed the Excluſion Bill; but vainly, for the Lords rejected it.

The King was incenſed at the Houſe of Commons; he diſſolved them; and calling a new Parliament, named *Oxford* for the Place. They met, but he ſoon found the Change of Place had not altered the Diſpoſitions of the People, which were now ſtronger for the Oppoſition, and univerſal. The firſt Buſineſs there was a new Bill of Excluſion; and the Parliament accordingly was again diſſolved.

This is no Way to change Men's Minds: 'twas found productive of Conſequences quite contrary to the Intention.

The *Algerines* were this Year inſolent; and *Herbert* taught them the Folly of offending the Sovereigns of the Seas.

The Duke of *York* now returned to Court, and had a leading Voice in the King's Council.

Tangier, twenty Years in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and by this Time ſo well defended by its Mole as to promiſe little leſs to us than a Key to the *Mediterranean*, was now abandoned; the Men brought back, and the Works deſtroy'd. The Diſputes at Home occaſioned this. The national Expence was leſſened by giving it up, and that, to a Government who fear'd Parliaments, was no ſmall Conſideration.

The Charter of *London* this Year forfeited, was difficultly obtained again.

In 1684 the Princeſs *Ann* was married to Prince *George* of *Denmark*, Brother to the King; and the Year after *Charles* the Second died. Suſpicions were ſtrong that there was foul Practice; but no Proof appeared.

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CHAP. CLI.

The Acceſſion of James *the Second.*

IMmediately upon the Death of the King, the Duke of *York* his Brother was proclaimed *James* the Second: he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an open and very raſh Profeſſion of the Roman Catholick Religion; and his People were offended.

Plots were immediately formed againſt him, for the general Voice favoured any Change that ſhould ſecure the Religion of their Country. The Earl of *Argyle* firſt appeared in Arms in *Scotland*; but his Life paid the Forfeit of his Treaſon. The Duke of *Monmouth*, by a more raſh Conduct, ſacrificed his after: and the King, unaw'd by theſe Attempts, made haſty Steps to his favourite Point, the Eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh Communion.

On the Eighth of *June* ſix Biſhops were ſent to the Tower; and two Days after the Queen was ſaid to be brought to-bed.

The Biſhops were acquitted upon a fair Trial; and Men fixed their Eyes upon the Prince of *Orange*, as their only Hope of Defence againſt the now palpable Purpoſes of the King. The principal Perſons in the Kingdom ſent to him: he accepted their Invitation, promiſed them Redreſs, and raiſed Forces.

This was not done in ſecret: the King was unwilling to believe what he was told; but repeated Notices compelled him: he gave Orders accordingly to Sir *Roger Strickland*, who commanded what Force there was at Sea, and ſent out Scouts to watch the *Dutch* Fleets.

It was ſoon underſtood as a Certainty, that the Prince of *Orange* was to come hither; but none knew where he intended to land. This perplexed the King, whoſe Deſign was to intercept him on the Sea.

Sir *Roger Strickland* had with him twenty-ſix Ships of the Line, and four Fireſhips: and Orders were given to fit out with all Expedition twenty-two of the Line, and thirteen Fireſhips to join him.

On the Second of *September* five and twenty Sail of the *Dutch* were on the Sea. The King ordered his Fleet to the *Nore*; where the Lord *Dartmouth* hoiſted his Flag as Admiral.

Herbert, repreſenting the Prince's Perſon, commanded in Chief with the Title of Lieutenant-General Admiral: the Fleet conſiſted of about fifty Sail, the Veſſels of the fourth and fifth Rates; and five hundred Veſſels were employed as Tranſports.

The Purpoſe of appointing an *Engliſhman* to command the *Dutch* Force was, to invite the *Engliſh* Fleet to join them: this was confidently expected, and *Herbert* had Orders to ſail for the *Downs*; to place himſelf before the *Engliſh*, and make this important Trial.

The Winds prevented the Experiment, and were long after unfavourable to the great Deſign.

On the Sixteenth of *October* they grew favourable, the Prince of *Orange* took his Leave of the States, and repaired to *Helvoetſluys*. There he found fifty Men of War, twenty-five Fireſhips, and Tranſports with four thouſand Horſe and ten thouſand Foot. Three Days prepared every thing, and he embarked. The *Engliſh Herbert* led the Van; in the Centre was the Prince of *Orange*; and *Evertzen* commanded in the Rear. Upon the Prince's Flag were *Engliſh* Colours, and theſe Words: "The Proteſtant "Religion, and the Liberties of *England*;" at the Bottom the Motto of the Houſe of *Naſſau*, well ſuited to the Occaſion, "I will ſupport." *Je maintiendrai.*

The Fleet ſailed in this Order, but Tempeſts drove them back: on the Firſt of *November* they ſailed again. The *Engliſh* Ships were now kept in the River by ſtrong Winds, and the Sea was open to the Prince's Fleet. On the Third he paſſed *Calais*; before Night ſaw the *Iſle of Wight*; and the Day but one after landed at *Torbay*.

Ill Weather again croſſed the Purpoſes of the *Engliſh*; or they were willing to give that Reaſon for their Conduct: they followed as far as the *Iſle of Wight*, but then put into *Portſmouth*.

The Prince of *Orange* haſted to *Exeter*, where he remained ten Days; the People, ſo long incenſed againſt their King, now deſerted him; and the Prince of *Orange* came to *London*: the King retiring to *France*.

On the Thirteenth of *February* following the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, with the univerſal Voice, aſcended to the Throne under the Title of King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

The Convention was legally turned into a Parliament. On the Eleventh of *April* they were crowned; and in the Beginning of *May*, at the Requeſt of the Houſe of Commons in a regular Addreſs, War was proclaimed againſt *France*.

CHAP. CLII.

Herbert *engages the* French.

KING *William* knew what he had to expect from *France*, who had received into her Protection *James* the Second; and he order'd a large Fleet to be got ready with all poſſible Expedition.

Admiral *Herbert* had the Command, and was alſo one of the Lords Commiſſioners for Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral.

It was reported the *French* would land *James* in *Ireland*; and before the Admiral had got his Fleet together, he heard he was at *Kinſale*. He ſet ſail with his beſt Force, and made it his Point to intercept the Convoy returning.

He came before *Cork* in Middle of *April*; and the Intelligence being confirm'd, that two Months before they had landed in *Ireland*, ſailed for *Breſt*. He endeavoured to intercept here a Supply purpoſed for the ſame Place; but failing, he ſailed thither; and on the Twenty-ninth, at Sunſet, he diſcover'd off *Kinſale* forty-four Sail.

The Evening after he came in Sight of them ſtanding into *Bantry Bay*.

He ſtood off till the Morning, and then made toward them: the Admiral had now eighteen Men of War and a Fireſhip; the *French* were eight and twenty Men of War with five Fireſhips; ſuperior alſo in Size, Monſieur *Chateau-Renaud* the Commander: and at ſome Diſtance were the Tranſports, that had carried the Troops to *Ireland*, plying to Windward.

The *French* promiſed themſelves Succeſs from the great Superiority of their Force; and they got under Sail early. When Admiral *Herbert* had come within two Miles, they faced him in a regular Line. The Admiral Ships were within Muſket-ſhot when the Fight begun; and they engaged one another, the *Frenchmen* making the firſt Fire.

The *Engliſh* wiſh'd to come cloſe; but this the *French* avoided: they maintained a noiſy Fight till Five in the Afternoon, and then tack'd about, and ſtood farther into the Bay.

The Conduct of this Admiral of the *French* joins with the late *Galliſoniere*, to ſhew the Spirit of that Nation in Sea Service, proud to ſay they had fought the *Engliſh*; but fearing what they boaſt: fearing even to take the Advantages that are before them. This ſuperior Force might doubtleſs next Day have galled the little Squadron of the *Engliſh* extremely; for though the diſtant Fire had done little other Harm, it had torn their Rigging to Pieces: but he ſaw them lie in this helpleſs Condition; and thought he had ſerved his Country enough in reducing them to it.

Indeed Fear ſhould have taught him better Conduct, for he was never likely to meet ſo weak an *Engliſh* Fleet again.

The Admiral ſailed for the *Downs*: where he was joined by *Ruſſel* with ſeveral Ships, and by the *Dutch* Squadrons, numerous, and commanded by a Vice and Rear Admiral.

Killigrew, a Vice Admiral of *England*, lay before *Dunkirk*, to keep the *French* from ſtirring out of that Port; but finding this Station frivolous, he received Orders to join the Fleet. With theſe the *French* were terrified on their own Coaſt, but nothing eſſential was done. 'Twas not the *Dutch* we fought; and it is Courage in an Enemy that creates it in the *Engliſh*.

Mr. *Rooke*, afterwards dignified with a Title, had the Command of a Squadron to the Coaſt of *Ireland*. The Relief of *Londonderry* was the great Point; but it was delayed: Excuſes were eaſy, but it were better to have done the Buſineſs. He ſailed in *April*, but he was too weak. 'Twas not till the Eighth of *June* he fell in with the Convoy of three Men of War, which eſcorted the Tranſports of Major General *Kirk*. Here a Council of War was called, and the Reſult was, —— that they ſhould wait for more Forces.

Soon after the Commodore ſailed in Queſt of *French* Veſſels cruiſing near, but did not find them. Mean Time the Troops in *Londonderry* periſh'd not by the Enemy, but Famine: Expreſs upon Expreſs arrived, entreating the Aſſiſtance of the Fleet, and repreſented the miſerable People feeding on Dogs as Delicacies.

The Major General, preſſed by theſe repeated Remonſtrances, reſolved he ſaid to attempt relieving the Town; but he thought ſome more Force was abſolutely neceſſary before it could be attempted with any Probability of Succeſs: at length it was determined to undertake it; and the Attempt was the Deed: the Relief was eaſy, but before it came ſeven thouſand Perſons died by Famine.

The Succeſs of this Attempt inſpired Courage; to think of ſomething more: but it was no better than the thinking of it. The Veſſels of the Enemy rode in *Dublin* Bay; and on the Sixteenth of *September* our Commander reſolved to anchor there himſelf, and ſend his Fireſhips in to burn them: it was not done, the Winds prevented.

The next Scheme was upon *Cork*. Firſt he offered Mercy, and the *Iriſh* laughed at him. He then threaten'd, and they prepared their Defence. The Commander took Poſſeſſion of the great

Iſland, and left it again, ſailing for the *Downs.*

The People clamour'd on this monſtrous Conduct, and they were appeas'd with the diſplacing his Officer, Mr. *Shales,* Purveyor General. He was diſcharged; and the Court thought they could not but be ſatisfy'd.

CHAP. CLIII.

Farther Management of the English *Fleet.*

ADmiral *Herbert* was made Lord *Torrington,* and quitting his Seat at the Board, Lord *Pembroke* was appointed firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty.

Ruſſell commanded a Squadron which, at the Requeſt of the King of *Spain,* convoyed his new Queen, *Mariana* of *Newburg,* to the *Groyne.*

Killigrew was ſent out with a large Force to the *Mediterranean,* where he ſought the *French;* and by ſome odd Chance once came in Sight of them; but they eſcaped, and he returned to the *Downs.*

Here News arrived the *French* were in the Channel; and a Council of War being called, the *Engliſh* Ships were lodged in *Plymouth* Sound. Let others make Excuſes: they will be needed, after the Tranſactions of a *Dutch* War have been ſo lately read.

The King behaved at this Time as became his great Character. He fought the famous Battle of the *Boyne,* finally determining the great Controverſy: for *James* returned to *France,* and loſt all Hope.

CHAP. CLIV.

An Engagement with the French.

THE *French* were indeed in the Channel, when that Report drove the *Engliſh* into *Plymouth* Sound: but now other Conſequences were to be expected.

The Lord *Torrington,* who had quitted the Board of Admiralty to do his Country greater Service in Action, took the Command of a Fleet, which he found indeed unequal to the intended Service: but he determined to loſe no Opportunity. "We owe this, ſaid he, to Delay; and "Gentlemen we will ſhew the World what it "becomes our Nation to reſolve under the worſt "Circumſtances. I will not promiſe you Victory, ſaid he, the Odds are ſo great, the "Cowardice of your Enemies alone can give "you, but follow me, and I'll enſure you "Glory.

Such a Speech from a Perſon ſo reſpected had vaſt Weight: it gave, or rather it rouſed in the *Engliſh* a Spirit that had ſlept now ſome Years: they reſolved to follow, and to imitate his Actions.

The Admiral received at *St. Helens* Notice the *French* were in the Channel; he collected all his Force, and the next Morning ſailed at Daybreak after them: in the Purſuit the *Dutch* join'd him with a conſiderable Force: the whole Fleet bore down upon the Enemy, and came in Reach off *Beachy.*

At Eight in the Morning the *Dutch Evertzen* gave the firſt Broadſide to the *French* in the Van; and immediately after our blue Squadron preſſed to a cloſe Engagement with their Rear.

The *Dutch* fought in Earneſt, and ſuffered extremely: the Courage of our Admiral diſplay'd itſelf in relieving thoſe of their Veſſels which were moſt ſhatter'd: he bore in between them and the Enemy; took the Fire, and returned it ten-fold.

A Calm ſtop'd the Fight; and the *French,* who were greatly ſuperior, afterwards declined the dangerous Taſk of harraſſing our ſhatter'd Fleet: They retired to their own Coaſt, and our Ships to the *Thames.*

The Lord *Torrington,* who in this Action did all he promis'd, who fought for Glory, and knew beforehand Victory impoſſible, was to appeaſe the popular Clamours ſent to the Tower. He was afterwards tried by a Court Martial: who finding Things as they are here repreſented, not as ſome partial Hiſtorians have ſet them down, acquitted him with Honour.

CHAP. CLV.

The Death of the Duke of Grafton.

WE bluſh to continue the naval Tranſactions of *England* from the Concluſion of the ſecond *Dutch* War. At Land our People were victorious, for the King commanded, but leſs Glory was obtained even when Infamy was avoided at Sea.

Haddock, *Killigrew* and *Aſhby* commanded a large Fleet for *Ireland*: but nothing worthy of the Preparation followed.

The principal Event was the Reduction of *Cork*. The Duke of *Grafton* led the Men to land, and in four Days the Town was in the King's Hands; but the great Leader received his mortal Wound in the Service.

CHAP. CLVI.

Sir Cloudeſley Shovell *takes the Command.*

THE Services of Mr. *Shovell* had raiſed him to the Rank of a Vice Admiral; and he commanded a Squadron on the Coaſt of *Ireland*, after the Return of the three Admirals in the laſt named Expedition.

He aſſiſted in taking *Duncannon* Caſtle; after which Monſieur *D'Amfreville* having ſailed from *Galway* for *France*, Sir *Cloudeſley* returned to the *Downs*.

Something more was done in *America*. Captain *Wright* had the Command of a Squadron of ten Ships of War for that Country; and on the Eighth of *March* 1690 failed Commodore from *Plymouth*. At *Montſerrat*, on the Third of *June*, his Fleet was reinforced with a few Veſſels, and ſome good Troops under General *Coddrington*. The *French* were now attacked, and routed at *Saint Chriſtophers*; the Iſland of *Marigalante* was taken from them; and *Guardaloupe* attempted, tho' unſucceſsfully. Their naval Force was driven before the *Engliſh*, and the Commodore returned to *England* with Glory.

CHAP. CLVII.

The French *keep the Sea, but with no Inclination to Fighting.*

THIS Year Admiral *Ruſſell* took the Command of a Fleet deſtined to act againſt the *French*; and he was well inclined to have done it to his Honour: but his Orders were too full of Caution.

After loitering ſome Time, he received Commands to proceed for *Breſt*; but contrary Winds drove him back into *Torbay*, whence, after ſome Time longer, he was order'd to the Coaſt of *Ireland*.

The *French* mean Time went into *Breſt*; and the Admiral was ordered to *Torbay*. Here he received freſh Inſtructions full of the ſame cold Caution with the firſt; and ſaw his principal Office was to protect the Merchant Ships expected from the *Weſt Indies*.

Soon after it was propoſed to attack the *French* in *Camaret* Bay; but a Council of War called for that Purpoſe diſapproved it. The *Engliſh* were ordered out again; and the *French* had an Opportunity of fighting them upon Terms greatly to their Advantage; but the Gunpowder Spirit of the *Dutch* did not inſpire theſe People. A Storm ſhattered our Fleet as it made this Parade; and the concluding Orders ſent them back to Harbour.

King *William* all this Time in *Ireland*, was ſucceſsful to his utmoſt Wiſhes. *Limerick*, left unrelieved by the *French*, ſurrendered; and all *Ireland* followed its Example.

CHAP. CLVIII.

The Affairs of America *at this Period.*

THE *French* moleſted many of our Colonies; and frighted more. It was needful to keep a Squadron of ſome Force in thoſe Seas, and the Command was veſted this Year in Commodore *Wren*.

Off the *Deſcada*, near *Guardaloupe*, he came in Sight of the *French* Fleet. This Squadron was ſcattered too wide, and he had ſeveral Merchant Ships in Convoy. Some Time was taken in diſpoſing theſe in Safety, and in collecting the reſt together; after which he drew into a Line of Battle.

The *French*, though greatly ſuperior in Force, had all this Time kept within Shot of him; but by a Conduct quite inexplicable, they had declined engaging him. The Action, which now began, was frivolous: a few Hours ſhew'd that neither Part deſired to do any thing, and the *Engliſh*, too few to hope for Victory, retired to *Carliſle* Bay.

CHAP. CLIX.

Ruſſel *engages the* French *Fleet off* La Hogue.

THE Shew of War, which had been continued languidly on each Side now for ſeveral Seaſons, in 1692 ripened into Action.

King *William* this Year went to *Holland*; and the *French*, taking Advantage of his Abſence, aſſiſted *James* with a Fleet and Army, which he joined at *La Hogue*.

This was ſoon known in *England*; and it juſtly appear'd a Matter of the higheſt Import. Admiral *Ruſſel* was commiſſion'd with the Nation's Safety; and had a large Force got ready with all Diligence and Diſpatch.

The *French* grew inſolent upon our late tame Behaviour: they prepared Veſſels at *Breſt*; and they declared their Purpoſe of meeting Sir *Ralph Delaval*, then returning from *Cadiz* with a ſmall Squadron, and fighting him on equal Terms. This was perhaps mere Bravado: however it was, the *Engliſh* Squadron arrived in the *Downs*, without having ſeen any thing of them.

Beſide the Admiral's own Force, and this of *Delaval*'s, another Squadron was fitted out, and put under the Command of Admiral *Carter*.

In a little Time the *Dutch* were joined to theſe; and the whole Force being collected, it was determined in a Council of War to ſail for *La Hogue*.

Some Frigates were ſtation'd to cruiſe off the Coaſt of *Normandy*; and the Forces intended for a Deſcent were to be landed at *St. Malves*, protected by the Body of the Fleet laid Weſtward for that Purpoſe. This reduced the *French* to the Neceſſity of coming to an Engagement at Sea, or the Diſgrace of being calm Spectators of an Invaſion of their Country.

On the Eighteenth of *May* the Admiral ſtood to the Coaſt of *France*; all *Europe* waiting with Impatience, and with Horror the News of the deciſive Blow.

Early the next Morning the Scouts Weſtward made Signals of their ſeeing the Enemy.

The whole Fleet was on this drawn up in Line of Battle. 'Twas yet early Morning, and a Fog hid from each other the Number and Force of the Enemy.

De Tourville commanded the *French* Fleet, which were in Number as follows.

The VAN.

	Ships.	Guns.
The	Formidable	90
	Foudroyant	82
	St. Philip	84
	Magnifique	76
	Orgueilleux	96
	Conquerant	84
	Fier	76
The	Belliqueux	76
	Terrible	76
	Floriſſant	84
	Tonant	76
	Triomphant	76
	Couronne	76
	Pompeux	74
	Galliard	68
	Content	64
	Glorieux	64
	Serieux	68
	Ecueil	64
	Brillant	68
	Furieux	60
	Fort	60
	St. Michael	60
	Agreable	60
	Diamant	60
	Entreprenant	68

The CENTER.

	Ships	Guns
The	Soleil Royal	104
	Dauphin Royal	100
	Monarch	90
	Grand	86
	Souverain	84
	Victofieux	92
	Fulminant	96
	Ambitieux	96
	Intrepid	84
	St. Eſprit	74
	Illuſtrieux	70
	Amicable	68
	Henry	64
	Courtiſan	64
	Bourbon	64
	Siren	60
	Courageuz	58
	Aſſure	60
	Apollo	60
	St. Louis	60
	Excellent	60
	Arrogant	60
	Prince	60
	Fleuron	58
	Temeraire	54

And eight Fireſhips.

The REAR.

	Ships	Guns
The	Marveilleux	94
	Admirable	90
	Vainqueur	84
	Brave	60
	Sanſpareil	64
	Juſt	64
	Entendue	60

The

SHIPS.	Guns.
The Maure	52
Perle	56
Heureux Retour	52
Fidelle	48
Another of	54

With ſeven Veſſels of leſſer Burden, ſix and twenty Flutes, and fourteen long Barks.

In all, ſixty-three Ships of the Line of Battle, and fifty-five ſmall Craft.

The *French* Admiral ſuppoſed he had only a Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet to engage; but the Sun burſting early through the Miſt, and in a few Minutes diſſipating it entirely, ſhew'd him the whole united Fleets of *England* and *Holland*.

A Liſt of the English *and* Dutch *Fleets.*

The RED Squadron.

SHIPS.	Men.	Guns.
The Royal William	780	100
London	730	100
Britannia	780	100
St. Andrew	730	100
Royal Sovereign	815	100
St. Michael	600	90
Sandwich	660	90
Royal Catherine	540	90
Cambridge	420	70
Plymouth	340	60
Breda		80
Kent	460	70
Swiftſure	420	70
Hampton-Court	460	70
Grafton	460	70
Reſtoration	460	70
Eagle	460	70
Rupert	400	60
Elizabeth	460	70
Burford	460	70
Captain	460	70
Devonſhire		80
York	340	60
Lenox	460	70
Ruby	230	50
Oxford	280	50
St. Albans	280	50
Greenwich	280	50
Cheſter	280	50
Centurion	280	50
Bonadventure	230	50

The Right Honourable *Edward Ruſſel*, Eſq; Admiral.

Sir *Ralph Delaval*, Vice-Admiral.

Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, Rear-Admiral.

The BLUE Squadron.

SHIPS.	Men.	Guns.
The Victory	780	100
Albemarle	660	90
Windſor-Caſtle	660	90
Neptune	680	96
Vanguard	660	90
Dutcheſs	660	90
Oſſory	660	90
Duke	675	90
Reſolution	420	70
The Expedition	460	70
Monk	340	60
Royal Oak	470	74
Northumberland	460	70
Lion	340	60
Berwick	460	70
Defiance	400	70
Montague	355	60
Warſpight	420	70
Monmouth	460	70
Edgar	445	70
Sterling-Caſtle	460	70
Dreadnought	365	60
Suffolk	460	70
Cornwal		80
Eſſex	460	70
Hope	460	70
Chatham	280	50
Advice	230	50
Adventure	200	50
Crown	230	50
Woolwich	280	54
Deptford	280	50

Sir *John Aſhby*, Admiral.

The Hon. *George Rooke*, Eſq; Vice-Admiral.

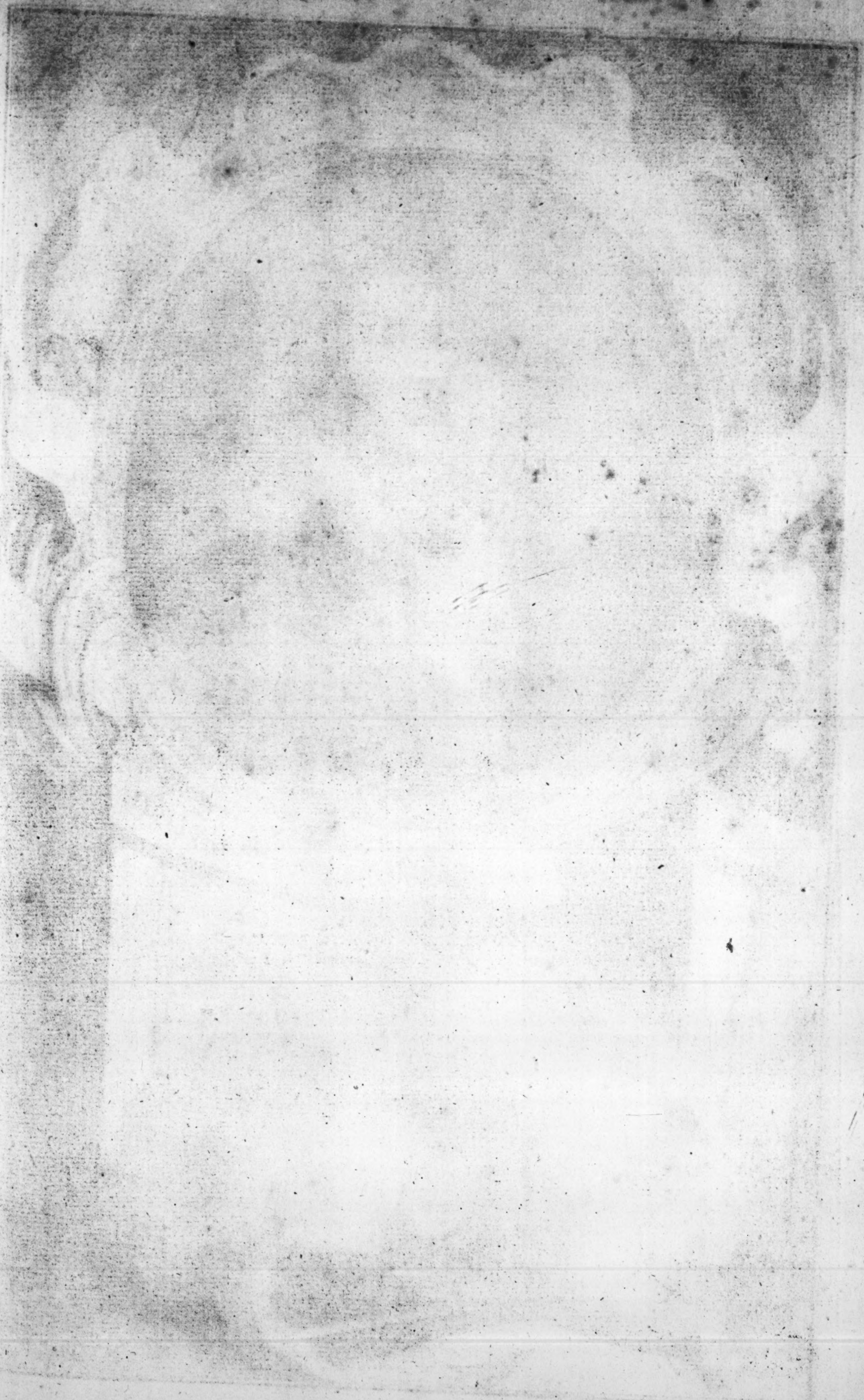
The Hon. *Richard Carter*, Eſq; Rear-Admiral.

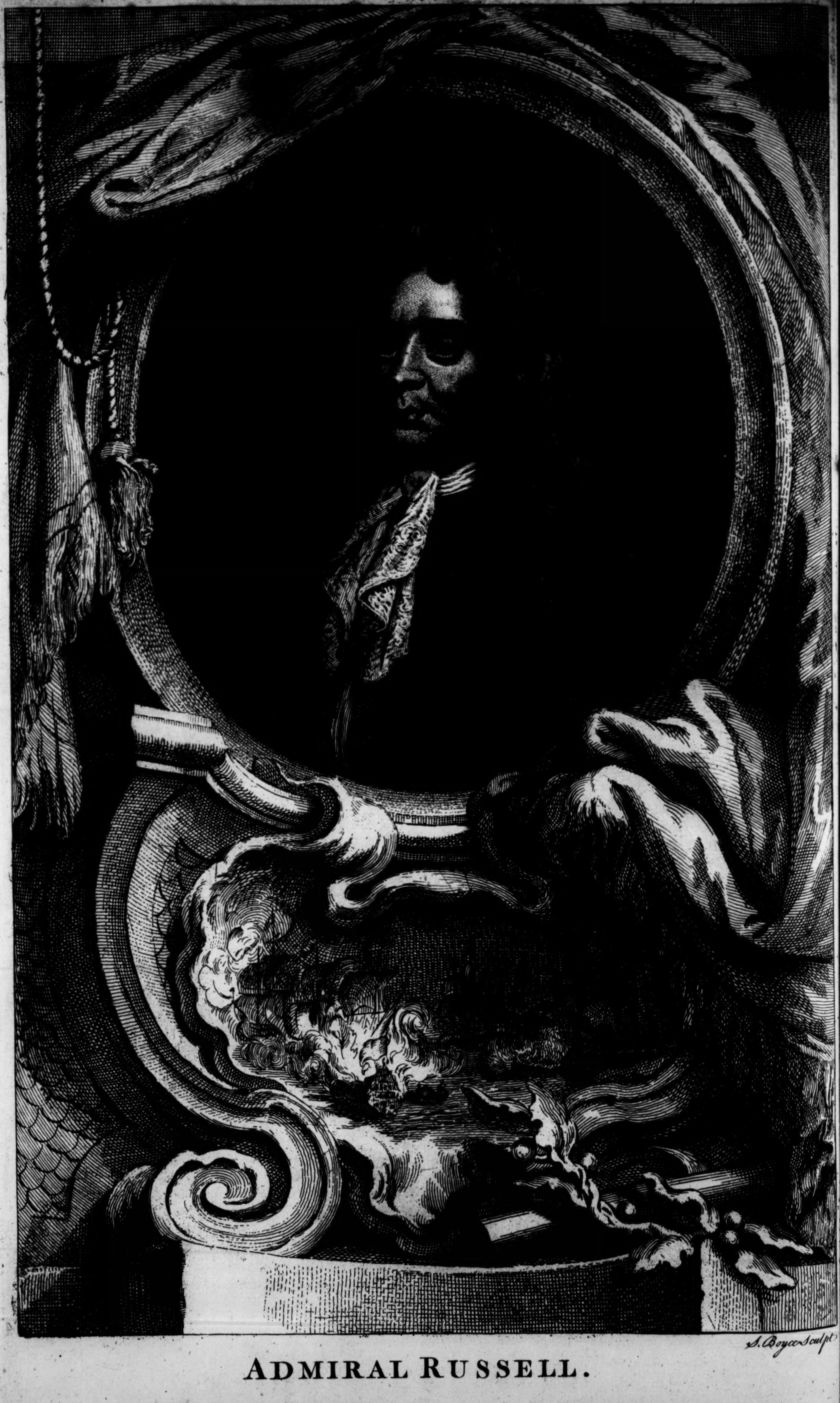
The *Engliſh* Fleet conſiſted of ſixty-three Ships, carrying 27,725 Seamen: and 4500 Guns. Frigates and Fireſhips three and twenty.

The Dutch *Squadron.* WHITE,

SHIPS.	Men.	Guns.
The Zealand	500	90
Koning Wilhelm	525	92
Brandenburg	500	92
Weſt Frieſland	475	84
Printz	540	92
Printzeſs	500	92
Beſchirmer	475	84
Caſteel Medenblick	500	86
Captain General	500	84
North Holland	350	68
Erſte Edele	400	74
Munickendam	375	72
Gelderland, *A.*	375	72
Stadt Muyden	375	72
Erſwout	375	72
Printz Caſimer	370	70
Friſia	370	70
Riddershap	375	72
De 7 Provintzen	400	76
Zurick-zee	325	60
Gelderland, *R.*	325	64
Vere	325	62
Zealand, *A.*	325	64
Haerlem	325	64
Leyden	325	64
Amſterdam	325	64
Velew	325	64
Maegdt van Dort	325	64
Tergoes	225	54
Medenblick	210	50
Gaeſterland	210	50
Ripperda	210	50

The





S. Boyce Sculpt

ADMIRAL RUSSELL.

Ships	Men.	Guns.
The Schatterſhoff —	210	50
Stadden Land	210	52
Hoorn ———	210	50
Delft ———	250	54

Admiral *Allemonde*, Vice-Admiral *Sehoutby-Nacht*.

The *Dutch* Fleet conſiſted of thirty-ſix Ships, carrying 12,950 Men; and 2494 Guns. Fourteen Frigates and Fireſhips.

Engliſh and *Dutch*, in all, ninety-nine Ships of the Line; 40,675 Seamen; and 6994 Guns. Thirty-ſeven Fireſhips and Frigates.

Tourville was advanced too far for Flight, and he put on a needful Reſolution.

Between Ten and Eleven his Ships bore down upon the *Engliſh*: they had the Weather Gage, and our Admiral gave Orders to expect them, and let them advance as far as they choſe.

The *Dutch* Admiral *Allemonde* was ſent to get Weſtward of the *French*, and the Blue Squadron was ordered to cloſe the Line.

At half an Hour after Eleven, *Tourville* in the largeſt Veſſel of the *French*, the *Royal Sun*, an hundred Gun Ship, came up within Muſket-ſhot of the *Engliſh* Admiral; and began the Engagement with all that Fury the *French* naturally ſhew in the firſt Moments of an Action.

The *Engliſh* ſtood this with their accuſtomed Steadineſs, and when the *French* Spirit flag'd, theirs grew more conſpicuous.

Tourville, who had promiſed himſelf the Glory of deſtroying our Admiral Ship, lay in this cloſe Station more than an Hour. It grew calm, and the *Engliſh* had throughout the Advantage: at firſt they fired three Guns to two of the *French*; but towards the End of the Conflict, three, four, and at laſt five to one.

The Slaughter on board the *French* Admiral was terrible: but he flattered himſelf the *Engliſh* ſuffered as much, and in that miſtaken Thought he perſevered. His Men at length refuſed the Service: they deſerted their Guns, and ran down into the Hold; and it was with Difficulty, and not without great Aſſiſtance and Support, his ſhatter'd Veſſel was tow'd away.

Five Ships of the *French* poſted themſelves ſoon after round about their ſhatter'd Admiral, and renew'd the Conflict, as *Ruſſel* followed, two of the *Engliſh* Veſſels came in to his Support, and with this unequal Force of three to ſix, the *Engliſh* had the Glory of driving the beſt Ships of *France* before them, till a Fog in the Afternoon ſecured them from Purſuit.

'Twas but a little while the *French* had this Protection: the Fog diſperſed, and they were ſeen flying. All Ships that could come up were ordered to chaſe: and the Sailors uſed their utmoſt Diligence.

While they were in this Purſuit, a violent Firing was heard to the Weſt. It was Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, who had got to the Windward of *Tourville*'s own Squadron, and running in between him and their Admiral of the Blue, attacked him with a dreadful Violence.

The Weather favoured the *French*, for nothing elſe could have ſaved their Admiral. The Fog, which had been cleared away a little while, returned again, and it grew calm. Sir *Cloudeſly* then came to an Anchor.

All was Confuſion ſtill among the Enemy: the *Sandwich*, a ſecond Rate, drove in among them, and her Commander *Haſtings*, making a Virtue of Neceſſity, fought them alone, and fell with Glory.

Three of their Ships blew up in the Night; and before this *Carter*, Rear-Admiral of the Blue, fell in with thoſe moſt to the Weſtward: he fell; but his laſt Breath commanded his People to fight the Ship as long as ſhe would ſwim, and the *French* knew the Orders were obeyed ſeverely.

They fled in the Night, and the Morning was foggy. The *Engliſh* Admiral gave Orders, as ſoon as the clear Day diſcovered them, to chaſe: no Line of Battle to be obſerved, but every Ship to make its beſt Way after them. The Flight and the Purſuit employed this Day with little Action on either Part; and in the Night's Chace, the Admiral's Foremaſt came down; it had been ſhattered in his long and obſtinate Engagement with *De Tourville*, and now could ſtand no longer.

He continued the Purſuit; and at Four in the Morning the Tide of Ebb being done, he came to an Anchor. Some of our own and ſome of the *Dutch* Veſſels were in the Morning conſiderably ahead of him, the Loſs of his Foremaſt having prevented his Speed.

The *French* continued flying, and their Admiral's Ship the *Royal Sun* ran aground: the two principal Veſſels next to this ſtood near to prevent Accidents; and Sir *Ralph Delaval*, who was in the Rear, had the Glory of their Deſtruction. The Admiral ſent him Orders to keep Ships enough there to deſtroy theſe three, and to ſend off the reſt after the Body of the Enemy.

Sir *Ralph* performed the Service, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much by his Regard to thoſe, who performed the dangerous Part of the Service, as by the Reſolution of executing it. His own Letter will beſt deſcribe the Event, and do him moſt Honour.

Sir Ralph Delaval's *Letter to the Earl of* Nottingham. *On board the* Royal Sovereign *near* Cherbourg, May 22.

"I Hold it my Duty to acquaint you, that on "the Twenty-firſt Inſtant, Admiral *Ruſſel* "having made the Signal for the Fleet to cut "their Cables, I obſerved the *French* to be forced "from the *Race* of *Alderney* (where they anchored) "to the Eaſtward; and finding that ſome of them "endeavoured for the Bay of *Cherbourg*, I ſtood "in for that Place, where I found three three-"decked Ships of the Enemy's, but ſo cloſe to "the Shore, and within Rocks, that it was not "ſafe for me to attempt them, 'till I had in-"formed myſelf of the Road; they being hauled "into ſhoal Water. I immediately took my "Boats, and ſounded within Gun-ſhot of them; "which they endeavoured to prevent by firing at "us: and that no Time might be loſt, I went

“ immediately on board the *St. Albans*, where, for the Encouragement of the Seamen, I hoiſted my Flag; and having ordered the *Ruby*, with two Fireſhips, to attend me, ſtood in with them: leaving the great Ships without, as drawing too much Water. Coming very near, they galled us extremely, and finding the Fireſhips could not get in, I judged it beſt to retreat without Shot, and there anchored; and immediately called all the Captains: where it was reſolved to attempt them in the Morning, with all the Third and Fourth-Rates and Fireſhips. But, after having drawn them into four Fathom and a half Water, I found we could not do our Buſineſs, the Water being ſhoal. Upon this I ordered three Fireſhips to prepare themſelves to attempt the Burning them; going myſelf with all the Barges and Tenders, to take them up, if by the Enemy's Shot they ſhould miſcarry. Indeed I may ſay, and I hope without Vanity, the Service was warm; yet, God be praiſed, ſo effectually performed, that, notwithſtanding all their Shot, both from their Ships and Forts, two of our Fireſhips had good Succeſs, by burning two of them; the other, by an unfortunate Shot, was ſet on Fire, being juſt going on board the Enemy. Indeed, ſo brave was the Attempt, that I think the Men can hardly be ſufficiently rewarded; and doubt not but Their Majeſties will do them Right. The third *French* Ship, being run aſhore, and obſerving the People on board to go on ſhore by Boats full, I ordered the *St. Albans*, the *Reſerve*, and others, to fire upon her, judging it might cauſe them all to quit her; and, after having battered her for ſome Time, I obſerved ſhe made no Reſiſtance. I took all the Boats armed, and went on board her. I found Abundance of Men, ſeveral wounded, but no Officers; and having cauſed all the People, as well thoſe that were wounded, as others, to be taken out, I ſet her on fire. Had I not had Notice by my Scouts, that thirty Ships were ſtanding in with us, had ſent all the *French* on ſhore, who are now very troubleſome to me. The Ships we ſaw proved to be Sir *John Aſhby*, and the *Dutch*, coming from the Weſtward. We are proceeding together to the Eaſtward, to *La Hogue*, where I am informed three or four of the Enemy's Ships are; and, if ſo, I hope God will give us good Succeſs. I expect to find the Admiral To-morrow, where I hope to hear he has deſtroyed ſome of the Enemy's Ships, having left him in Chace of them laſt Night, ſtanding to the Eaſtward, and pretty near them.

“ My Lord, I hope you will excuſe me, if I preſume to pray, you will uſe your Intereſt with the Queen, that a Reward may be given to the three Captains of the Fireſhips, and ſeveral of the others: for greater Zeal, and greater Bravery, I never ſaw. I pray your Excuſe for being thus tedious and particular.

“ Pray God preſerve Their Majeſties: that Their Arms may be ever crowned with Succeſs, by Sea and Land, ſhall be the Prayers and the Endeavour of, *&c.*

P. S. “ Captain *Heath* burnt *Tourville*'s Ship, the *Royal Sun*, which was the moſt difficult. Captain *Greenway* burnt the other, called the *Conquerant*. The *Admirable* was burnt by our Boats. Captain *Fowlis* who attempted the *Royal Sun*, was ſet on Fire by the Enemy's Shot, yet he deſerves as well as the others.

CHAP. CLX.

The English *purſue the reſt of the* French *Fleet.*

WHILE the brave Vice-Admiral was thus deſtroying the Prime of the *French* Fleet at *Cherbourg*, eighteen of the reſt which had got to the Eaſtward off *Barfleur*, were ſeen haling in for *La Hogue*.

The Admiral threw himſelf in their Way, and anchor'd there at Night. By Four in the Morning he weigh'd, and ſtood in near to the Land. After Hindrances from the Tide, he got under ſail again at Two in the Afternoon, and plying near in with *La Hogue*, he ſaw thirteen of the *French* Fleet cloſe in with the Shore.

His Veſſel was too large for the Service; but it hung threatening over them: he concerted Meaſures for their Deſtruction, and he commiſſion'd Vice-Admiral *Rooke* of the Blue, with a Squadron of ſmaller Veſſels, Fireſhips and armed Boats for the Execution.

France trembled for that Force with which ſhe had a little before thought to determine the Fate of *England*. The only Hope now was in the Defence of ſhallow Water; and the Veſſels lay ſo cloſe in, that none but ſmall Veſſels of ours could come up with them.

Theſe were in Number and in the Spirit of their Men proportion'd to the Service for which their Bulk was ſo unequal; they drove in upon the frighted Enemy; and the larger Ships of the *Engliſh* ſtood crowded to behold the Execution.

With theſe *French* Ships of War lay ſeveral Tranſport Ships, and Veſſels of Ammunition. All were at firſt put in a Poſture of Defence; but the *Engliſh*, intent on Glory, and deſpiſing Danger, ran in upon them in their Boats: they that Evening burnt one half the Number, and the reſt in the ſucceeding Morning.

The *French* were driven from the Ships; and when they mann'd their Forts and Batteries on ſhore, our victorious Sailors play'd their own Guns upon them from the Ships; and made the *French* and *Iriſh* Force, which lay encamp'd ready to be taken on board for a Deſcent on

England, Spectators of the glorious Achievement.

Sir *John Aſhby* at this Time came in with his Squadron from a fruitleſs Chace; and the Admiral, to give him an Opportunity of redeeming his endangered Reputation, ſent him with ſome *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Veſſels after a few of the Enemy, whom he had ſeen ſtanding Eaſtward; when himſelf follow'd theſe devoted Veſſels to *La Hogue*.

He order'd him to run along the *French* Coaſt, as far as *Havre*, in Purſuit of theſe: but whether Cowardice, or Treachery, or Negligence leaſt likely of the three, prevented, he did no more here than in his other Deſtination: and the People of *England* with Juſtice accuſed him of ſuffering more than thirty of the terrify'd Enemy's Veſſels to eſcape; every one of which he might as ſurely have deſtroyed, as *Delaval* and *Rooke* had thoſe, appointed to their Work, at *Cherbourg* and *La Hogue*.

The *French* never ſhewed more, than on this Occaſion, the Spirit of their Country; deſperate to engage; and, having made the Attack, as violent in running away. *De Tourville* might have avoided an Action; but he choſe it: he made the Attack with the ſame Wind that would have ſecured him a Retreat; and he behaved throughout with Gallantry: but perhaps not one of all the *French* Commanders beſide deſerves that Character.

The *Engliſh* Admiral *Ruſſel* deſerves not only for his Behaviour in the Action, but for his whole Conduct immortal Glory. The *French* depended on his Abſence: they expected to have attacked *Delaval* and *Carter* alone; and ſo it would have been, had not Admiral *Ruſſel*, contrary to the Opinion of his Pilots, ſailed from the River juſt when he did.

It is not eaſy to ſay, how much the Nation owes his Memory: the Conſequences of an Advantage on the Enemy's Side would have been terrible; for the Forces encamped at *La Hogue*, and in the adjacent Country, would have been ſoon upon the *Engliſh* Shore; and none knows what they might have atchieved againſt a People diſpirited by ſuch an Action.

There are Points of Reſolution in the general Conduct of a Fleet, as well as in the Hour of Action, on which more depends than can poſſibly be at the Time conceived; and this Conduct of our Admiral, owing ſolely to that Principle, ought to ſet it high with thoſe who follow his Example.

The victorious Fleet returned to *England*, and Queen *Mary* ſent down thirty thouſand Pounds to *Portſmouth*, to be diſtributed among the common Men, who had ſo nobly ſerv'd their Country.

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CHAP. CLXI.

Deſigns againſt the French.

THE Queen, who had been ſo ſenſible of the late Advantage, did not intend to loſe its Benefit. She reſolved to attack the *French* at home, while they were under the Confuſion of this Defeat and Damage; and to return the intended Invaſion upon their own Coaſts.

She exhorted the *Dutch* to join heartily in her Meaſures; and ſhe gave Orders to her brave Admiral *Ruſſel* to act with all that Diligence after his Succeſs, that he would have done on a Defeat; and refit his Fleet, as if an Enemy purſued him to the Shore.

Ruſſel rejoiced to ſee his Sovereign join in his own earneſt Inclinations. The *Dutch* through all their Phlegm felt this honourable Fire, and every one breathed Courage, Revenge and Glory.

In the Beginning of *June* ſeventy Ships of the Line preſſed the Seas in the Service of the *Engliſh*, and in a Fortnight there was a Proſpect of Action.

The *French* Vice-Admiral of the Blue had got in: five and twenty of the Line eſcaped the Fury of the *Engliſh* at *St. Malo's*: they were refitted; and Intelligence reached the *Engliſh* Fleet, they were about to ſail for *Breſt* to join the other Remnant of that Flight.

Ruſſel failed with what Ships were ready for ſuch an Expedition; and left Commiſſion with Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* to follow with the whole Force as ſoon as poſſible.

On the Twenty-firſt of *June* the Tranſports for the intended Deſcent were ready at *Portſmouth*; the Troops they were to carry were got together, and a Council of War was held to determine Operations. A good Force was lodg'd to meet the Ships from *St. Malo's* in their Way to *Breſt*; and the reſt failed for *Portſmouth* to convoy the Tranſports.

The *Engliſh* Vice-Admiral *Rooke* and the *Dutch* *Callemberg*, in equal Authority, lay off *St. Malo's*: The reſt repaired to their appointed Place; but fooliſh Delays, the Offspring of cold Councils, kept back the Embarkation, and gave the *French* Time to recover their firſt Pannic, to recruit their Numbers, and to prepare for their Defence.

Ruſſel determined, now he could not do all he expected, to proſecute with more Earneſtneſs and Spirit what he could.

On the Fifteenth of *July* he ſtation'd Ships upon the Coaſt of *France*; and the next Day failed. Bad Weather and continued Fogs now prevented his Purpoſe. The Opportunity was loſt; and it was one of thoſe never to be recovered. Not the Admiral had loſt the Occaſion, for he ſought it; not the Queen, for ſhe deſired it: not the Officers, for the true *Engliſh* Spirit glowed in them: ill Management at Home, Diſputes of Miniſters, the Curſe of *England*, and the Poiſon to all her Glory, ruined all here: theſe to their private Intereſt,

tereſt, ſometimes to Pique, ſacrificed the Honour and the Advantages of their Country; and brave Men could not ſerve her.

At length there appeared an End of the Delays; the Troops were embarked on the Twenty-third, and the Admiral had the Queen's Orders for a Deſcent upon the Enemy's Coaſt.

The Duke of *Leinſter* commanded; and one of the firſt Points determined was, to ſend off ſome Veſſels of Force, under a truſty and brave Officer, to watch the Enemy, and fall upon any they ſhould diſcover making to *Breſt* or elſewhere.

The Meaſure was right, but Men deſpaired of good from it, when they heard the Name of the Commander. Sir *John Aſhby*, cenſured before for his Neglect, was entruſted with this moſt important Service; and he returned without having ſeen the Enemy.

All was of a Piece with this; the Tranſports had their Deſtination, and the Publick had the Joy to hear they ſailed. But this was a ſhort liv'd Tranſport; no Wind forbidding them to proceed, Orders called them back; and Delays waſted the Seaſon. Winter came on, the Service was declared impracticable, and the Tranſports diſembarked their Men.

The King returned: the Parliament thanked the Admiral; but he, with his accuſtomed Dignity, turned to a Friend, and ſaid, if I had not been hinder'd, they ſhould have had for what to thank me.

CHAP. CLXII.

Deſigns upon the French *Settlements in* America.

THERE has not been a Period in *Engliſh* Hiſtory when thoſe who had Influence in the publick Councils better knew what was for their Country's Service, than this of which we write; but all our Story, full as it is of Fraud and Villainy, does not afford an Inſtance in which ſo little was done.

It is a Leſſon to ſucceeding Ages: we ſhould read theſe Tranſactions, to learn the moſt important Truth, that in a Miniſter Abilities are but the ſecond Conſideration, Integrity the firſt: ſo much more dangerous is it to betray, than to miſtake our Intereſts.

The Purpoſes of our *European* Preparations being thus betray'd, or interrupted in the Execution, it remained to ſay, how much was in our Power in the *American* World.

The People murmured at their Diſappointments; and the Enemy gloried in the Succeſs of their Applications. Something was to be done; and thoſe Perſons who had managed the former Undertaking, laid down the Plan of this. *France* was abuſed by thoſe who had her Gold: her Weakneſs was laid open by Men who were determined it never ſhould be attacked; and the Nation was put to an Expence perhaps as great as that of *France*, to undertake thoſe Operations never to be in Earneſt proſecuted.

King *William* was a Man born to be betray'd; and his great Glory is, that he was ſucceſsful in Spite of Treachery: unſuſpecting Honeſty was a great Part of his Character; and had he been more the Stateſman, there were Ways to blind him.

He was pleaſed to learn the Weakneſs of an Enemy, to whom even his Defeats had been terrible. He gave Orders; the Publick joyfully raiſed Supplies; and 'twas the only Misfortune of the Time, that none imagined how perfectly Wiſdom in thoſe in Power, had taken the Place of Honeſty.

A ſufficient Force was fitted out, and the Command was given to Sir *Francis Wheeler*. *Martinico* was to be attacked, *Guardaloupe* to be ſurprized, and *Placentia* ſeemed an eaſy Conqueſt: Troops were taken on board, and, to the Plague of Miniſters, Seas and Winds, as well as the Spirit of the People, promiſed Succeſs.

The Time of Operation was ſpent in *Councils of War*, in which he who was moſt fearful, and could diſguiſe it, was beſt heard.

'Twas early in *January* when the Fleet ſailed; and on the Tenth of *September* it returned to *England*, having done nothing; nor found one reaſonable Excuſe, for not compleating the great Plan laid down for Operations.

CHAP. CLXIII.

The Service of the Year 1693.

THE Return of the *American* Fleet was a Subject of popular Clamour; but thoſe who knew ſo well how to deceive the People, dared alſo to deſpiſe them. They paſſed it over lightly; but they had not ſo paſſed the Words of the brave *Ruſſel*: they called upon him for an Account of his Conduct; and he replied, themſelves beſt could give it: they demanded Reaſons of the particular ill Succeſs; and he told them, they ſhould aſk Sir *John Aſhby*.

The People caught the Alarm; but alas! to what Purpoſe. Pretences and Grimace were all the Juſtice they could obtain. *Aſhby* indeed was queſtion'd, how it happened that the *French* Veſſels paſſed him which he was placed to intercept. His Anſwers made his Friends bluſh; but they ſo perfectly ſatisfied the Houſe, that the Speaker complemented and diſmiſſed him.

Ruſſel himſelf was called next to anſwer for not having done what thoſe who queſtioned him had then prevented. *Nottingham* demanded, (Inſolent Man!) why he had delayed three Weeks? and the Admiral anſwer'd, becauſe he twenty Days delayed the Anſwer which gave him Power to act. He produced the Letters, whoſe Date ſhewed the Fact; and turned away in Contempt.

The King interfered: he ſent the Papers in his Power to the Lords, and they communicated them to the Commons. Nothing could ſtand againſt this Proof of Innocence: the Accuſers were obliged to join the Houſe in declaring, that through the whole Courſe of his Employment he had acted with Fidelity, Courage, and good Conduct.

The Two Houſes were embroiled; and the Commons oppoſed the Miniſter: they perſiſted in their Declarations, and voted him repeated Thanks. The People idolized him, and he was found by thoſe in Power too honeſt for Command. They ſet him aſide; and hoped to awe, by this bold Reſentment, thoſe who ſucceeded in his important Office.

CHAP. CLXIV.

Three Admirals appointed for the ſucceeding Service.

THE King determined in the Year 1693 to viſit *Holland*; but he was earneſt firſt to put all Things on a good Footing on the Part of *England*. He fitted out a large Force, and the Command was given to Mr. *Killigrew*, Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* and Sir *Ralph Delaval*.

On the Eighteenth of *March* they had ſailing Orders with only general Inſtructions to annoy the Enemy, and to protect the Trade. *Delaval*, a brave and active Commander, propoſed attempting the *French* Ships in the Harbour of *Breſt*.

Things had been ſo ill managed, that it was not then known in *England* whether the *Toulon* Fleet had or had not joined that of *Breſt*: a large Force therefore was neceſſary for the Undertaking; and accordingly, the whole Fleet, amounting to ſomewhat more than an hundred Sail, ſeventy were deſtined for this Service.

Our Conſuls from *Leghorn* and *Oporto* gave all the Intelligence at this Time: the firſt ſent Notice of the *Toulon* Fleet with a Number of Gallies being ready to ſail; and the latter gave the Account, that the great Fleet of *France*, commanded by *De Tourville*, amounting to ſeventy-five Ships of War, and forty other Ships, were come into the Bay of *Lagos*.

Engliſh Colours had been the Pretence of Admiſſion; but the Buſineſs was to intercept our Convoys. Ill News gather'd Strength: *D'Eſtrees* joined *Tourville* here; aod the next News was, that they had put out to Sea together.

The People cry'd aloud, for our Fleet to ſeek the *French*; they looked upon *Rooke* and his Squadron, diſpatch'd that Way, as given up otherwiſe to Deſtruction; and they were too loud not to reach the Queen's Ear, in Spite of all the Artifices of thoſe about her. She was of the People's Opinion: but the Miniſters had other Sentiments. They repreſented, that while the *Engliſh* Fleet fought the *French*, the Coaſts would be unguarded: that *Rooke* was indeed in Danger; but better he than the Kingdom.

Repreſentations in the ſame Language came from on board the Fleet, and *Rooke* was now indeed devoted.

CHAP. CLXV.

Rooke *falls in with the* French.

'TWAS on the Sixth of *June* Sir *George Rooke* ſailed on his important Service: his Force was five and twenty Men of War; and he took under Convoy more than four hundred Veſſels; the *Turky* Fleet of *England*, *Holland*, and whatever Ships of our Friends were there.

Though many thought his Force ſufficient for the Purpoſe, himſelf judged otherwiſe: he knew the *French* would direct their whole Strength againſt him; and he ſaw that deſperate Condition to which he was to be reduced, when thoſe who ſhould have ſeen it with him, were ignorant enough to ſay his Fears deceiv'd him.

He ſailed: he had a fair and briſk Gale, and the Intelligence that came but two Days after of the Force and Situation of the Enemy never reached him.

He was obliged to leſſen his Strength by two Ships left for the Convoy of the *Bilboa* Veſſels, and with the reſt he made for the *Streights*.

On the Seventeenth he came within ſixty Leagues of Cape *St. Vincent*; and ſent out a ſwift Veſſel, to diſcover what there might be in *Lagos* Bay: ſhe fell in too near the Shore, and ſo lay becalmed.

The next Day a fifty-Gun Ship of the *Engliſh* chaſed one of the *French*: he found her a Ship of ſeventy, and ſupported by many others. She left the Conflict after a few Broadſides, and brought her Intelligence to the Admiral.

Sir *George*, who did not yet diſcover what was his Danger, continued his Courſe. Ten of the Enemy's Veſſels appeared the next Day; and retiring, laid a Deſign to bring the *Engliſh* into their whole Body unexpectedly. This failed; but the full Strength of the Enemy was now ſoon diſcovered; and the Admiral found he had no Hope but in a Retreat.

This was well conducted; and while there were thoſe who blamed the *Engliſh* Admiral, the more candid did him great Honour. There were too great a Superiority of the Enemy for any Courage to attempt; and it was wonderful the *French* had not much more Advantage.

Rooke, with as many of his Ships as he could get together, returned to the main *Engliſh* Fleet; and the *French*, with too many Tokens of their Succeſs, to *Cadiz*.

It was however a Surprize, not a Victory: there were thoſe at Home who talked of *French* Gold and of *Engliſh* Treachery; and Blocks and Scaffolds; but all came to nothing.

There was Addreſs and Artifice in thoſe who had Influence, tho' they had no Honeſty; and tho' the Commons buſied themſelves ſufficiently, and found there had been great Fault ſomewhere, ſucceſsful Artifice in thoſe of a higher Rank, and nearer the immediate Councils of the King, made it impoſſible to diſcover where.

The Attention of the People to the Fact was taken off by violent Diſputes between particular Perſons; and *England*, while ſhe ſaw her Fleets diſhonour'd, and her Commerce wounded in the tendereſt Part, had the Affliction to behold thoſe who ſhould have redreſſed the laſt, or prevented the ſucceeding Miſchief, wrangling upon Points merely perſonal.

What will our Enemies ſay to this? ſaid *Ruſſel* as he left the Place. The Words echoed from every Corner: but in vain. Thoſe in Power held thoſe out at Defiance; and while unworthy Men aggrandiz'd their Families, the Kingdom bled.

CHAP. CLXVI.

The Engliſh *attack* St. Malo.

THE King received this alarming News in *Holland*; and, he concealed his Grief and his Reſentment. No Prince knew better to receive ill Fortune. The Moments others would have waſted in exclaiming, he devoted to immediate Service. Men thought the Damage leſs, becauſe his Look did not declare he felt it.

His Departure for *England* was immediately determined; and while the Preparations were making, he ſpoke firmly to the States; and they promiſed to encreaſe their Navy.

This done, he haſted to *London*, where the Nation ſoon ſaw the Part he took in the ſad Criſis: the Puniſhment of bad Men he reſerved for Times of leſs Importance. He repreſented the Neceſſity of encreaſing our own Fleets ſo warmly, that vaſt Sums were voted.

The due Preparations made for future Succeſs, the Attention of the King was turned upon the preſent. Revenge and Glory were his Thoughts; and the People, who honour'd more than they lov'd him, came into all his Meaſures.

It was determined to attempt ſome Town of the *French* from the Sea: and to the terrible Practice of bombarding from on board Veſſels built for that Purpoſe, the *Engliſh* Fury added every infernal Art that Man had before uſed for his Fellow Creatures Deſtruction.

Twelve Years before, while *France* was more ſucceſsful, and while *Colbert* conducted her Affairs; *Renaud*, a young Man who had never ſeen an Action, and whoſe Propoſals had been therefore ſlighted by thoſe in more immediate Office in the Marine, applied to him with the Deſign of a new Species of Deſtruction. This was to bombard maritime Towns with a Fleet.

The World had no Conception how Bombs could be thrown with any Hope of Succeſs, but from Mortars fixed on the ſolid Ground: but *Colbert*, who could diſtinguiſh Genius in all Forms, and dared reward it; introduced this Youth to the King. That *Colbert* approved, was enough to enſure the royal Sanction: Veſſels were built on Purpoſe by his Orders; and *Algiers* reduced to Aſhes.

A hundred Years before *Jambelli* had invented a terrible Machine, named from its Office the *Infernal*, to blow up *Alexander* of *Parma*'s Bridge over the *Eſcaut*. This alſo the *Engliſh* now called into their Service; and acted according to the Genius of our Country, improving all we imitate.

Bomb Veſſels of a larger Size, and an Infernal of a ſuperior Force for Miſchief, were prepared to deſtroy firſt *St. Malo's*.

Bembow, then in no higher Rank than Captain, had the Command. He ſaw this revived Machine prepared and loaded: it was a Galliot of three hundred Tons firm and well built; in the Bottom of the Hold were ſtowed a hundred Barrels of Powder; over theſe were ſtrewed, three Foot and an half thick, Pitch, Roſin, Brimſtone, and Oak Faggots dipped in melted Turpentine.

Over theſe were placed thick Planks pierced with Holes for Communication of the Fire; and here were lodged three hundred and forty Mortars, loaded with Hand Granadoes, ſmall Bombs, Bullet Chains, and ragged Pieces of Iron covered with Cloths dipt in Pitch and Turpentine. The Mixture was ſo made, that Water, unleſs boiling hot, would not quench it; and the Train was laid ſecurely.

Bembow, who ſuperintended the Preparation, when he ſaw it compleated, wept: I will not the leſs do my Duty, ſaid he, but who can look into that dreadful Veſſel, and not grieve that Man ſhould be ſo ingenious for Man's Deſtruction.

Once in his Reign King *William* was not betrayed: few were entruſted, and *Bembow* was honeſt. He led out his Force, he placed the infernal Veſſel in his Centre, and he made for the devoted Town.

St. Maloes did not want the Defence of Forts; and, but for the Artifice of the Commander, the *Engliſh* had ſtood a rude Shock in their Approach: but *Bembow* took all Caution; he came up ſlowly, and careleſly in Appearance, and hoiſted *Daniſh* Colours. The *French* ſuſpected nothing; and the *Engliſh* Commander had Time to diſpoſe his Squadron for Service, to place his Bomb Veſſels, and to direct the Courſe of his infernal Engine, unſuſpected.

One Hour after dark the Signal was made, and the Diſcharge from all the Mortars followed. Confuſion never equal'd that of the *French*: our Veſſels of Deſtruction were well ſupplied, and the Town blazed at once in four Places.

This was little to what the Morning was deſtin'd to produce. In Front of the Squadron, protected by the Ship of the Commander, and in a due Direction, ſtood the terrible Machine, big with its unheard of Preparations for Deſtruction: *Jambelli's*, though the Model, had been a Trifle to this.

Bembow, who had overlooked the fitting it up, took on him the Command of its Service. An Engineer was put on board; and as ſoon as Daylight ſerved, it was driven in upon the Town: the Orders were to faſten it to the Walls at an appointed Place, where it would act with all its Terror.

The Wind ſo far favoured that it reached the Place; but an unfavourable Guſt then drove it off again.

The Engineer knew it was his Buſineſs to make the beſt of this ill Succeſs, and he ran the Veſſel on a Rock at a ſmall Diſtance, fired the Train, and got in ſafely to the Fleet.

A great Part of the Preparation was from this Accident render'd ineffectual; but from what the Remainder did, Men gueſs'd what muſt have been the Effect had it ſucceeded perfectly. The Burſt was terrible; and the Fire, Smoak, and burning Maſſes of Materials, reſembled an Eruption of *Ætna* or *Veſuvius*.

When the Air clear'd, they ſaw the Deſtruction it had made: the Wall was level'd with the Ground for a vaſt Extent, and many hundred Houſes cover'd with the Ruins of their own Roofs and Chimneys. Parts of the flaming Veſſel lodg'd on others, and kindled them into the ſame furious Fire. On others the maſſy Machines, deſtined for different Miſchief, after being raiſed to a vaſt Height in the Air, fell; and cruſh'd all beneath them. It was a Moment's Shock; and after Times (except the late Cataſtrophe at *Liſbon*) have not afforded any Scene of Terror like it.

The Bomb Veſſels were now no longer needed, ſo far as they could reach, their Devaſtation the flaming Ruins of this Machine deſtroy'd.

Bembow ſaw all he had in Commiſſion thoroughly performed; and leaving the more remote Part of the Town to wonder at the Deſtruction, he came back without Loſs to *England*.

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CHAP. CLXVII.

An Engagement of an English *and* French *Ship off the* Canaries.

WHILE the Inſtructions of the Government were thus honeſtly obeyed, and this Succeſs followed, there were not wanting Inſtances of private Valour; and there is no ſmall Share of this Praiſe due to Captain *Philips*.

He commanded the *Hannibal* of *London*, a Ship of four hundred and fifty Tons, and ſix and thirty Guns, in the Years 1693 and 1694, from the *Thames* to Cape *Manſerrdoe* in *Africa*, and thence, along the Coaſt of *Guinea*, to *Whidaw*, the Iſland of *St. Thomas*, and ſo forward to *Barbadoes*.

On the Three and twentieth of *November* 1693, being near *Orotava* Road, in the *Canaries*; he had a ſharp Engagement with a *French* Ship of two and fifty Guns, and two hundred and eighty Men.

The Fight began about Four in the Afternoon, and laſted with great Fury, and Loſs of Men killed and wounded on both Sides, 'till Ten at Night; within Piſtol-ſhot all the while; when the *Frenchman's* Foretopmaſt came by the Board; and the Ship being beſides very much ſhattered, as well in her Hull as Rigging, he fell aſtern of the *Hannibal*, and made the beſt of his Way to the Leeward, with his Boat towing a-head: he took his Leave, pretty well convinced of the ſuperior Force of the *Engliſh* Ships, as well as the Courage and Conduct of their Men.

The Captain of the *Hannibal* gave them a Levet with his Trumpets, and what Guns he had loaded, to bid them Farewell, being heartily glad to be rid of ſuch a troubleſome Companion, for his Ship was likewiſe miſerably ſhattered and torn in her Maſts and Rigging, having had eleven Shot in her Mainmaſt, three quite through, ſeveral lodged in it, and having been galled flaunting, three or four Inches deep; eight Shot in her Foremaſt, two quite thro'; her Main-top ſhot to Pieces; her Main-top-maſt ſplintered half-way; her Mizzen-yard ſhot in two Pieces; her Sprit-ſail-top-maſt, Jack and Jack-ſtaff ſhot away; her Enſign-ſtaff ſhot by the board; ſeveral Shot through her Yards: a whole Suit of

Sails quite ſpoiled, ſome being ſhot through like Strainers; her ſtanding and running Rigging miſerably ſhattered: but as the *French* always fire high, not above thirty Shot were placed in her Hull, four of which were under Water.

In this poor Plight ſhe however gained the Victory, and came off with Honour; and this with the Loſs only of five Men killed, and two and thirty wounded, the moſt but ſlightly with ſmall Shot, Splinter-wounds and Bruiſes.

After Captain *Philips* returned to *England*, he was informed by Captain *Peter Wall*, who had been taken by the ſame Ship ſome ſhort Time before he met with her, and was on board her with his Men, Priſoners at the Time of the Engagement, that ſhe was the *Lewis* of *St. Malo's*, Captain *De Gras*, Commander, and that he had ſixty three Men killed, and ſeventy-odd wounded.

This was chiefly owing to the *Hannibal's* firing low, all into his Hull, and loading her low Guns (which were all demi-culverin) conſtantly, with both double and round Shot, and her Quarter-Deck Guns, with round Shot and Tin-Caſes full of Muſket-Bullets.

CHAP. CLXVIII.

Sir Francis Wheeler *ſent out.*

EARLY in the Year 1694 the Fleet receiv'd its Reinforcements; and the King determined upon an Expedition in the *Mediterranean.*

Sir *Francis Wheeler* who had gained ſo little Glory in the *American* Seas, when there was in his Reach ſo full a Harveſt, was by the Intrigues of Stateſmen again veſted with the Command. A Step irrecoverable: the Source of ſucceeding Wranglings and Debates; but, in the mean Time, the ſure Sacrifice of the Nation's Intereſts, if not of her Glory.

Early as the Preparations were made, Delays kept him very late in *England*. Part of his Veſſels were to be uſed in Convoys: he was to wait for ſome *Dutch* Ships to join him; and before he ſailed upon the Service, it was late in the Month of *November*.

His Orders were punctual, clear and abſolute; for we have ſaid before, this was a Period in which Want of Integrity not of Abilities ſacrificed our Glory.

He was directed by the Lords of the Admiralty, in their Orders, bearing Date the Twentieth of *November*, to proceed to *Cadiz* with ſixteen Third-Rates, ſeven Fourth-Rates, one Fifth-Rate, one Sixth-Rate, ſix Fire-ſhips, two Bomb-Veſſels, an Hoſpital-ſhip, and a Store-ſhip, in Company of ſeveral *Dutch* Ships of War, appointed to join him; and to take under his Convoy all Merchant Ships bound to *Turky*, or any Port in *Spain* or *Italy*.

If he arrived at *Cadiz*, before the *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet, he was to cruiſe in ſuch Stations as ſhould be agreed on, at a Council of War, not exceeding thirty Days, to ſecure them in their Paſſage; and when that Fleet came into Port, or if they did not ſo do within the aforeſaid Time, he was to proceed into the *Mediterranean* with ſeven Third-Rates, as many Fourth-Rates, one Fifth-Rate, one Sixth-Rate, four Fire-ſhips, two Bomb-Veſſels, and the Hoſpital-ſhip and Store-ſhip, together with the *Dutch*.

The reſt of the Squadron he was to leave at *Cadiz*, with Orders to the ſenior Officer to remain one and twenty Days there, and then to return to *England* with all the Trade that ſhould be ready to accompany him. If the *Spaniſh* Ships of War arrived at *Cadiz* before Sir *Francis Wheeler's* Departure thence, he was to concert with their Admiral, where to join him at his Return from convoying the *Turky* Trade.

He had particular Inſtructions, what Convoys to ſend to *Turky*, and to other Ports up the *Streights*, which he was to accompany as high as the Channel of *Malta*; but he was cautioned, as uſual, not to block up any of the Grand Signor's Ports; and if he took any Ships, wherein were the Perſons or Effects of that Prince, or his Subjects, he was ordered to ſet both one and the other on ſhore, at the firſt convenient Place.

When he had thus ſent forward the ſmall Convoys, he was to return with the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships of War; and join the *Spaniſh* Squadron, and with their Aſſiſtance to endeavour to annoy the Enemy, and protect the Trade: and when he judged the *Turky* Convoys might be on their Return, he was to repair to the appointed Rendezvous for joining them, and accompanying them to *England*, bringing with him the ſeveral Trades, from the Ports in the *Streights* and *Cadiz*.

He was alſo farther directed, when he ſhould be in the *Mediterranean*, to ſend two or three Ships before *Algiers*, *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, to confirm the Peace with thoſe Governments, and to deliver his Majeſty's Preſents to them.

With theſe Inſtructions Sir *Francis Wheeler* ſailed; the Affair of Convoys he tranſacted with due Care; and on the Sixth of *January* he had the firſt Occaſion of a more honourable Service.

Off the North Cape he received Intelligence, that there lay near the Rock of *Liſbon* five Sail of the *French*.

He made his Diſpoſitions: he ſent in with the *Liſbon* and *St. Ubes* Ships five ſmall Veſſels of War and a Fire-ſhip.

Himſelf, with the Body of the Fleet, two Days after ſaw four large Veſſels of the *French*. He gave Orders for a Part of the Ships to chaſe; but the *French* bore away; and the *Engliſh* Admiral, juſt as the Captains had raiſed the Spirit of their Men with pointing to the flying Enemy, and telling them they went to chaſtiſe, not fight with them, called them back. His Reaſon could not but be aſked; for 'twas not in human Sagacity, untaught his ſecret Inſtructions, to gueſs at it. He ſaid, it was leſt they ſhould *loſe* Company.

Eight Days ſucceſſively were the *French* Veſſels ſeen four or ſix together, and at various Diſtances. Every Sight of them produced an Order to chaſe, and every Order had the ſame Effect. If the Captains underſtood their Duty, they came back, and ſaid the *French* outſailed them: if they could leſs be truſted, they were called off; the Fleet muſt not be ſeparated. Men gave Opinions variouſly: they talked of Cowardice; but that is the leaſt probable Cauſe with the *Engliſh*; what we accuſe under this Name, is often ſecret Treachery.

The *Dutch*, who were in Earneſt, exclaimed; and Sir *Francis* could not refuſe to liſten to them. He allowed Rear-Admiral *Nevill* with three Ships to join two of theirs: it was all they aſked, and they promiſed, if they could meet theſe *French*, to bring a better Account of them.

This Squadron waited for them off Cape *St. Vincent*; but the Admiral allowed them only a few Days the Hope of finding them. He ſent them Orders to follow him to *Cadiz*.

In the Bay of *Cadiz* lay the *Spaniſh* Armada, all unrigg'd, and unprepared for Service; but the Commander promiſed Impoſſibilities, and he was ſatisfied.

He here ſent off ſome Convoys; and on the Tenth of *February* ſailed, a Storm ſurpriz'd him; and it was ſo violent, that the Ships received conſiderable Damage in their Rigging.

This was, like all other Diſaſters, magnified: but there followed one too great to need Addition. The Weather was hazy, the Streights of *Gibraltar* were the deſtined Place of Entrance, and himſelf and the *Dutch* Admiral made for them; but the Body of the Fleet miſtook the Opening of the Bay of *Gibraltar* for them, and many of them ran aſhore.

The bad Weather continued; and the *Engliſh* Admiral, tho' he had avoided the common Error, periſhed. His Ship founder'd in the Storm; and his laſt Effort was, by throwing himſelf into the Sea; his Body was found on a Sand Bank near *Gibraltar*.

The Storm was indeed the moſt terrible that Hiſtory records in thoſe Seas; and the Loſs was very great. The *Cambridge*, a ſeventy Gun-ſhip, was run on ſhore, and periſhed; there were loſt alſo on ſhore, or foundering at Sea, the *Lumley-Caſtle*, a Ship of the Line, and three Bomb-Ketches, the *Serpent*, the *William*, and the *Mary*; five very valuable Merchant Ships ſuffered in the ſame Manner, and of our People near nine Hundred periſhed.

The ſhatter'd Remnant of the *Engliſh* Fleet made for the Bay of *Cadiz*. The *Dutch* were happier; for moſt of them got through the *Streights*.

Vice-Admiral *Hopſon* was by this Time in *England*; he had been diſpatched by the Admiral in Convoy; and the Command, upon the Loſs of *Wheeler*, fell on Rear-Admiral *Nevill*.

England was now alarmed; her laſt Fleet ſcatter'd and diſtreſs'd, and the *French* gathering Power. The King, as moſt intereſted, felt this moſt; and, in Deſpite of Factions in his Council, he named again *Ruſſel* his Chief Commander. The Sailors were rejoiced, the People applauded, and no Intelligence of the *French* Preparation frighted them.

CHAP. CLXIX.

The Expedition of 1694.

WHILE Admiral *Nevill* was counting up his Loſſes in the late Storm, and conſidering in the Bay of *Cadiz* what Courſe to take for the Service of his Country, the *Breſt* Fleet equip'd with vaſt Expence, and amounting to more than fifty Sail, paſſed by *Gibraltar*, to join the Preparations at *Toulon*.

This and the News of the late Havock in the Storm reached *England* together; and Men would have been terrify'd, but that the Name of *Ruſſel* ſeem'd a Shield againſt all Danger.

This Admiral, while he took with a large Force of his own moſt of the *Dutch* Veſſels, appointed the Lord *Berkley*, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, to attempt *Breſt*. The Strength of the Place was well conſidered, and the Force ſuited to the Service: there was all Proſpect of Succeſs: but Lord does not imply wiſe or courageous, and *Berkley* was no *Bembow*.

King *William* threw in all poſſible Encouragement: he promiſed, on the Royal Word, Rewards and Honours, to all who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves: he doubled the Pay of the principal Officers, and eſtabliſh'd the whole Regulation upon the following Footing.

1. "That the Sea Pay of the Flag Officers, Commanders, Lieutenants, Maſters, and Surgeons of his Majeſty's Ships ſhould be doubled.

2. "That all Flag Officers and Captains of the Firſt, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Rates, and of Fire-ſhips; and the firſt Lieutenant and Maſters of Firſt, Second and Third Rates, who have ſerved a Year in the ſame Poſts, in Ships of thoſe Rates, or been in a general Engagement, ſhould have Half Pay while on ſhore, to be paid Quarterly out of the general Eſtimate of the Navy.

3. "That only ſuch Commiſſion Officers as have been put in by the Admiral, or Admiralty, and Warrant Officers, as have been put in by the Navy Board, ſhould receive the Benefit of Half Pay.

4. "That the ſame ſhould commence from the "Second of *January*, then laſt paſt.

5. "That no Officer who leaves the Service, or "is diſmiſſed for any Miſdemeanor, enjoy that "Benefit.

6. "That the Number of Servants allowed the "Commanders ſhould be no more than ten to the "Admiral of the whole Fleet; all other inferior "Flags one each; Captains of Firſt and Second "Rates, ſix; of Third and Fourth Rates, five; "of Fifth and Sixth Rates, four each: and that "the Number of Servants leſſened be deducted "out of every Ship's Company.

7. "That Half-Pay Officers be aſſiſting to the "Navy Board.

8. "That no Convoy Money be demanded or "received, under the Penalty of forfeiting, and "loſing Employment for ever.

9. "That the Commanders tranſmit to the "Admiralty, when and why they come into "Port.

10. "That the Commiſſioners of the Navy at "the Ports enquire, why Ships come in, and "that all theſe Articles and Rules be ſtrictly ob"ſerved.

The Fund for this Eſtabliſhment ending with the War, and the King having no other Means to afford it, except he had allowed it out of his Revenue, the then Lords of the Admiralty formed another Scheme.

Every Thing thus ſettled for the Sea Service, the King embarked to command once more the Confederate Army in *Flanders*; deſtin'd to reduce the Pride of *Lewis* to a Degree of Humility unknown before to Sovereigns.

This Year he took *Namur* with as much Glory as that Monarch had won, ſome Campaigns before, by taking it in his Sight, and in Contempt of eighty thouſand Men. Theſe were Days of Glory: but may they never return! the human Species is too ſacred for ſuch Sacrifices to Ambition.

Ruſſel, the People's Idol, firſt in the Commiſſion for the Admiralty, as well as Chief in Command, directed all Things at Sea. He left Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* at *St. Helens* to conſult with General *Talmarſh* about the Embarkation of the Troops then on their March to *Portſmouth*; and himſelf on his ſetting out, received on the Nineteenth of *May* Intelligence, that three Weeks before the *Breſt* Fleet had ſailed.

The ſame Veſſel, a *Swede*, brought him Intelligence of fifty Merchant Ships in *Betheaume* Bay, under a weak Convoy. He ſent out two Men of War, and a Fireſhip, to intercept, take or, deſtroy them. The Command was lodged in Captain *Richards*; and he acquitted himſelf as became one diſtinguiſh'd by that great Commander.

He found the Convoy as it had been repreſented, and he defy'd the Cannon of the Forts, much more than that of the Veſſels placed as their Defence: he fired the larger Veſſel after he had driven her on ſhore, and ſaw her blow up: the two ſmaller ſhared the ſame Fate; and of the Merchant Veſſels five and thirty were deſtroyed: nor did he return without ſome Teſtimony of his Succeſs to the Fleet: his Prizes were only two; but the *Engliſh* were as well ſatisfied that he had deſtroyed the reſt, as if he had brought them in.

The Admiral kept out ſo many Scouts, and ſo well rewarded all uſeful Intelligence, that he was continually adviſed of one or other Advantage.

A Number of Ships were now ſent out from *France* with Proviſions and Stores for the *French* Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; and another equal Number were deſtined to *Dieppe* and *Dunkirk*, with Ammunition for the Forces in *Flanders*: both Fleets fell into his Hands, and both were deſtroyed.

All was now ready for the projected Service againſt *Breſt*. Lord *Berkley* received his Inſtructions. The Troops embarked, and he proceeded with full Power. His Force was very great; three Firſt Rates, four Seconds, twelve Thirds, a Fourth and two Fifths; ten Fireſhips, three Hoſpital and three Brigantines, with Bomb-ketches, Advice Boats, and every other kind needful for the Service: to theſe were joined of the *Dutch* nineteen Ships of the Line, with four Fireſhips.

At an appointed Place a Squadron was ſent off on other Service, and Lord *Berkley* proceeded for *Breſt*. Eight of the *Engliſh* Ships entered the Bay, and ſome of the Forces landed: but all went ill; they were repulſed with Loſs. *Talmarſh* was one who fell.

The Fleet came back to *Spithead* with Diſhonour; and *France* gloried.

Dieppe and *Havre de Grace* were after this bombarded, but the Damage the *French* ſuffered was leſs than the Expence of the *Engliſh* in doing it. *Dieppe* was moſt hurt; but this Advantage was not purſued with proper Spirit. The Fire from the Bomb-ketches was indeed well executed: eleven hundred Bombs and Carcaſſes were thrown into the Town, and fired it in many Places at once. The People were ſo terrify'd, they knew not what Courſe to take, and the Conflagration was ſo terrible, that the Troops ſent to aſſiſt fled with them. The *Engliſh* might have poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Place, but they contented themſelves with its Deſtruction.

Bembow was in this Service, and he had Power in the ſucceeding Expedition; he had Command in the Bombardment of *Havre de Grace*; and he ſo well maintained his former Credit, that he threw in four thouſand Bombs; nor deſiſted till the very Mortars were diſabled by the inceſſant Fire, and ſome of the Veſſels render'd incapable of farther Service.

Havre was leſs acceſſible than *Dieppe*, ſo that it ſuffered leſs; but the *French* write partially, who talk of little Damage. It burnt ſix Days, and a great Part of the Buildings were reduced to Aſhes.

The Queen with a Spirit worthy the Conſort of *William*, when the Fleet returned from this Expedition, propoſed an Attempt on *Dunkirk*: 'twas called impracticable by Men who dreaded the Succeſs of thoſe Arms they pretended to devote to the Deſtruction of *France*; but more Conſideration, and the Voice of the Multitude, overcame their Opinion.

Captain *Bembow* had the Command of the Expedition; and Mr. *Meeſters* propoſed a new Art to deſtroy the Forts.

All that could be expected from the Character of *Bembow* was performed: he conducted the Deſign, and ſupported it in every Part in the Execution; but the Machines failed of their Purpoſe. The *French* had taken great Precautions againſt the Danger; Piles were driven, four Veſſels were ſunk to prevent their coming on, and a Ship of ſome Force was laid in the Way they muſt paſs. *Maſters* was deſperate, and *Bembow* reſolute; they paſſed the Veſſel, which gave them its Broadſide, and then ran within the Pier. The two firſt Machines, which were of the Nature of thoſe Infernals deſcribed before, though adapted exactly to the preſent Service, blew up out of Reach.

The next Deſign was bombarding *Calais*; but this the advanced Seaſon, and rough Weather, made that impracticable.

CHAP. CLXX.

Admiral Ruſſel's *Service in the* Mediterranean.

THE Purpoſe with which *Ruſſel* detached himſelf from the Force ſent againſt the maritime Towns of *France*, was of the utmoſt Importance. He propoſed to keep the *French* block'd up in *Toulon*; to protect the Commerce of *England* and her Allies; and to ſecure from the Inſults of *France* the more expoſed Towns of *Spain*.

England had Confidence in this great Man; and the King of *Spain* teſtify'd his Satisfaction by particular Honours.

'Twas on the Sixth of *June* he left Lord *Berkley*, and on the Twentieth he arrived off the Rock of *Liſbon*.

The Squadron under *Nevill*, and the *Dutch* Force with *Callemberg* and a new *Evertzen*, lay in the Bay of *Cadiz*: theſe had Orders to join the Fleet; and proper Places of Rendezvous were appointed in Caſe of Separation.

Intelligence arrived that the *French* were between *Alfagues* and *Barcelona*; and the Admiral ſailed to attack them: they fled, and made the Iſles of *Hieres* off *Toulon*.

The Enemy thus frighted off, the *Engliſh* Admiral appointed Convoys to the Trade, and wintered with his Fleet at *Cadiz*.

A Sickneſs threaten'd him, but he recovered; and while he preſerved the *Spaniards* with a true *Engliſh* Spirit, he refuſed to accept at once Preſents, and Requeſts that looked too like Commands.

The King of *Spain* deſired him to tranſport Troops from *Italy* to *Barcelona*: he gave his Reaſons againſt it; and his Refuſal. The King preſs'd it in a ſecond Letter, which he anſwered as the former; and thoſe who at firſt thought his Objections ſlight, found they were juſt, and own'd it. Upon the whole, he not only gained great Glory for himſelf, but repaired the ill Succeſs of the Lord *Berkley*.

He ſhut up the *French*, with all their boaſted Force, in *Toulon* Harbour; and when *Tourville* once ventured out, hoping to ſlip by him, he found this *Engliſh* Admiral had as much Intelligence as Reſolution, and was glad to eſcape back again by a Retreat of little Credit.

There is not in the Annals of *William* a more glorious Article than this, of our triumphant Fleet riding in the *Mediterranean*, awing the *French*, and adding to the *Engliſh* Sovereignty the Dominion of the *Streights*.

France was check'd in her Career of Conqueſt in *Catalonia*, and her own Coaſts left open to the Reſentment of the Confederate Powers. The *Italian* Princes were kept in Awe; and *Venice* thought of a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Britain*.

This Service did one Man; even againſt the Purpoſes of thoſe whoſe Influence over other Commanders had been unbounded; and who had once accuſed him for doing his Duty; and now threaten'd it again.

CHAP. CLXXI.

The King's Senſe of Ruſſel's *Services.*

KING *William* having glorioſly finiſhed the Campaign in *Flanders*, returned in the Beginning of *November* to *England*.

He heard the Murmurings againſt *Ruſſel*, but he ſaw his Services: he deſpiſed the Malice; and gave due Honour to the Virtues of his Servant. A Veſſel was diſpatched to him with a Commiſſion of the greateſt Extent and Honour, he was declared firſt Admiral, chief Commander and Captain General of their Majeſty's Navy, and Ships to be employed in the narrow Seas, and in the *Mediterranean*.

Ruſſel, who paid well for Intelligence, had it early; he heard where Service might be done, and he diſpatched an experienced Commander, Captain *Killigrew*, with ſix Ships to cruiſe off the Coaſt of *Barbary*.

Two *French* Men of War appeared, the *Engliſh* attacked and took them, but not without ſome valuable Blood: *Killigrew* himſelf fell in the

Action. The *French* Ships were brought in to the Fleet, and the Priſoners were treated with Reſpect and Honour.

The Admiral ſent out more Cruizers, and himſelf ſailed for *Cadiz*. The *Spaniards* were, according to the Character of their Nation, dilatory. Himſelf, having now received the Tranſports, ſent a ſmall Veſſel to *Toulon*, to learn the Enemy's Strength; and ſailed for *Barcelona*.

The *French* held *Palamos*, a Sea port belonging to *Spain*, and the Viceroy of *Catalonia* determined to beſiege it: the Admiral promiſed his Aſſiſtance. Four Thouſand *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Troops were landed without Oppoſition; and encamped: the Town was bombarded after this; and againſt all the Diſorder occaſioned by a rough and ſwelling Sea, the Bombs were thrown ſo well, that half the Place was laid in Ruins.

This was all: the Troops had not the Implements for a Siege, nor even Ammunition; and the Intelligence received from *Toulon* was, that ſixty Veſſels of Force were expected every Day to put to Sea. The Fleet ſailed in Search of the Enemy; and Glory and Revenge were all the Gain of this Undertaking.

The *French* were confounded at their Approach; and they defied Storms upon the Coaſt of *Provence*; when, in the Beginning of the ſucceeding Winter, the Admiral gave Charge of a Part of the Fleet to Sir *David Mitchel*, and with the reſt returned to *England*.

CHAP. CLXXII.

The Return of the Fleet.

SIR *George Rooke* now ſailed with his Ships to the Bay of *Cadiz*, and took the Command. The Enemy were ſtrong and numerous; the *Engliſh* Veſſels much inferior; and the *Dutch* too foul for Service. This made a cautious Conduct neceſſary; and the Commander, after conſulting with the principal Officers, determined that the Ships ſhould be removed within puntal Caſtles, and Cruizers only kept out for Intelligence.

Thus paſſed the Remainder of the Time till the ſucceeding Spring, when they returned to *England*.

CHAP. CLXXIII.

An Expedition to the Weſt-Indies.

AT the Cloſe of the Year 1694, it was reſolved that a Fleet and a good Body of Land Forces ſhould be ſent to the *Weſt Indies*.

Captain *Wilmot* had the Command; and the Excuſe-Maſter-General, *Burchet*, has tried hard to convince the World, Things went as they ſhould have done. That is an ill Cauſe which needs the Support of Falſities; theſe are proved: and when ſo much is ſhewn unworthy Credit, 'tis hard to ſay how much of the reſt ſhould be believed.

What certainly appears is this: a vaſt Expence was incurr'd, and a Preparation made, equal to the greateſt Atchievements. Secreſy was the firſt Care, and indeed half the Proſpect depended on it.

The Commander had Orders, not to be opened till he came to a certain Latitude, when it was thought Treachery, nor Folly, could betray them; but one or both conſpiring did it perfectly: the *French* had Intelligence, and got all their Strength together.

Expected by their Enemies, and diſappointed by their Friends, they made for Cape *St. Francois*. The *French* here were not powerful enough to reſiſt them; but they ſhew'd they could prevent their Hopes, and do them Miſchief; they fired upon them from the Fort, and diſabled one of the *Engliſh* Ships. Some Men were alſo loſt on board the others; and when neither Fort nor Town could be held any longer, they fired one, and blew up the Houſes of the other, where there was Plunder, by Trains, when the *Engliſh* were in them. Our People ſuffered a great deal; and beſide the voluntary Deſtruction on the Place, had ſcarce any Advantage.

The next Attempt was propoſed on Port *de Paix*; but the *Spaniards* who were to join in it were unruly, and the *Engliſh* obſtinate. Some Seamen were landed, and ſome Plantations of the *French* deſtroyed. The People retired to the Fort, but this was open to the Cannon on a riſing Ground, and it was taken and demoliſhed.

The Squadron thence ſailed to *Jamaica*; and after a ſhort Stay there, thence to *England*. A pitiful Account of Service from a Force capable of great Atchievements.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXXIV.

Further Attempts upon the Coaſt of France.

LORD *Berkley* in 1695 had the Command of a Fleet for the ſame Purpoſes intended from the former, and he executed them now to the Terror of the Enemy, and the Satisfaction of his Country.

Thus it becomes impartial Hiſtory to write, regardleſs of Names and ſpecious Characters; to deſcribe Actions, not ideal Fame; to give Honour to the ſame Perſon when deſerved, on whom Cenſure fell while leſs careful.

The Privateers of *France* had hurt the *Engliſh* greatly during the preceeding Year, and *St. Malo's* was their Rendezvous.

Lord *Berkeley* on the Fifth of *July* 1695 attacked the Place. He ſent in two Fireſhips againſt the principal Fort, and deſtroyed it: the Firing ceaſed long before theſe blew up; and immediately after all was Flame.

The Ships now drew nearer; and while the large Cannon from the biggeſt of them batter'd the Walls, the Bomb-ketches placing themſelves in a good Situation, threw in their Deſtruction with ſurprizing Rapidity: the Town took Fire in ſeveral Parts. The *French* fired from many Places at once, and did ſome Execution; but the Lord *Berkeley* expoſing himſelf every where to Danger, taught his Men to deſpiſe it.

All Night the Fire of the *Engliſh* continued, and the Bombs fell in different Parts of the Town. Toward Morning the Place appeared blazing in ſome Parts, and in the reſt a Heap of Ruins. The Ammunition of the Bomb Veſſels being now expended, nine hundred Bombs and Carcaſſes having been thrown in, they were called off.

One was too much diſabled to be got away, and this the *Engliſh* ſunk, the reſt joined the Fleet; and they ſailed for *Granville*, a conſiderable Town in *Normandy*.

The Command of the Expedition here fell upon Captain *Bembow* and Colonel *Richards*: Lord *Berkeley* with the Body of the Fleet, being gone to *Jerſey*. They performed their Parts with Honour: they came before the Town in the Morning, and 'twas in Flames in half an Hour. They continued the Bombardment till Evening, and left it a Heap of Ruins.

This Service performed, they joined the Fleet; and *Dunkirk* was the next devoted Place: but for this there required more Preparation; the Bomb-ketches were out of Order, for theirs is a violent Service: they were ſent into *Portſmouth* to refit.

All was ready by the latter End of *July*, and the Squadron arrived and joined at the appointed Rendezvous on the Firſt of *Auguſt*.

Beſide the Bomb-ketches, Mr. *Meeſters*, a Projector not very ſucceſsful, here again offered his Service, and was received. He had the Care of his new Machines called Smoak Veſſels, and intended by a thick and ſharp Kind of Smoak to blind the People in the Forts: but this ended in Wranglings and Complaints. One of the Smoke Ships was run aground, and the others blew up long before they came to the Place of Service; nor did it appear they would have been of any eſſential Uſe.

We had well improved the *French* Inventions of Deſtruction; and their own Towns were reduced, one after another to Aſhes, by the Art they had deviſed of firing Mortars from the Sea; but this new Scheme was nothing.

The Commander thought no more of thoſe Veſſels, but ſent in his Bomb-ketches protected by the Frigates. They fired from Nine in the Morning to Five in the Afternoon, and then they found the Project impracticable. Some Miſchief was done, but the *French* were too well prepared for the Attempt to ſuffer much.

Calais was the next Object of this Attack, and ſuffered conſiderably. Six hundred Bombs and Carcaſſes were thrown in, in about eight Hours; the Town was fired in many Places; and a great Part of it laid in Ruins.

While Lord *Berkeley* thus did his Duty; and had as much Succeſs as the Nature of the Attempts permitted, the Marquis of *Caermarthen*, commiſſioned on a more important Service, betrayed his own Honour, and the Nation's Intereſt, by a ſhameful Act of Cowardice.

This Nobleman was ſtation'd off *Scilly*, with a Squadron to protect the Commerce of the *Engliſh*, and cruiſe upon the *French*.

He had not lain there long, when one of the richeſt Booties offer'd itſelf that had fallen in the Way of the *Engliſh* during the War. A very large Fleet of Merchant Ships of *France*, who had miſtook his Station, came in Sight: the noble Commander took them for Veſſels of War, and without ſtaying to ſatisfy himſelf, made his beſt Way to *Milford Haven*.

The Conſequences were worſe than at firſt imagined; not only an Opportunity was loſt of diſtreſſing the Enemy, but our own Trade fell in the Way of their Veſſels, and five *Eaſt-India* Ships were loſt, whom he ſhould have protected.

The Merchants complained to the Admiralty: but what Juſtice was to be expected againſt a Lord, whoſe Friends had the Adminiſtration.

Thus ended the naval Exploits of 1695, and *France* determined to open the ſucceeding Year the Aggreſſor.

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CHAP. CLXXV.

Sir George Rooke *commands againſt the* French.

FRANCE, ſtung with the Diſhonour of having her maritime Towns bombarded by the *Engliſh*, determined to return the Inſult; and in Earneſt propoſed a Deſcent upon the Iſland.

Early in 1696, Troops were called together at *Calais*, *Dunkirk*, and the near Ports, and every thing was provided for a vigorous Attack.

The King commiſſioned the great and honeſt *Ruſſel* for the Oppoſition. He preſided at the Admiralty; and when he had there haſtened the Preparations, he put himſelf on board; and collected the beſt Force he could at the *Downs*.

The *French* could not have choſe a Time when our Navy was ſo ill prepared to oppoſe them. The large Ships from the *Mediterranean* were in Dock, and *Ruſſel* found only eleven Men of War there; but he was reinforced, according to his Orders, by a Squadron under Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, and by ſome *Dutch*, and ſoon after by more *Engliſh* Veſſels.

He came to an Anchor off *Gravelin* the laſt Day of *February*; and between that Place and *Dunkirk* ſtationed the Lord *Berkeley*.

The *Engliſh* Fleet was now much greater than the Enemy thought they could have got ready in the Time; and this prepar'd Oppoſition, with the Detection of the Aſſaſſination Plot, broke their Spirits, and diſconcerted all their Meaſures.

Calais was crouded with Forces, and with them was *James*; four hundred Tranſport Ships lay ready, and ſeventeen Men of War in the *Flemiſh* Road to ſupport them: but the Sight of the *Engliſh* Force, and much more the Name of the Commander, ſtruck them with Deſpair.

James left *Calais*, giving up the Enterprize; and the *French* Ships got into Port. The Pier of *Dunkirk* was the Defence of ſeveral of them; and the *Engliſh* wiſh'd to attack them, but could not with any reaſonable Proſpect of Succeſs. The Bomb Veſſels were ordered before *Calais*, and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell* had the Command: a great many Bombs were thrown, ſome into the Town, and ſome among the Shipping, but the Damage was not equal to the Attempt, or Expectation.

After this the Fleet was ordered to the *Downs*, and Sir *George Rooke* had the ſole Command. The *French* were preparing a vaſt Force, and Sir *George* found himſelf much weaker than he had imagined, both in the Number of Veſſels and Men.

He was obliged to take into his Fleet ſeveral Ships that had been appointed for Convoys; and thus ſtrengthen'd, he ſent out for Intelligence.

On the Seventh of *May* he heard the *French* Fleet of forty Sail, four of them Flag Ships, were forty Leagues off Cape *Finiſterre*; and the next Day that they had paſſed the *Streights*. The *Toulon* Fleet got into *Breſt*, and the *Engliſh* into *Torbay*.

Sir *George Rooke* was now wanted at the Board, and Lord *Berkeley* took the Command of the Veſſels. Intelligence came in juſt before Sir *George*'s leaving the Fleet, that the *French*, to the Number of ſeventy and upwards, with four Flag Ships, were ſeen a little above *Camaret* Bay; and he made it his firſt Buſineſs on ſhore, to propoſe to the Secretary of State, to attempt them there. The Purpoſe was to block up the Enemy, and ravage the Coaſt; but this was declared an impracticable Scheme; and Lord *Berkeley*, with his great Commiſſion, received a diſcretionary Power to act as he ſhould find moſt for the Service.

Though he was ſenſible the Propoſal thus made was impracticable, he thought a great deal might be done, and he reſolved to look into *Bartheaume* and *Camaret* Bays, and do what Miſchief he could. He failed: and wherever there appeared a Proſpect of Advantage, he landed Men, and commiſſioned them to burn and plunder.

The Iſlands on the Coaſt of *France* were the great Scene of Plunder. *Belle-Iſle*, *Houal*, and others of the Cardinal Iſles, were plundered; Cattle driven off, and Towns reduced to Aſhes. *St. Martins* and *Olonne* were bombarded and left in Flames.

Conſternation ſeized all the Coaſt Towns of *France*: Oppoſition was ſcarce any where thought of; and the *Engliſh* did all this Damage to the Enemy in a Manner without Loſs to themſelves.

The Fleet returned; and the Care of our Trade was committed to Vice-Admiral *Mitchell* and Captain *Meeze*, who executed that Charge with an uncommon Attention, and brought into the Ports of *England*, every Privateer that ventured out near them.

Du Bart with a Force not deſpicable in the preſent Condition of the *Engliſh* Navy, lay in *Dunkirk*, threatening to take Advantage of the firſt Opportunity to return on the Coaſts of *England*, the Inſults ſuffered on thoſe of *France*. Rear-Admiral *Bembow* had the Command of a Squadron deſtin'd to block him up, or fight him.

More Care or more Reſolution no Man poſſeſſed; but the Obſtacles were too great to be ſurmounted. His Ships were too few; a Fog aſſiſted the *French* in their Purpoſe; and they ſlip'd by him.

He lay before the Place till he had Intelligence of the *French* off the Dogger Bank; and then, when he propoſed to ſail after them, the *Dutch* refuſed to join him.

The neceſſary Service of a Convoy now called him off; but, this executed, and his Ships ſupplied, he ſailed after the *French* Fleet, whom he once ſaw, but could not reach; they made no Attempt but Flight. But in that they were ſucceſsful; good Sailing favoured; and Night compleated their Eſcape.

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CHAP. CLXXVI.

Vice-Admiral Nevil's *Service in the* Weſt-Indies.

THE Rumour of a Deſcent on *England* was ſtrong in the Beginning of 1697; and the Preparations at *Breſt* were ſuppoſed deſtined for that Purpoſe.

Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* was commiſſion'd with a powerful Squadron to lie off that Port: the *French* Ships were deſtined for another Purpoſe. Monſ. *Ponti* was the Commander, and they were diſpatched for *Carthagena*.

Vice-Admiral *Nevil* enquired at *Cadiz* concerning the *Spaniſh* Flota, but could get no certain Intelligence; and after receiving Orders from *England*, and a Reinforcement of ſome *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, he ſailed for the *American* Seas, and in *April* arrived at *Barbadoes*: here more Force joined him; and he received Intelligence of the Enemy, who with ſix and twenty Ships of various Size and Force, had ſailed on the Eleventh of *March* from *Petit Guavas*.

They ſet off upon this Notice for *Jamaica*; and received Intelligence that the Enemy lay off *Carthagena*: the Admiral ſailed for that Place with a favourable Wind.

On the Twenty-ſeventh of *May* they came in Sight, and chaced them, but to little Purpoſe; they took a ſmall Veſſel, and after that loſt Sight of the reſt.

There was once a Shew of Action, four of our Ships came up with ſome of the hindmoſt of theirs, and Shot were exchanged that fell before they reached either Veſſels. The *French* were not in Earneſt, and it is ſuſpicious our People were not preſſing: they made off, and 'twas in vain we followed them two Days.

Carthagena was not far diſtant: this was the deſtined Rendezvous, and the Admiral made for it. He anchored off *Boccachica* Caſtle, and he was joined by ſome of his Fleet, but they came too late for Service, to the Place; the *French* had been there, and it was plundered and deſtroyed; the People reduced to the moſt extreme Neceſſity.

The *Engliſh* ſupplied them with ſome Neceſſaries, and ſailed for *Hiſpaniola*. Two *French* Privateers hovered about that Coaſt; and of theſe one was taken, and the other deſtroy'd.

While the Admiral was there, he diſpatched a conſiderable Force for *Petit Guavas*.

The Land Forces got on ſhore a few Miles from the Town; and marching all Night, they ſurpriſed the Place: and there was no Reſiſtance. Thoſe who had an Opportunity of Plunder got univerſally drunk; and the Commander was obliged to fire the Town, before he had ſecured a third Part of the Spoils.

Rear-Admiral *Meeze* had the Command of the Squadron that ſupported this Attack; and the principal Honour of the Expedition at Land is due to Colonel *Kirkby*.

Admiral *Nevil* in ten Days took in Wood and Water at *Hiſpaniola*, and meeting *Meeze* in his Return, they proceeded to *Jamaica*.

Thence he proceeded to the *Havanna*, having buried by the Way Rear-Admiral *Meeze* and ſeveral of his Captains.

The *Spaniards* were ſenſible there had been great Miſmanagement, and they declined all Intercourſe with the Fleet. The Admiral told them, his chief Commiſſion was to convoy the Gallions which lay there to *Spain*; but the General of thoſe Veſſels told him, he choſe to decline the Service; and the Governor refuſed him even Proviſions.

The Fleet was obliged to make for *Virginia*, and thence to *England*. The Admiral died at *Virginia*; and the Command devolved on Captain *Dilkes*, the only ſurviving Commander of that Rank in the Squadron.

Thus ended an Expedition, in the Plan and Deſign of which there appeared no Error, but in the Execution endleſs Confuſion and Diſorder; on which *England* had beſtowed a vaſt Expence, principally to offer a Service rejected by thoſe for whom it was intended; and in the Courſe of which, the Fleet was ſtripp'd of all its chief Officers.

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CHAP. CLXXVII.

Naval Occurrences from 1697 *to the Cloſe of this Century.*

THE Title of this Diviſion of our Work ſtamps a Diſcredit to our Country's Hiſtory. The Naval Tranſactions of ſo important a Time, while we were at War with *France*, ſucceſsful againſt her at Land, and as well furniſhed for Succeſs at Sea, are compriſed within a ſingle Chapter.

The *Dutch* Wars were the Days of *Engliſh* Glory: then we had an Enemy worth our Oppoſition; and it appears that Courage begets Courage. Then the Enemy ſought us; and our Commanders ſought in their Turn the Enemy: then Man as it were fought Man, Ship Ship, and the Rage of War grew more enflamed by Oppoſition.

In the War with *France*, during the Period of which we treat here, their People were Cowards, and either ours ſcorn'd to beat them, or caught the Infection from them.

'Tis evident, that in the *American* Seas this Year, as in the *Mediterranean* in later Time, the two Fleets have met unwillingly, and parted with more Satisfaction; the *French* have ran away, and the *Engliſh* purſued too faintly for overtaking them.

Such was the Conduct in 1696; ſuch, or worſe, ſixty Years after. We come to the cloſing of this Century.

The King did all in his Power to wipe the Stain, and to give his People Courage; he had already encraſed the Pay in this Service almoſt to double: he now diſtinguiſhed Merit by the higheſt Honours: Admiral *Ruſſel* was created Earl of *Orford*; and many more Promotions, equally juſt and prudent, followed.

Lord *Berkeley* died this Year; and the Command of the main Body of the Fleet fell upon Sir *George Rooke*: *Mitchel* and *Bembow* were called in to join him; and with forty-four Ships he lay on the Twenty-eighth of *July* off *Uſhant*.

Bembow looked into *Breſt*, and ſaw there but ten Ships ready for Service. This was repreſented to the Government; and the Admiral received Orders to leave a ſufficient Force off *Breſt* to keep them in. He anſwered, that he had not Proviſions; and the Fleet returned to *Torbay*.

Vice-Admiral *Mitchel* was ſent out with a Squadron. His Ships were ſo ill victualled, that though Intelligence came that *Chateau Renaud* had brought out the *Breſt* Squadron; and tho' Privateers infeſted the near Seas, he was obliged to return.

Rear-Admiral *Bembow* was next ſent out with a Squadron, and he fell in with five *French* Men of War. The Event was, as then was cuſtomary, the *French* ran for it; the *Engliſh* chaſed, and did not come up with them. The Admiral's Proviſions were ſhort, and he returned.

After he was ſupplied with Proviſions, he was again ſent out; and order'd to join a Squadron before *Dunkirk*, then commanded by Capt. *Beaumont*.

He found Orders there for him ſo contradictory, that he could determine nothing. One Packet directed him to purſue, fight and deſtroy the Squadron with *Du Bart*; the other to wait before *Dunkirk*, to receive Orders occaſionally from the King.

Five *French* Ships put out at early Morning, and the *Engliſh* purſu'd them, as uſual: they never overtook them.

One bluſhes to record ſuch Tranſactions: but all well know where the Blame lay. The Ships were ſent out foul, and with ſhort Proviſions: the greater Part of their Time was taken up in going to their Deſtination, and returning, for they could neither ſtay there, nor purſue: nor did the Commanders violate their Intentions, who amuſed a People with ſending them out, determined they ſhould do no Service.

The Peace of *Ryſwick* ſoon explained all: it was ſigned on the Twentieth of *September* 1697, and a Month afterwards proclaimed in *London*. *England*, *Spain* and *Holland* ſigned this Peace with *France*; and the Empire followed their Example. This cloſed the Year 1697, and in Effect the Century.

We ſhall review the Tranſactions of it in general by a ſhort Recapitulation of Things leſs immediately concerned with the Marine. We have only here to obſerve, that the Affairs of Commerce were not altogether unregarded; that a new *Eaſt-India* Company was eſtabliſhed, and the *African* Trade put under proper Regulations.

Rear-Admiral *Bembow* was in 1698 ſent with a Squadron to the *American* Seas; and the *Spaniards*, offended at the *Scottiſh* Settlement on the Iſthmus of *Darien* had detained ſome *Engliſh* Ships at *Carthagena*.

The Peace with *France* ſeemed to have been made only to prepare for a War with *Spain*; they talked of Force againſt this *Scotch* Settlement, and they had detained thoſe Veſſels for Reprizals.

Bembow was rough, and the Terms in which he demanded them, ſhewed they muſt not be refuſed: the Governor gave them up, but ſpoke at the ſame Time his determined Reſentment.

At *Jamaica* the univerſal Voice was for Satisfaction for Depredations of the *Spaniards*. The Admiral liſten'd to them, and at their Requeſt ſailed to *Puerto Bello*. There lay the *Barlovento* Fleet: 'twas of theſe Admiral *Bembow* demanded Satisfaction; and he received a haughty Anſwer. The *Spaniards* conſidered *Scotch* and *Engliſh* as the ſame; they reſented the Attempt of a Settlement at *Darien*, and theſe had been Acts of Reprizal.

Bembow was as rough as the *Spaniard* could be haughty; and, like a Coward, the inſolent Commander then grew mean. He kept up the Point of Honour: he inſiſted on the *Engliſh* Fleet going from before the Harbour, but he then promiſed Satisfaction ſhould be made for every Thing. The *Engliſh* took his Word; but he never kept it.

At this Time Captain *Kidd*, ſent out againſt the Pirates who infeſted thoſe Seas, commenced Pirate himſelf. The Admiral ſought him more than once in Places where he had Intelligence of his having been, but in vain.

He ſailed after this to *St. Thomas's*, a *Daniſh* Iſland, where too much Countenance had been given to him, and others ſuch as him, but he could obtain no Satisfaction by fair Words, and his Commiſſion did not authoriſe him to uſe Violence, ſo nothing was done.

In *November* he came before *Saint Domingo*, authoriſed alſo to remonſtrate and demand, but with as little Succeſs: the Spaniards had carried into that Place an Engliſh Sloop, on the ſame Pretence, the Scotch Settlement at Darien.

The Admiral demanded the Veſſel again; he was anſwered, that ſhe had been taken in Repriſal, and ſhould be detained till that Point was ſettled.

He could do nothing farther, and he returned to Jamaica; thence he came directly home.

The next Year produced a Complaint of Abuſes in the Navy, and the King promiſed to redreſs them. The Number of Land Forces was reduced; but a very conſiderable Proviſion was made for Seamen: and thus cloſed upon our Country the Seventeenth Century.

CHAP. CLXXVIII.

A Review of the State of Europe, *for the latter End of the Seventeenth Century.*

FRANCE, who had given Protection to *James* the Second, was ſlow to declare *William* King of *England.* That Nation ſtiled him Prince of *Orange*; and not underſtanding, or wilfully perverting, the Steps which had been taken, looked on him as an Uſurper. This Inſolence, the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and the Intereſts of the Nation, joined to make *William* the implacable Foe to *France.*

Lewis the Fourteenth intent on Glory, or aggrandizing his Name, and making Conqueſts, had ſent *James* to *Ireland*; and though involved in a War with almoſt all *Europe*, and ſenſible of the ill Conduct, as well as ill Succeſs of the firſt Expedition, he reſolved upon another: it was in this Attempt our great and honeſt *Ruſſel*, worthy the Titles he afterwards received, gave the firſt ſevere Blow to the *French* Marine. The Project drop'd, and they ſaw a Superiority on our Part, againſt which they dreaded afterwards to contend.

All Hope from honourable Meaſures failing, the Attempts on the Life of King *William* followed; in which it pleaſed the juſt Diſpoſer of Events that the Deſigns were diſcovered, and the Guilty fell.

James the Second, who had deſpaired at the great Event brought about by *Ruſſel*, which he had ſeen from that Shore where he ſhould have embarked, now gave up all Thought, all Hope, and lived upon his Penſions. He ſaw this Century out, but died in the firſt Year of the ſucceeding.

His Death did not affect *Lewis*; his Glory ſtill was his Councellor, and he made up the ſhatter'd Remains of *Cherbourg* and *La Hogue*, and once more flattered himſelf that he could face the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* at Sea.

He kept on foot four Armies at Land; and of his Succeſſes in the Palatinate he diſplayed his bad Heart in its proper Colours; and gave to *Europe* that neglected and now forgotten Example, what *Frenchmen* are when they have Succeſs.

He, without Emotion and without Shame, ordered that whole Country to be made a Deſert: let us add, without Provocation; and we ſhall then ſee the Character of this celebrated Monarch.

The Elector had done nothing but Juſtice and his Duty, in joining the reſt of the States of the Empire; and he had the true Glory of having brought his Country to a more flouriſhing State than it had known of many Ages. The full Force of *France* directed thither was too much to be oppoſed by his Strength, and the Generals performed their Orders, though they ſaid with Reluctance, yet with a dreadful Punctuality. All was Fire and Sword: and as many as pitied this devoted People, curſed and deteſted *Lewis.*

His Arms were however ſucceſsful in many Parts at once; till *William*, who had ſettled every thing quietly in *England*, and put his naval Force in a Condition to terrify that of *France*, returned to the Continent, and was terrible to the Ambition of that Sovereign. His Conduct reduced *Lewis* to ſubmit to the Peace of *Ryſwick*, which gave back more than half his Conqueſts, and cloſed the Operations of the Seventeenth Century.

The Navy of *England* had an unrival'd Sovereignty on the remoteſt Seas, and the Glory it had acquir'd againſt the *Dutch* in the firſt and ſecond War made us reſpected every where.

Abuſes there were afterwards: for when there is leaſt to do, there is moſt Temptation to theſe peaceful Deluſions. The Nation complained; and though it was difficult to fix the Fault, it was eaſy to ſee there was one ſome where.

Let us look back to the Year 1696, when *England* had Occaſion for Circumſpection; when there was no Want of Ships; and no ſparing of Expence; but every thing that might have reaſonably have been wiſhed, was not done.

We ſhall cloſe the preſent Book with a Tranſcript of ſome Papers of Authority, to ſhew what our Cruizers at that time were, how managed, and why leſs ſucceſsful, than the People might have reaſonably expected.

An Account of Cruiſers, 1696.

Rates of Ships.	Names of Ships.	Days in the Cruiſing Books.	Days in Port.	Days in Cruiſe.	Days in other Service.
4	Advice,	184	161	19	4
	Came to Spithead 28. Nov. Lay there till 25. Feb. } in all 89 Days.				
	Of which, 61 without Orders,				
	And, 28 after Orders ſent.				
4	Angleſea,	359	192	121	46
6	Alborough Ketch,	83	47	22	14
4	Archangel,	150	27	7	116
5	Arundel,	257	214		43
	She lay at Spithead 18 Days without Orders, tho' new clean'd and fit for Service.				
4	Affiſtance,	314	253	9	94
3	Barwick,	301	162	69	70
	She lay at Spithead, 62 Days In the Downs, 14 Days At Spithead again, 31 Days } 107 Days without Orders.				
6	Biddiford,	358	260	74	24
	A new 6th Rate, ſhe lay 150 Days in fitting, after launched, and lay 22 Days in the Nore without Orders.				
4	Bonadventure,	205	186		19
4	Burlington,	232	183	58	91
	She lay at Spithead 55 Days without Orders.				
3	Boyne,	194	83	41	70
3	Cambridge,	344	88	39	217
3	Captain,	379	232	125	22
3	Chicheſter,	367	117	7	243
4	Centurion,	359	309		50
4	Chatham,	354	202	145	7
5	Charles Galley,	312	96	90	126
4	Coronation,	162	108		54
4	Crown,	333	127	199	7
3	Content,	321	236	81	4
4	Cheſter,	281	139	56	86
	She lay 12 Days at the Nore, without Orders.				
3	Defiance,	350	230	66	54
3	Dunkirk,	343	241	46	56
3	Devonſhire,	373	276	34	63
5	Dolphin,	386	226		160
4	Dover,	564	443	76	45
	She was refitting 347 Days.				
5	Dover-Prize,	359	279		80
3	Dreadnought,	282	257		25
4	Deptford,	343	178	110	55
6	Dunwich,	368	241	54	73
	She was refitting 115 Days.				
3	Edgar,	368	262	34	72
	Refitting 135 Days.				
3	Elizabeth,	383	317	39	27
	Refitting 173 Days.				
	Lay in the Downs without Orders 49 Days.				
3	Expedition,	343	254	41	48
	Refitting 146 Days.				
5	Experiment,	343	223	89	31
	Refitting 128 Days.				
6	Eſſex-Prize,	375	257		118
	Refitting 90 Days.				
4	Foreſight,	342	142	86	114
5	Friendly Society,	80	64		16
5	Garland,	333	239	26	136
	At Yarmouth without Order 62 Days.				
4	Harwich,	323	167	156	
6	Henry-Prize,	334	199	43	92
	Convoy to 150 Ships from Hull to Yarmouth.				

Rates of Ships.	Names of Ships.	Days in the Cruiſing Book.	Days in Port.	Days in Cruiſe.	Days in ther Service.
6	Greyhound,	362	192	140	30
3	Hampton Court,	249	92	79	78
6	Hind Pinke,	337	195	63	79
	In Margate Road 30 Days without Orders.				
	In refitting at Sheerneſs 60 Days.				
6	Jerſey,	192	121	62	9
5	Joſeph,	149	116		40
6	Jolly-Prize,	330	225	58	47
	At Plymouth to mend her Truſſel Trees 88 Days.				
3	Ipſwich,	200	95		105
3	Lenox,	97	61		36
5	Lynn,	122	109		13
6	Lark,	351	221	79	51
	Refitting 94 Days.				
4	Lincoln,	327	208		128
3	Lyon,	319	151		168
4	Litchfield,	347	169	138	40
5	Lyme,	370	97	58	215
6	Mariana,	311	129		182
3	Monk,	341	276	55	10
	Refitting 108 Days.				
3	Mary,	378	285	64	29
	Refitting 148 Days.				
	Without Orders 56 Days.				
5	Mary Gally,	333	212	88	33
	Refitting 89 Days.				
6	Maidſtone,	337	201	96	40
5	Mermaid,	331	228	13	128
3	Monmouth,	322	245	20	57
	Refitting 129 Days.				
3	Montague,	461	356	16	89
6	Martin Ketch,	155	132		23
5	Milford,	342	179	121	42
4	Medway,	200	78	41	81
3	Newark,	367	128	7	232
3	Norfolk,	349	267	33	49
	Refitting 146 Days.				
	Without Orders, 45 Days.				
3	Northumberland,	283	175	39	69
	Refitting 96 Days.				
4	Norwich,	322	196	76	50
4	Nonſuch,	48	35		13
6	Orford,	180	156	11	13
	Refitting 97 Days.				
5	Pearl,	294	201	15	78
5	Pendennis,	330	193	41	96
6	Penzance,	312	120		192
4	Portland,	345	161	162	22
5	Portſmouth,	232	109	71	52
4	Princeſs Anne,	203	181		22
	Refitting 121 Days.				
5	Prince George,	165	133		32
6	Portſmouth-Prize,	329	195	62	72
4	Pembroke,	188	77	70	41
6	Quaker-Ketch,	149	31	115	3
6	Queenborough,	355	180	83	92
3	Reſtoration,	332	244		88
	Refitting 155 Days.				
3	Reſolution,	325	260	13	52
	Refitting 129 Days.				
4	Ruby,	306	193		113
	Refitting 122 Days.				

6 Roy-

Rates of Ships.	Names of Ships.	Days in the Cruiſing Book.	Days in Port.	Days in Cruiſe.	Days in other Service.
6	Royal Tranſport,	314	277		37
	Refitting 147 Days.				
	All the Yachts might as properly have been brought into the Cruiſing Service, as this Royal Tranſport.				
3	Royal Oak,	308	212	34	62
	Refitting 102 Days.				
6	Roe-Ketch,	170	147		23
5	Roebucks	330	235		100
3	Ruſſel,	201	109	20	72
5	Rye,	74	49	12	13
6	Rupert-Prize,	339	194		189
4	Samuel and Henry,	125	114		11
	From the Downs, ſhe went to Yarmouth; and from thence came back to the River to be diſcharged, nor doth it appear ſhe was either Cruiſer or Convoy.				
5	Saphire,	246	103	8	135
6	Suadados	83	50	33	
5	Suadados-Prize,	232	206		26
	Refitting 130 Days.				
	Lay at the Nore without Orders 20 Days.				
6	Sea-Horſe,	328	182	100	46
6	Seaford,	174	165		9
	Refitting 158 Days.				
4	Severn,	314	128	97	89
5	Smyrna Merchant,	345	221		124
	In King-road without Orders 26 Days.				
5	Sheerneſs,	340	269	38	33
5	Shoreham,	279	91	17	171
5	Smyrna Factor,	132	117		15
6	Solebay,	331	204	49	84
5	Speedwell,	339	91		248
4	Southampton,	192	152	18	22
	Refitting 108 Days.				
	Lay at Spithead without Orders 20 Days.				
4	Sunderland;	344	269	34	41
	Refitting 183 Days.				
5	St. Malo,	83	76		7
	Had Orders the 14th of May, but did not proceed upon them till the 9th of July, which is 56 Days.				
3	Suffolk,	345	238	107	
	Refitting 166 Days.				
6	Swallow-Prize,	94	69		25
	Refitting 49 Days.				
6	Swan,	171	89		82
	Refitting 71 Days.				
5	Sweepſtakes,	332	275		88
	Mending her Rudder 28 Days at Sheerneſs.				
5	Scarborough,	172	69	50	53
3	Torbay;	170	70	31	69
4	Trident-Prize,	383	275		108
4	Tyger,	204	174		30
	Refitting 162 Days.				
5	Hired Tyger,	329	213		116
	In King-road without Orders 73 Days.				
5	Virgin's-Prize,	281	242		39
4	Weymouth,	316	153	151	12
5	Winchelſea,	333	255		88
4	Windſor,	201	164	18	19
	Refitting 74 Days.				
4	Woolwich,	485	368	63	54
	Refitting 223 Days.				
6	Wren Pink,	336	179	91	66

A Liſt of ſuch Ships as have laid many Days in Refitting.

Rates of Ships.	Names of Ships.	Days.
6	Biddiford, *a new Ship,*	150
4	Dover	347
6	Dunwich	115
3	Edgar	135
3	Elizabeth	173
3	Expedition	146
5	Experiment	128
6	Eſſex-Prize	90
6	Hind Pink	60
6	Jolly-Prize, *to mend her Truſſel Trees,*	88
6	Lark	94
3	Monk	108
3	Mary	148
5	Mary-Galley	89
3	Monmouth	129
3	Norfolk	146
3	Northumberland	96
6	Orford	97
4	Princeſs Ann	121
3	Reſtoration	155
3	Reſolution	129
4	Ruby	122
6	Royal Tranſport	147
3	Royal Oak	102
5	Suadados-Prize	130
6	Seaford	158
4	Southampton	108
4	Sunderland	183
3	Suffolk	166
6	Swallow-Prize	49
6	Swan	71
5	Sweepſtake *mending her Rudder*	28
4	Tyger	162
4	Windſor	74
4	Woolwich	223
	In all 35 Ships.	

A

A Liſt of ſuch Ships as lay in Port without Orders, and how long they did ſo.

Rates of Ships.	Names of Ships.	Number of Days without Order.	Rates of Ships.	Names of Ships.	Number of Days without Orders.
4	Advice	61	6	Hinde Pinke	30
5	Arundel	28	3	Mary	56
3	Barwick	107	3	Norfolke	45
6	Biddiford	22	5	Saudados-Prize	20
4	Burlington	55	5	Smirna-Merchant	26
4	Cheſter	12	4	Southampton	20
3	Elizabeth	49	5	Tiger-Hir'd	73
4	Garland	62		In all 15 Ships.	

A Liſt of ſuch Ships as are entered in the Cruiſing-Book, which have not cruiſed.

Rates of Ships.	Names of Ships.	Rates of Ships.	Names of Ships.	Rates of Ships.	Names of Ships.	Rates of Ships.	Names of Ships.
5	Arundel	4	Bonadventure	3	Reſtoration	4	Ruby
4	Centurion	4	Coronation	6	Royal-Tranſport	6	Roe-Ketch
5	Dolphin	5	Dover-Prize	4	Samuel and Henry	5	Saudados-Prize
3	Dreadnought	6	Eſſex-Prize	6	Seaford	5	Smyrna Merchts
5	Friendly Society	3	Ipſwich	5	Smyrna Factor	5	Speedwell
3	Lenox	5	Lynn	5	St. Malo	6	Swallow-Prize
3	Lion	6	Mariana	6	Swan	4	Trident-Prize
6	Mariana	6	Martin-Ketch	4	Tyger	5	Tyger-Hir'd
4	Noneſuch	6	Penzance	5	Virgins Prize		
4	Princeſs Anne	5	Prince George		In all 36 Ships.		

Remarks of Things doubtfully or imperfectly expreſſed, and of Blank-Dates.

Lynn, an imperfect Account when launched; and how employed from the Beginning of the Year 1696, to the 5th of Auguſt following.

Speedwell, an imperfect Account of Orders given from the 9th of November 1695, to the 9th of June.

Montague, an imperfect Account from the 1ſt of June 1695, to the Twenty-fifth of February following.

Scarborough, no Account when launched, and entered the Service.

Blanks in the Cruiſing Book.

Page.	Names of Ships.	Blanks.	Page	Names of Ships.	Blanks.
3	Affiſtance	3	27	Grayhound	2
4	Barwick	1	24	Hampton-Court	2
	Biddiford	2	27	Hind-Pink	2
5	Burlington	2	29	Jolly-Prize	4
7	Centurion	2	30	Lynn	2
8	Chatham	1		Lark	3
10	Coronation	1	31	Lincoln	5
12	Defiance	1	32	Lyon	1
14	Dolphin	2	33	Litchfield	1
15	Dover	2		Lyme	1
16	Dover-Prize	3	34	Mariana	4
17	Deptford	1	35	Mary	2
18	Dunwich	4	37	Mermaid	3
19	Elizabeth	2		Monmouth	1
20	Experiment	3	30	Montague	1
21	Eſſex Prize	3	39	Milford	2
	Foreſight	3	40	Medway	1
22	Garland	2		Newark	1
26	Henry-Prize	4	42	Norwich	6

43 Or-

Page.	Names of Ships.	Blanks.
43	Orford	1
	Pearle	3
45	Penzance	1
46	Portland	1
47	Portſmouth	1
48	Portſmouth-Prize	7
49	Quaker-Ketch	2
53	Roebuck	3
54	Rye	1
55	Rupert-Prize	6
56	Seahorſe	2
57	Seaford	1
58	Severne	7
59	Shoreham	6
60	Solebay	2
61	Speedwell	4
62	Southampton	
	Sunderland	
63	Suffolk	5
	Swallow Prize	2
	Sweepſtakes	2
65	Scarborough	2
70	Wren-Pink	4
		159

The Blanks in the Cruiſing-Book, hide the Time of the Arrival and Departure of Ships, and ſo make the Examination very difficult, and not ſo perfect as might otherwiſe have been.

A Liſt of ſome Ships that have done Service in Cruiſing.

Rates.	Names of Ships.	
4	ANGLESEA.	Took a French Ship of 200 Tuns. Fought a French Ship of 50 to 60 Guns. Took a Ship of 50 Tuns. A French Privateer of 16 Guns. Another of 6 Guns. Another of 3 Guns. Another of 4 Guns. Retook an Oſtend Ship of 500 Tuns. A Ketch. A Galliot.
4	BURLINGTON.	Brought in a Swedes Man of War. Took a French Privateer of 8 Guns.
3	CONTENT.	Took a French Man of War of 30 Guns. A Privateer of 8 Guns. A Boat. Retook an Engliſh Ship from the Weſt Indies.
4	DOVER.	Retook an Engliſh Ship. Took a French Privateer of 14 Guns.
4	FORESIGHT.	Took a French Ketch. A Scotch Ship from France. A French Merchant Ship. A Privateer of 8 Guns. Fought a French Men of War from 60 to 70 Guns.
4	LITCHFIELD.	Took a French Bark of 60 Tuns. A French Privateer of 24 Guns. Five Prizes. Fought and forced a Frigate aſhore.
4	MEDWAY.	Fought 2 French Men of War and ſecured her Convoys. Retook the Rocketch. Took 3 Privateers of 20, 18, and 8 Guns. Another of 16 Guns and chaſed another.
4	NORWICH.	Took a French Letter of Marque Ship of 22 Guns. Seized a Swedes Ship from France.
5	PEARL	Retook a Veſſel with Coals, 4 Ships. Took a French Privateer of 22 Guns. Forced a French Ship a-ſhore. Took 2 Swedes from France.
4	PORTLAND.	Took 2 French Ships with Fiſh. A Ship of 18 Guns. Retook a Dutch Fly-boat of 400 Tuns. Took a Ship of 8 Guns. And a Spy-boat.
5	SAPHIRE.	Took 3 French Bankers. Two Prizes more.
5	SCARBOROUGH.	Took a French Privateer of 4 Guns. Put a French Privateer aſhore.
4	WEYMOUTH.	Took a French Man of War that could carry 40 Guns. A French Privateer of 18 Guns. A Spaniſh Ship with French Paſſes. Retook a Ship of Liverpool.

Some Conſiderations on the Cruiſing Service.

123	Ships employed in this Service (as by the Cruiſing-Book) for eleven Months, have in all cruiſed ———	5022 Days
	Convoys for Colliers —	260 Days
		5282 Days.
43	Ships appointed by the Parliament (at leaſt) would, if conſtantly employed, have cruiſed in the Space of eleven Months	14405 Days.
123	Ships have cruiſed as above	5282 Days.
	Leſs then 43 Ships would have cruiſed if conſtantly imployed	9123 Days.

15 Ships conſtantly employed for the Space of 11 Months, would have cruiſed 5025 Days. which is but 257 Days leſs, than the Service performed by the 123 Ships employed as above.

A Calculation of what Number of Days forty three Men of War may reaſonably be employed at Sea, in Cruiſe within the Year, and be always kept clean.

It is neceſſary for every Ship to clean and refit once in two Months and ten Days; for ſuch Cleaning and Refitting may be ſufficient; which in the Year is — 60 Days.

As many Days may be allowed for going to, and coming from their Station, which is a large Allowance. } 60 Days.

This makes in all ——— 120

So that in a Year there may be of effective Cruiſe — } 245 Days.

365

Forty three Ships ordered as above, will in one Year, actually cruiſe 19535 Days, which is double what the 123 Ships have done, according to the Cruiſing Book.

It is obſervable, that the Time limitted to ſeveral Ships for Cruiſing, hath been ſo ſhort, that no great Service could be reaſonably expected from them; particularly, the Reſolution, a third Rate, Severn, a fourth; Monmouth, a third; Dunkirk, a third; Garland, a fifth. And two Fire-Ships were ordered from Spithead, the Twenty-eighth of April, to cruiſe in the Soundings till the Fourteenth of May, being ſixteen Days, for Protection of Ships expected from the Eaſt-Indies and Barbadoes. Five Days were ſpent in ſending down the Orders, and getting the Ships under ſail; and the reſt were expired before they got out of the Channel, whereby thoſe Ships expected home, were very much expoſed.

Several Ships lay unemploy'd, when clean.

Rates.		
5	Arundel, a new Ship and clean, lay 25 Days together.	
6	Biddiford, a new Ship 29 Days.	
6	Dunwich, —	26 Days.

Rates.		
4	Tyger, —	47 Days.
4	Windſor, —	44 Days.
4	Woolwich, —	38 Days.

The Reader will not fail to make his Obſervations on this authentick Account, of the Service in this Kind, at a remote Time. We hope it will be obſerved by thoſe now in Power, and need add no Remarks.

THE

THE
NAVAL HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.

BOOK XVIII.

From the Beginning of the eighteenth Century, to the Year 1757.

CHAP. I.

The State of Europe *at the Beginning of this Century.*

WILLIAM had very gloriouſly aſſerted the Cauſe of *England*; and *Lewis*, his and *Europe*'s Enemy, had in the Courſe of a few Years, been thrown from his imaginary Height of Glory, his Armies beaten, his Fleets deſtroyed, and himſelf in a Manner forced to give up all his Conqueſts, the Purchaſe of ſo much Cruelty and Fraud, at the Peace of *Ryſwick*.

Holland was independant, and being at Peace with her only ſuperior at Sea, had nothing to fear. *England* ſeem'd riſing to a greater Height of Glory than ſhe had ever known; and they who envied, bit the Lip in Silence.

No King had ſeen the true Intereſts of this Nation more ſtrongly, or proſecuted them with more Prudence and Reſolution, than *William*.

He ſaw the Turn Things ſeem'd to be taking in *Spain*; and without entering into the Deſigns of that Kingdom, he prepared for the Defence and Honour of his own.

The Navy was put upon a very ſtrong and reſpectable Footing; not only Number, Force, and good Management, rendered it more formidable in the Whole, than it had been before; but Command being given, where Merit directed; every Ship was known to be on equal Terms, unconquerable.

No immediate great Service calling for the whole naval Strength, it was divided into ſeveral Squadrons; and all of theſe ſent on important Purpoſes.

The *Algerines* had entered into a Treaty with *England*: as alſo the States of *Tripoli* and *Tunis*, but our *Turkey*-Ships, and thoſe trading to other Places in their Way, were too ſtrong a Temptation to profeſſed Thieves.

A Squadron was ſent into the *Mediterranean*, for their Protection, and the Command given to Vice Admiral *Aylmer*.

The Fiſhery on the Coaſt of *Newfoundland*, now became an Article of great Importance. Thither was ſent another Squadron, to protect the Veſſels, and to convoy them to their *European* Deſtinations, and again to the Scene of Buſineſs. Captain *Leeke* commanded theſe, and with him was a very diſtinguiſhed Seaman, Captain *Fairborn*.

To the *Eaſt-Indies* went another Squadron under the Conduct of Captain *Warren*; his Death gave the Care of the Expedition to Captain *Litt eton*, and it ſucceeded perfectly, in protecting the rich Trade of our People, in that Part of the World; and deſtroying the worſt of the Pirates, whom he ſought even in their Retreats, when they no longer dar'd to appear at Sea.

The Pirates of *Sallee* had ventured to ſeize upon ſome *Engliſh* Ships, when the naval Power of the Kingdom was neceſſarily employed elſewhere, and now it was reſented.

Captain *Munden* had the Command of a Squadron ſent thither: He obtained better Terms than had been expected; and brought back a great Number of Chriſtian thence.

Thus was the Sea covered with *Engliſh* Fleets; and the Terror of our worſt Enemies kept them quiet: It was not an Employment of ſpecious Service, on which theſe Fleets were ſent out; but to the Honour of all the Commanders, it may be ſaid, they did their Duty.

CHAP. II.

England *becomes Mediator between* Sweden *and* Denmark.

OUR Nation had the Glory to open the eighteenth Century with its Mediation between two diſputing Kingdoms; to whom it reſtored Peace.

There is not in the Compaſs of human Actions, a Subject of greater Glory, than ſuch an Intermediation, nor was it ever conducted with more Dignity than on the Part of *England* in this Inſtance.

The Peace of *Ryſwick* had ſcarce given Repoſe to the Southern *Europe*, when the Northern Kingdoms became embroil'd.

Sweden was governed by a Boy; and *Denmark* had entertained Thoughts of ſtripping him of Part of his Provinces.

Poland joined *Denmark* in this unjuſtifiable Deſign, and the great Czar, *Peter*, ſupported them: But the Boy whom they propoſed to plunder, was *Charles* the Twelfth; he had a Genius equal to the Czar's, and it was turned by this Attack, wholly to War. His perſonal Courage never was exceeded, perhaps not equalled. He ſet out with a Glory none ever acquired at ſuch Time of Life, for before he was Seventeen, he had beaten theſe three Princes, and that in a great Meaſure by his own Courage and Conduct.

At the Time of which we now write, the Difference was ſo violent between him and *Denmark*, that the Peace of *Europe* was diſturbed greatly, and was threatened more.

England interfered by her good Offices and Arms; and to the Honour of our Sovereign, took the juſt Part, tho' then as uſually it is the weakeſt. A conſiderable Squadron was ordered to be fitted out for the *Baltick*; the *Dutch* were by the juſt Repreſentations of King *William*, brought to join in the Cauſe, and ſend ſome Veſſels of theirs on the ſame Buſineſs: the Command was given to Sir *George Rooke*.

Sweden was informed in Time, of the Intent and Deſtination of this Force, and invited to know her own Intereſt, and join her beſt Ships with the reſt.

A Lieutenant Admiral *Allemonde*, was the principal Officer in the *Dutch* Veſſels; but all Power was given to the *Engliſh* Admiral, *Rooke*; 'twas *William* who undertook to compoſe the Differences, and tho' he admitted the *Dutch* to a Share in the Service, himſelf took all the Glory.

He had his full Inſtructions, and with the reſt of his Force, took ſeveral Bomb-Veſſels well provided.

Peace was his Purpoſe, and his Errand: but the King knew with whom he had to deal; and gave him Power and Orders, if he could not obtain it fairly, to command it.

William acted as Guarantee of the Treaty of *Altena*; and his own ſteady Faith, placed this before him as an Office worthy his perfect Execution.

Sir *George Rook* arrived in *May* at the *Hague*; he concerted every Thing with the *Swediſh* Miniſter, and the *Engliſh* Envoy, Mr. *Stanhope*, and ſail'd for *Egmont*, off *Zee*; where, or at the utmoſt off *Gottenburg*, the full Force was to join him.

The *Dutch* came up off *Scheveling*, and the united Fleet arrived at *Gottenburg*, in the Beginning of *June*.

In the Sound lay the *Daniſh* Fleet, Twenty-eight Sail of the Line, ſtationed with Care under the Cannon of *Cronenburg*, and acroſs the narrow Paſſage.

They expected the Fleet *England* had ſent to give them Laws, and tho' not deſirous of an Engagement, they were prepared for Oppoſition.

The *Engliſh* Admiral had perfect Intelligence, but he was determined in his Purpoſe. He led his Force toward the Sound. He waited the appointed Signal from *Helſinburg*, oppoſite to *Cronenberg*; and he had Intelligence by it, that the *Danes* were under ſail.

He advanced into the Sound, and his Approach ſtopped the Purpoſe of the *Danes*; they anchored again: and in this they did diſcreetly.

The *Swediſh* Squadron was now come down to the South-Side of the Channel; and nothing but their anchoring as they did on this Side of the Grounds, could have prevented their joining the Confederate Force.

Sir *George Rooke* waited an Advantage he ſaw the *Swedes* would have, of making their Way thro' the Oppoſition, and he ſaw them neglect it.

He now dallied no longer, but advanced toward the Iſland of *Ween*; and the *Danes* plied toward him in a Line of Battle.

At Noon they anchored three Leagues off at the Entrance of the Channel, that runs to *Copenhagen*, and the *Swedes* ſtood on the other Side at about equal Diſtance.

At length this ſlow Squadron joined the *Engliſh*; and the *Danes* then ſtood into their Harbour.

Sir *George Rooke* followed them. He came into *Copenhagen* Road, and he took a View of them, where they lay well defended, and prepared for a deſperate Reſiſtance, if attacked.

They ſaw the ſuperior Force of the Enemy, and they had uſed every Precaution for their Security; at the Mouth of their Harbour they had ſunk ſeveral Veſſels; and they threw beſide a vaſt Bomb acroſs, guarded with Floats, ſupporting a Number of Cannon, well ſecured and provided. The *Engliſh* Admiral at firſt thought of employing the Frigates, and ſome Fireſhips; but this he ſaw would have been fruitleſs. The Bomb Veſſels which had been added to the Fleet for occaſional Service, were ſent in towards Evening, and threw, during the Night, an hundred and forty Shells among them; but theſe did little Damage. The Bombardment was repeated next Day from another Quarter, but with no better Succeſs; and it was reſolved, as the Fleet was impracticable, to beſiege the City.

Charles the Twelfth, afterwards ſo famous and unfortunate, landed with a Body of Troops, and was reſolved to puſh the Siege to all Extremities.

Thus ſtood the two Parties, when *William* offered his final Propoſitions of Peace. He repreſented to the *Danes* the Injuſtice of their Cauſe, and the Ruin in which it would involve their Country: He propoſed Terms ſufficient, yet moderate; and he inſiſted on the *Swedes* Acceptance of them. The *Danes* acquieſced; and Peace was reſtored to that Part of *Europe*. No Act of *William*'s Reign, none of any other Kings, ever exceeded this in Glory. His Character, oppoſed to that of *Lewis*, appeared in the faireſt and moſt conſpicuous Light, the Vindicator of Treaties, the Friend of Mankind. The *Engliſh* Admiral was applauded highly for his Reſolution, and his careful Conduct; and he brought back his Fleet amidſt the public Applauſes of all Parties.

CHAP. III.

The Death of the King of Spain.

THIS Difference ſettled in the North, an Incident of much greater Importance to all *Europe*, demanded the public Attention. The King of *Spain*, whoſe lingering Sickneſs had given the ambitious *Lewis* Time for deep Cabals, and various Schemes, to get the *Spaniſh* Monarchy into his Family, died.

His Death happened on the firſt of *November*; and there appeared a Will in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou*. *France* rejoiced, but *Europe* elſewhere trembled. The two laſt Years of the ſeventeenth Century had ſeen the World, after a long Series of bloody Conflicts, in a ſettled Peace; but this Event, marked the firſt of the ſucceeding Period for War. Full two hundred Years, had *France* by Arms, and by Negotiations, by every Fraud, and every Violence, attempted to get only a Part of the *Spaniſh* Frontiers to the Houſe of *Bourbon*; when now the Will of a poor enfeebled, and half-dead Monarch, gave them the whole. *Lewis* thought himſelf at once the happieſt, and the greateſt of Mankind, powerful in himſelf, and a Witneſs to his Grandſon's taking the Sovereignty of *Spain*, half *Italy*, the *Netherlands*, and the *New World*.

France was the firſt to acknowledge the Duke of *Anjou* King of *Spain*: The Partition Treaty ſtood indeed againſt this; but who had ſeen *Lewis* regard a Treaty? The *Dutch*, howſoever much they hated and dreaded the Event, were obliged to acknowledge the new King. Our glorious Sovereign grew weak and infirm, when the World more than ever needed his Aſſiſtance, his Support; and *Lewis*, who comforted himſelf with this Circumſtance, drain'd his Coffers (ſo ſay his own Hiſtorians) to ſend Bribes into *England*, to buy off a Majority, without which he knew *William* could not exert himſelf.

The firſt Step of our ſick King was writing to *Philip* the Fifth, as King of *Spain*: He promiſed the Emperor, that he would arm *England* and *Holland* in his Cauſe; and he gained over *Denmark*.

William, who knew the Intrigues and Purpoſes of *France*, diſſolved that Parliament, in which Parties might be perhaps form'd of bad Men againſt him and his Country; and on the ſixth of *February*, the ſucceeding Year, he called another.

On the tenth the Commons met, and ſaw the Danger with their Sovereign's Eyes. They approved the Meaſures highly which he had taken to prevent it, and came to an unanimous Reſolution, that they would ſupport his Majeſty to the utmoſt, and do every Thing in their Power for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Peace of *Europe*. They addreſſed the King to this Purpoſe. The Lords ſeconded them, and they requeſted that ſuch a Fleet might be fitted out, as to his Majeſty ſhould ſeem proper for the Defence of the Kingdom.

CHAP. IV.

The French *expected in* England.

ALL knew that *Lewis* hated and dreaded the King of *England*: His Fear with regard to the Duke of *Anjou*'s Succeſſion was only from this Nation; for he knew there was at that Time no where elſe Strength to ſupport an Attempt againſt him, nor Weight to conduct a Negotiation. Every one expected his Operations to prevent this; and early in 1701, Forces were preparing for a Deſcent on *England*; and a Fleet at *Dunkirk* to convoy them.

Rear-Admiral *Bembow*, a Man reſpected for a long Series of upright and honourable Conduct, then commanded in the *Downs*. To him the King diſpatched Orders to oppoſe himſelf to ſuch an Attempt; and in *February* the Flag Officers were diſpatched to the ſeveral Ports to haſten the fitting out of Ships, and ſend them to the general Rendezvous, the *Downs*. It was the Cauſe of every Man, and all acted as ſenſible of it. The King thanked his faithful People; and *France*, ſo often beaten, was now frightened from her Purpoſe. The Troops were ordered back, and the Ships kept in their Harbours. The very Notice of ſo reſolved an Enemy, deſtroyed the Preparation of ſeven Months; and the only Diſguiſe for the Shame, was the Pretence that no Deſcent had been projected or intended.

Still, however, there were Whiſpers that the Deſigns put off were not relinquiſhed, and that *France* only meditated a more ſecure and fatal Blow. To theſe ſecret Threats the King oppoſed his Navy; he ordered the general Rendezvous; and thoſe who wiſhed Ill to *England* were confounded and aſtoniſhed at that Force; in Confidence of which ſhe defied equally, diſguiſed and open Danger.

There have been Periods in which the *Britiſh* Navy gained more Glory, becauſe there have been Times when there was more Occaſion for Service; but there is no Period at which our naval Force has made a greater Figure, or more alarmed and awed our Enemies.

Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* brought to the *Downs* fifty-ſix Veſſels, ten of them only *Dutch*, the reſt *Engliſh*; and the whole Force was in as great Order as ever known.

The *French* worked Day and Night at *Breſt* in fitting out Ships. A Number of our lighter Veſſels were kept hovering on their Coaſt for Intelligence. Squadrons were ſent to *Ireland*, to convoy Troops thence to *Holland*; and Cruizers under better Regulations than thoſe of late Years, were ſent into the Soundings; and whereever there could be Occaſion to protect our own Trade, and that of our Allies, or to face our Enemy.

On the ſecond of *July* the Admiral of the Fleet, Sir *George Rooke*, hoiſted his Flag on board the *Triumph*: There attended him Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, Sir *Thomas Hopſon*, and Mr. *Bembow*, Vice-Admirals; and Sir *John Munden* Rear-Admiral of the Red. Of the *Dutch* there were a Lieutenant-Admiral, *Allemonde*, and two Vice-Admirals, *Vandergoes*, and *Waſſenaer*.

Six Weeks the Fleet was detained at *St. Helen's*, for Want of better Regulations for victualling it; and when the Admiral failed towards the latter End of *Auguſt*, Storms drove him back again. Some Time after he got out, and cruiſed without any notable Incident till *September*; when he was ordered back to *Torbay*.

Tho' nothing was done at Sea, the King himſelf acted on Shore, and was indefatigable in the Intereſts of the Nation. He ſigned in *September* a Treaty with the Emperor, and *Holland*. This was his laſt public Act.

He returned to *England*, where a Fall from his Horſe haſtened that Death, which was but too faſt approaching from an internal Decay. *France* now ſaw herſelf relieved from her worſt Fears.

A little before his Death, *William* ſhewed in the plaineſt Manner his Diſapprobation of the Conduct of the Admiralty, by taking the Management out of the Hands of the Commiſſioners, and veſting it in the Earl of *Pembroke*.

We have had many Occaſions to praiſe, and more to blame preceding Kings upon the Management of the proper Strength and Force of *Britain*, her Navy. *William* on this Head deſerves great Honour. Could Men forget that he was a Maſter in the Art of War, and added to the Knowledge of the General the Courage of the common Soldier; cool in the Heat of Action, temperate in Succeſs, and fearleſs in Danger; could they forget his Attention to his Peoples Intereſts, Fidelity to his Allies, and Spirit in oppoſing his Enemies; could Ingratitude blot from Proteſtant Remembrance the Battle of the *Boyne*, the Nation preſerved, and Liberty protected with Religion;

Still the Name of *William* would demand, for his Attention to the *Britiſh* Navy, an everlaſting and honourable Remembrance: He left the Number of Ships double to what he found it; and he regulated better than all before him, the Appointments of the Officers and Sailors.

CHAP. V.

The Acceſſion of Queen Anne.

THE Death of King *William* gave the Crown to *Anne*, youngeſt Daughter to *James* the Second, by his firſt Marriage. This the Act of Succeſſion had determined; and it was in the thirty eighth Year of her Age ſhe received that Dignity. The King died on the eighth of *March* 1702, and *Anne* was proclaimed the ſame Day. The Privy Council, who immediately waited on her, were received with great Civility, and with as much Dignity. She thanked them for their Profeſſions, condoled with them for the Nation's Loſs, and with an Air that ſpoke her worthy what ſhe was ſaying, told them ſhe ſhould make the late King's Conduct a Model for her own; and that ſhe ſaw the firſt Point to be laboured in the Nation's Service, was the oppoſing the dangerous Power of *France*.

She continued the late King's Officers till farther Orders, and immediately ſat down to Buſineſs. She began her Reign with a glorious Inſtance of Generoſity and Moderation.

The Commons reſolved that the ſame Revenue which the late King poſſeſſed, ſhould be ſettled on the Queen for Life; and ſhe added to her Thanks an Earneſt of her future Conduct: ſhe aſſigned a hundred thouſand Pounds of it for the public Service of the current Year.

Marlborough was ſent into *Holland* to aſſure the States of her moſt faithful Friendſhip; and of her determined Purpoſe of maintaining the Alliances made by the late King, and acting in Concert with them on all Occaſions for the Repoſe of *Europe*.

Thus began this moſt auſpicious Reign; promiſing Glory to *Britain*, and giving all it promiſed.

Queen *Anne* declared her Huſband, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, Generaliſſimo of all her Forces, by Sea and Land, the Earl of *Marlborough*, Captain General, and the Duke of *Ormond*, Commander in Chief of the Land Forces, to be employed on board the Fleet. The Lord *Godolphin*, was made Lord High Treaſurer, and the Earl of *Nottingham*, and Sir *Charles Hedges*, Secretaries of State.

The Buſineſs of the Nation wore a favourable Aſpect. The Return of the Earl of *Marlborough* from *Holland*, called the Council together, where after ſome cold Debates, and ſome ſlight Words, about *England*'s acting only as an Auxillary in the War, it was carried in a more ſpirited Manner. War was declared againſt *France* and *Spain*; and the World ſaw *England*, once more in that honourable Light, wherein ſhe had ſo glorioully ſhewn herſelf, Protectreſs of the Liberties of *Europe*.

The Armies of the Confederate Powers, the Battles, Sieges, Blood, and Maſſacrees of ſo many of the human Species, then ſo terrible throughout the Chriſtian World, had no other Aim. *Vendome* carried on the War againſt Prince *Eugene*, and was always ſucceſsful, where that Prince did not act in Perſon, and always beaten, where he did: *Marlborough* terrible to the *French*, was more ſucceſsful in the Courſe of theſe Operations: The Point ſeemed to many carried too far, but *Europe* has known ſince, the Lives then ſacrificed to the reducing the Power of that Crown, have been Martyrs to her general Protection.

War being declared, every Preparation was made for carrying it on with Vigour. The Naval Force of the Kingdom, which *William* had left on ſo reſpectable a Footing, was given to the Command of Prince *George* of *Denmark*, whom the Queen declared now Lord High-Admiral.

He appointed Sir *George Rooke* Vice Admiral of *England*, and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet. *Mitchell* and *Churchill*, with *Richard Hill*, Eſq; were appointed Council to the Lord High Admiral; a new Term and new Powers, but they never abuſed them; and the Queen was too much reſpected, to admit of Wrangling upon ſuch Points.

The Lord *Pembroke* whom the King had veſted with that high Authority a little before his Death, had obtained the Applauſe of all Mankind by his good Conduct; and he now reſigned the Load of Service ill paid by all its Honours and Emoluments, with Pleaſure.

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CHAP. VI.

Bembow's *Expedition to the* Weſt-Indies.

THE War with *France* had never been confined to *Europe*. Squadrons of theirs, and of ours were diſpatched from Time to Time into the *American* Seas, and according to the Cuſtom of late Time, ſo prevalent nearer Home, the Commanders on each Side uſed all their Art to keep out of one another's Way; if croſs Winds, or Want of Intelligence brought them too near, the Point was to get away, with as few Blows as they could, and as little Scandal.

The brave and great Admiral *Bembow* requeſted the Command of a Squadron, ſent out by Sir *George Rooke*, the preceding Year, into the *American* Seas, where Duty was moſt ſlighted. He told his Commanders in the ſeveral Ships, that he would endeavour to do his Country real Service; and requeſted them to join with their Hearts as well as Hands, in the Buſineſs.

This Squadron was ſent out before the Acceſſion of the Queen, and was now upon its Service; the Force was not great, for it conſiſted only of ten Ships, two of them third Rates, and the reſt ſmaller.

But what it wanted in Number and Size of Veſſels, it had compenſated in the Courage and Conduct of the great Commander.

Du Caſſe commanded the *French* Squadron; and that was much ſuperior in Force and Number. Our Admiral had been obliged to weaken his own Force for other Service, but he ſtill held the ſame Reſolution. He heard at *Jamaica*, that the *French* were off *Martinico*.

Coetlogon and *Chateau Renaud*, rendezvouſed there alſo with conſiderable Force, and *Jamaica* and *Barbadoes* were thrown under the greateſt Apprehenſions.

They knew they could confide in the Integrity and Courage of *Bembow*, but his Force, compared to theſe united Squadrons, was nothing.

He promiſed them his Protection; and he ſtayed to give it. The largeſt of the *French* Ships were ſent Home; others were diſpatched on different Service; and by Degrees, the Odds grew leſs againſt the *Engliſh*.

People recovered their Spirits; but thoſe who ſhould have moſt felt this good Fortune, ſhewed, and indeed entertained leaſt Senſe of it: Fear infected ſected the Commanders of ſome of his beſt Ships. The Admiral ſaw it; and he ſpoke freely.

He told them, the Conduct of the Enterprize was left to him; and that he would expect them to ſtand no Danger, that he did not ſhare with them, but they muſt do their Duty.

Words that ſhould have ſtung them with Shame, only threw them into Cabals and Parties: he underſtood the Backwardneſs they were about to ſhew; and he deſpiſed, and threatened to puniſh it.

Three whom he could beſt truſt, he ſent to *Petit Guavas*, to cruiſe; and they returned ſucceſsful. They came in with a Number of Prizes, more than equal to their own Ships; and with Intelligence, that the Force under *Chateau Renaud*, waited off the *Havannah*, the Flota from *Vera Cruz*; and that he had in Command Twenty-ſix Ships of War.

CHAP. VII.

The Engagement with Du Caſſe.

D*U Caſſe* was ordered with four Ships of Force to *Port Louis* at the weſt End of *Hiſpaniola*, to intercept the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* trading Veſſels: here was a Deſign of the Enemy of the utmoſt Importance to our Trade; and not too well ſupported for Oppoſition: the Admiral ſaw all Advantages, and he determined they ſhould be attacked.

He ſent off Rear Admiral *Whetſtone*, with five Men of War and a Fire-ſhip, to intercept *Du Caſſe*, or fight him there.

The *Engliſh* Arms begun to brighten with Succeſs: The Rupture with *Spain*, was known in this Part of the World; and the *Gloriana*, a *Spaniſh* Ship of War, whoſe Office was to carry a new Governor to *Carthagena*, fell into the Way of our Ship the *Briſtol*, and became her Prize.

This gave Hope and Courage to the others: the Admiral, who when he ſent out *Whetſtone* againſt *Du Caſſe* determined himſelf to follow, had in a few Days the reſt of his Force ready. He ſailed to join that Squadron, and ſee his Orders executed with a better Spirit, than the Tempers of his Men promiſed in his Abſence.

In his Way, he received Advice, that *Du Caſſe* was then expected in *Lagane-Bay*; he altered his Courſe, made his beſt Sail thither, and came in Sight of a Number of *French* Veſſels.

He gave Chaſe in his own Veſſel, to one of their Fifty-Gun Ships, which was diſtanc'd from the reſt; and the Commander, when he ſaw it impoſſible to eſcape, ran her a-ground, fir'd, and blew her up.

Night cloſed on this Succeſs of the *Engliſh*, but the Morning promiſed more. Three of the *French* Ships were taken, a fourth ſunk, and another that had found, as her Commander thought, a Poſt of Security, under a Fort, was burnt by the *Engliſh* Boats down to the Water's-Edge.

This was but partial Succeſs, for he who could have reſiſted beſt, and who could do moſt Harm was abſent.

The Vice-Admiral followed him, according to his Intelligence: he purſued him to *Carthagena*, where his Advices told him, the Force was deſtin'd to *Porto-Bello*.

Rear Admiral *Whetſtone*, though he had not come up with *Du Caſſe*, had been ſucceſsful; a Ship of War of the Enemy, had fallen into his Hands, and a Sloop. He joined the Fleet, and he was now diſpatched with what Force could be ſpar'd to *Jamaica*.

Bembow was one of thoſe Commanders, who weigh Actions, with all the Conſequences; he was determined to attack *Du Caſſe* with a true *Engliſh* Reſolution, but he knew the beſt Succeſs he could obtain againſt that Squadron, would be of little Value, if in the mean Time our Colonies ſuffered.

'Twas with theſe Thoughts, he ſent off his Rear Admiral, with as much Force as could be ſpared. He left himſelf two third, and four fourth Rates, and with theſe he failed for *Santa Martha*.

On the Nineteenth of *Auguſt*, early in the Afternoon, he came in Sight of the *French* Squadron: they conſiſted of ten Ships, four of them of ſixty or ſeventy Guns, the reſt ſmaller Veſſels, and were ſteering Weſtward along the Shore.

This was the Hour the Admiral had ſo eagerly deſired. He came up with them about four o'Clock, and he began the Engagement.

He diſpoſed his ſmall Force in a well regulated Line; gave all the needful Orders, and himſelf began the Attack.

The *French* oppoſed him with ſome Spirit; but this could not have hurt him, for it flagged in a few Moments. His own People betray'd him; when every Thing promiſed Victory.

Two of the principal Ships, the *Defiance*, and the *Windſor*, quitted their Stations, and got out of Gun-ſhot: they had ſtood but two Broadſides.

The Admiral's Ship was left expoſed to a very unequal Combat, by this Treachery; but he ſtood it unmov'd, and fought the two ſternmoſt Ships of the Enemy unaſſiſted. His Rear ſhould have come up, but they moved ſlowly.

The Commander in Chief, was left a long Time to fight his Country's Cauſe alone, and doubtleſs the Enemy wiſhed his Deſtruction, even leſs than his own Officers; to whom his future Reſentment muſt be very dreadful, if he eſcaped.

Night ſtopped the Action; and the Admiral at once refitted and purſued: the Enemy ſought nothing but to eſcape, and our gallant Commander, who had more Deſire to annoy them, than to puniſh his Officers, led himſelf on all Tacks, and ſtill had Hopes they would redeem the Honour they had loſt the preceding Day, and follow his Example. He form'd his Line, and purſu'd: at Day-break he found himſelf in Reach of the Enemy; but of his whole Force only one Ship was with him. The reſt were four Miles behind.

This was an Opportunity the *French* might have taken to great Advantage, but *Bembow* was a Man they did not chuſe to fight on any Terms: and they well knew if but two of his Ships were near, his own was one.

They made what Sail they could to get away, and the *Engliſh* Admiral purſu'd them thus with only one Ship of his Squadron aſſiſting till Night, often in Reach, and never miſſing that Opportunity of firing upon them.

In the Afternoon of this Day *Du Caſſe* drew up his Ships in a Line of Battle, and ſeem'd intent on coming to an Action, for a few Minutes: but it was only a *French* Piece of Bravado: he continued making the beſt Sail he could away, and the *Engliſh* Admiral purſuing him four Days.

Du Caſſe had taken an *Engliſh* Ship, the *Anne* Galley, off the Rock of *Liſbon*; the Admiral in this Chace retook her: the Damage he might have done the Enemy, the Glory he might have acquir'd, and the Benefit his Country might have reap'd from this Opportunity, if his Officers had done their Duty, may eaſily be ſeen: as it was, all he gain'd, beſide retaking this ſmall Prize, was the Glory of the Action.

The *Ruby*, which had honeſtly accompany'd him, was ſo diſabled, that he was obliged to ſend her to the next Port to refit.

The Admiral Ship was now alone, but he purſu'd his Courſe, and Shame brought up the reſt; toward Evening the whole Squadron was together; the Enemy but two Miles off; and the Admiral ſtill in the ſame Reſolution; he upbraided no Man: he only exhorted them now to do their Duty; and he was in Hope at laſt of fighting the frighted Enemy.

But this Hope vaniſhed as the reſt: their coming up was a mere Shew; they choſe the Cloſe of Evening for doing it; and the Admiral, who purſu'd the Enemy all Night, found himſelf again deſerted by all, except one Ship: this was the *Falmouth*: the reſt were as far behind as uſual.

Bembow in his own Ship came up with the ſternmoſt Veſſel of the Enemy at two in the Morning; and fir'd his Broadſide: the *French* return'd it; and he encourag'd his Men to act as became their Country.

Himſelf ſtood expos'd to every Danger; indeed too much, and too unhappily: a Chain-ſhot ſhatter'd his right Leg to Pieces, about three in the Morning.

He knew how much depended on himſelf, and he kept the Deck in his Cradle, fought till Daylight, and had then the Satiſfaction to ſee, that if the *French* had taken a Limb from him, he had diſabled one of their largeſt Ships.

She lay a Wreck within half Gun-ſhot of the Admiral; but his Captains, who ſaw from their retir'd Station the Enemy advancing to tow her off, never came in to prevent them.

The Vice Admiral, who had a Senſe of the Diſhonour, as well as Diſadvantage of this Conduct, order'd the Captains on board, reproach'd them with their Behaviour, deſir'd to forget it in a better Conduct for the ſucceeding Days; and reminded them that they were *Engliſh*; a Country whoſe proper Sons never declin'd an Enemy that fac'd them; and added, their Taſk was leſs; 'twas but to chaſtiſe one, who, knowing their Superiority, fled from the Blow.

He declar'd his Reſolution, if they would join him with their Hands and Hearts, not to let a Veſſel of the Enemy eſcape him; and when he ſaw all that ſhould influence Men of Honour, had little Effect on them, he added Conſequences of their Neglect of Duty. They heard this with the ſame Diſregard; and the Captain of the *Defiance* ſetting the Example, the Generality join'd in it that it was not adviſeable to fight.

The Admiral reply'd ſharply, That he did not aſk their Advice, but require their Duty. But all was equally ineffectual: he ſaw his Country betray'd by the abject Cowardice of her Children; a Thing then monſtrous and unheard of; however later Times have made it more familiar: and he gave up the Purpoſe.

He return'd to *Jamaica*, he join'd the reſt of the Fleet which *Whetſtone* commanded, and he proclaim'd the Cowardice and Infamy of his diſobedient Officers: he call'd for Juſtice; and he did not delay the Claim till his Return to *England*. The Fact was there; the Law open; the Enemy at Hand; the Example needful.

Rear Admiral *Whetſtone* preſided at a Court-Martial appointed for the Trial of theſe People; and on the Sixth of *October*, 1702, they were call'd up to anſwer. The Fact was flagrant; and the whole Body of the Innocent were enrag'd.

The Public call'd for Juſtice: they ſaw the Honour of their Country betray'd with her Intereſts; and while their Applauſe lifted the Name of *Bembow* up to Heaven, they call'd for nothing leſs than Death on all thoſe who had deſerted the Cauſe he ſo well defended.

The Vice Admiral behav'd with a Candour and good Senſe on this Occaſion, which gave him no leſs Glory than his Courage: he ſpoke largely of the Difference between the Leaders in this ſcandalous Proceeding, and thoſe who had only follow'd the bad Example.

The Witneſſes were examin'd with an Attention worthy the Importance and Delicacy of the Cauſe; and, to the everlaſting Honour of that Court-Martial, there did not appear in its public Determinations, nor was ſuſpected in the private Conduct or Opinions of its Members, the leaſt Tincture of Folly or of Fraud: plain honeſt Men compos'd it; worthy to command, and fit to judge: Men who would have acted as became them on a like Occaſion, and who knew therefore how to judge of theſe; who underſtood the Value of a Fellow-Officer's Life; and, what was much more, of his Honour; but who alſo knew the Importance of the Service, the Neceſſity of Diſcipline, and the Value of Example.

Such Officers compoſ'd the Court before whom the Officers under *Bembow* were arraign'd: above all Cenſure and Suſpicion; too wiſe for inconſiſtent Opinions; too honeſt for all unfair Influence: we will paſs over intermediate Times; and hope that all ſucceeding Courts Marſhal will be compoſ'd of Men like theſe.

No Men ever had a fairer Trial; nor was there ever a Sentence pronounc'd in which Juſtice was ſo well blended with Pity. The Examination took up many Days; the Witneſſes were innumerable who prov'd the Facts againſt them; and there never appear'd before any Court ſo frivolous an Attempt at a Defence.

Kirkby and *Wade* were Principals in the Fault; Cowards themſelves, and the Cauſe of Cowardice in others.

The Crime was prov'd; and what they offer'd in their Defence, appear'd an Inſult on the Underſtandings of their Judges, not a Juſtification of the leaſt Part of their Conduct.

They were ſentenc'd to be ſhot; and the Confirmation not coming while the Fleet remain'd in the *Weſt-Indies*, they were executed on board the *Briſtol*, on their Arrival at *Plymouth*, without being ſuffer'd to land.

The reſt were found criminal, tho' in a leſs Degree; and it was here that Pity took its Place; their Lives were ſpar'd, but nothing more: their Names were deliver'd down with Infamy to all Poſterity; and their Sentence ſuch as to Men of Honour muſt have been as bad as Death. Their Judges knew they would not feel it ſo; and they contented themſelves with doing Juſtice, without Rigour.

Captain *Conſtable* of the *Windſor* was caſhier'd and impriſon'd: *Fogg* and *Vincent* were ſuſpended; and Captain *Hudſon*, of the *Pendennis*, took a third Name from the ſevereſt Sentence, by Death, a few Days before his Trial ſhould have come on; perhaps by accidental Illneſs, perhaps Deſpair; or, who will ſay his own Hand, in Reflection on his Diſhonour, did not perform the Executioner's Office: the only Conduct (Religion ſet aſide) that could become a *Briton* and a Soldier ſcandaliz'd by his own Conduct.

CHAP. VIII.

The Death of Bembow.

THE Sentence of theſe unworthy Men gave the Public Satisfaction, and the Navy an Example. There were thoſe who wiſh'd for Mercy; for there are ſome to whom Crimes loſe their Force, becauſe the Event is over: but the Public had Cauſe to rejoice in the juſt Proceeding.

The Execution of theſe Captains terrify'd *France* more than all our Preparations; they knew now when they met the *Engliſh* they muſt fight; and their beſt Hope was then, and is, and always will be (unleſs another People occupy the Kingdom) the Bravado of a diſtant Fire and Flight.

The Conſequences of theſe Officers ill Behaviour were alſo for the Time very great; *Du Caſſe* might have been beaten; and by that Blow all the Deſigns of his Country in the *Weſt-Indies* defeated.

Bembow liv'd to ſee the Sentence paſs'd upon theſe Men, but not executed: a Fever from his Wounds carry'd him off on the Fourth of *November*, after many Flatterings of Hope, and Promiſes from thoſe who ſhould have known the Nature of his Condition better, that he would live again to lead the *Engliſh* to Victory.

His Death gave the Command to Rear Admiral *Whetſtone*, who made what Diſpoſition he could for the Defence of *Jamaica*, and ſail'd for *Hiſpaniola*.

England receiv'd, with that Concern her Honour and her Intereſts dictated, the News of theſe Events. The Death of *Bembow* ſeem'd a Subject of univerſal Mourning. The Behaviour of the condemn'd Captains aſtoniſh'd and confounded thoſe who had been accuſtom'd to hear their Fathers ſpeak of ſuch as fought the *Dutch*, when the Love of their Country ſeem'd the active Principle in every Breaſt; and Danger loſt its Name in Glory.

They enquir'd how Men ſo unequal to the Taſk, and ſo unfit for the Command, became entruſted; and they found Connections and Alliances, Intereſt and Favour, nay, abſolute Money, took the Place of Merit in Preferments at Sea: that he receiv'd the Command of a Ship, who could ſerve ſome little wicked Purpoſe of the Miniſter, or who could pay the Price; while Merit lay neglected.

This was the Effect of partial Purpoſes and private Enmities, of perſonal Pique, or of unſated Avarice, in thoſe who had the Diſpoſal of their Country's Honours and Employments.

They ſaw the Cauſe who liv'd in thoſe Times; and they felt the Conſequences: let us compare them ('tis the Uſe of Hiſtory) with ours.

When we have devoted to Infamy thoſe who in 1701 ſold the Command to *Kirkby* and to *Wade*, let us do him due Honour, who, fifty-ſix Years after, repaid with the Dignity of an equal Commiſſion the Services of Captain *Taylor*, a Perſon unknown but by his Actions; who, for his Courage alone, receiv'd, unaſk'd, an Honour above the Height of his Ambition. Theſe are the Acts which ſpeak the Soul of thoſe in Power: one ſuch Promotion ought to ſtrike Detraction dumb; and make the Name of TEMPLE immortal.

CHAP. IX.

Sir John Munden *ſent out with a Squadron.*

THE *Engliſh* Fleet had many *Wades* and *Kirkbys* in Command; the Proſtitution of Power, and Avarice of thoſe who had Intereſt in the Diſpoſal of Employments, had given half the Commands in the Service to Men who never thought of fighting when they receiv'd them; who knew the Pay, and knew the Advantages of their Poſt, but had no more Conſideration of the Service than if they had purchas'd *Sine Cures.* The Nation felt it; and our Enemies gather'd Spirit.

The Government receiv'd Notice that the *Spaniards* were buſy in *Europe*; and their *Weſt-Indian* Settlements the Conſideration. Here we ſaw the wretched Conſequences of the late Cowardice in the *American* Seas: but to exclaim anſwer'd little Purpoſe.

The Lord *Nottingham* receiv'd the Intelligence, and it was circumſtantial, the Duke of *Albuquerque*, the intended Viceroy of *Mexico*, was to join the Ships in the Month of *May* at the *Groyne.* The very Day was afterwards known, and the *French* Ships were order'd thither at the ſame Time, to take on board the *Spaniards.*

The News was now confirm'd and particularis'd. It was reſolv'd to intercept theſe Ships, and the Earl of *Pembroke* gave to Sir *John Munden* the Conduct and Command in this important Expedition.

He had Orders to take eight Third Rates, with three Fire-ſhips, and compleating their Men from the other Veſſels then at *Portſmouth*, to proceed directly and lie off the *Groyne*, ſo poſted that he could gain eaſy Intelligence where the Enemy were. If at the *Groyne*, or in any other near Port, he was to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to deſtroy them; and if he found them not arriv'd, he was to cruiſe off *Cape Finiſterre*, and watch their Motions, with Purpoſe to intercept them in their Paſſage to the *Groyne*; or, that failing, in their Courſe to the *Weſt-Indies.* No Conduct could be more proper, no Meaſures better laid.

Sir *John Munden* was in Rank a Rear Admiral, and he had ſerv'd with Honour: his Inſtructions were very cautious; and he was, among other Things, warn'd very ſtrictly to keep out of Sight of the Shore, that he might be ſecret in the Undertaking.

He ſail'd with theſe Inſtructions; and on the Twelfth of *May* got clear of Land. He then acquainted his Officers with their Deſtination; and repeating to them all the Cautions himſelf had receiv'd, began his Expedition with an Appearance of Prudence and Spirit that promis'd Succeſs.

The Wind favour'd, and he made, without any croſs Accident, the Land of *Galicia.* He ſent in two Veſſels for Intelligence; and with the reſt of his Force made the appointed Rendezvous. The two Veſſels return'd with a *Spaniſh* Boat and a *French* Bark, with Priſoners.

The Admiral found by theſe there were Thirteen *French* Men of War, bound from *Rochelle* to the *Groyne*, and he immediately ſail'd to intercept this Force, as he ſaid, on the Way. He communicated his Intelligence to his Captains, declar'd his Purpoſe, and order'd them to be ready for an Engagement.

They kept their Courſe that Day and the ſucceeding Night; and the next Morning they deſcry'd fourteen Sail, between *Cape Prior* and *Cape Ortegal.* The Admiral gave Chace immediately, but in vain: the Veſſels got into the *Groyne.*

Here a Conſultation was held, Whether it was practicable or not to attack the *French* Ships in the *Groyne*; and all declar'd againſt it. Our Veſſels had been damag'd by Storms, and their Water was nearly expended. They return'd to *England.*

The People at Home were uneaſy, and 'twas with Reaſon. The Service propos'd was moſt important; the Force was ſuited to it, Intelligence came timely, and the Fleet was out with Expedition: thoſe in the Government could do no more: they who appoint are not the ſame who execute; and none had blam'd their Choice.

An Error aſſiſted in the Diſappointment; they were not all Ships of War the *Engliſh* ſaw get into the *Groyne*; one third were only Tranſports. This might have been known, and the Knowledge of it would have been uſeful. We learn Diffidence in all great Affairs from theſe Examples. We ſee on how ſlight Accidents the Fate of Kingdoms may depend.

The Conduct of the Admiral was order'd to be enquir'd into by a Court-Martial. Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* receiv'd the Commiſſion; and on the Tenth of *July* the Court ſat.

It was alledg'd, that his ill Conduct gave the Enemy Paſſage into the *Groyne*: that when he knew the Ships were hourly expected, he kept too far from Land; and that he thus let them paſs; whereas, had he lain nearer, he muſt have fallen in with them: that he tacked too late to follow them; that he might, with reaſonable Proſpect of Succeſs, have purſu'd them into the *Groyne*, attack'd, and deſtroy'd them there moſt probably; and that when one of his Ships, the *Saliſbury*, was engag'd with a *French* Man of War, inſtead of ſending up Aſſiſtance, he call'd her off.

The Charge let the People more into the Story than all that had paſs'd before, and they grew more loud in their Exclamations.

'Twas evident, that if he had ſent the *Saliſbury* Aſſiſtance, the *French* Ship might, nay, that it muſt have been taken: 'twas plain, he knew his Buſineſs was to be nearer the Shore, for he was no ignorant Seaman; and the Courſe the Enemy would take was certain.

In theſe Points the Voice of the People condemn'd him abſolutely; and, in the great Article of all, the not attacking the Ships in the *Groyne*. They were unanimouſly againſt him.

The Knowledge of his Miſtake, reſpecting their Force, ſhew'd this now in a ſtronger Light than it had appear'd to him; but, ſuppoſing the Strength what it had appear'd to him, they judg'd that it became an *Engliſh* Admiral to have at leaſt attempted them.

One Thing more added to the adverſe Scale, he had *Spaniſh* Priſoners taken in the Boat, and there were *Engliſh* confin'd at the *Groyne*: he ſent thoſe free on Shore, when he might have claim'd his Countrymen in Exchange.

Thus ſtood the Intelligence when the formal Tryal of the Admiral came on. The People gave their Sentence that he had acted ill, and had wanted Courage: their Determination was abſolute; but his Peers acquitted him. The Court-Martial clear'd him fully of every Part of the Charge, and declar'd he had comply'd punctually with his Inſtructions, and behav'd with great Zeal and Diligence in the Service. He was acquitted.

The Reader will not paſs this Incident without Reflection; nor have they who earlier related it: the Court ſaid in their Excuſe, when People were loud againſt them, that if they had condemn'd him, the Puniſhment was Death; and they believ'd (ſo *Burnet* repreſents their Sentiments) his Errors flow'd from *Want of Senſe*. *Error of Judgment* is the modern Phraſe. They ſhould have paſs'd Sentence, and recommended him to Mercy.

If he had committed theſe Errors, why did they deny it in their Acquittal of him? If not, why brand him with the Stamp of Idiotiſm in their Apology? Is it a Fate there muſt be Inconſiſtency where there are Courts Martial!

The Queen was offended. She declar'd herſelf openly; and ſhe gain'd the People's Reſpect by her Conduct. She broke the Man whom this honourable Court declar'd to have behav'd with Zeal and Diligence in the Service; and the People learn'd from her Opinion to confirm their own.

Sir *George Rooke* fell under ſome Cenſure for having recommended this Perſon to a Commiſſion of ſo much Importance; but his Juſtification was eaſy: none knows the Heart of a Man: Sir *John Munden* had behav'd well before; and no Voice murmured when he was appointed.

There is no Period of our Naval Hiſtory more important to the preſent Time than this ſo lately paſt: no Article of it but ſhould be read with Attention: our Intereſts are little alter'd; Men are too much the ſame: and theſe Examples ſhould teach us where to doubt, and in what kind of Men to repoſe Confidence.

CHAP. X.

An Expedition to Cadiz.

THE Clamours of the People, even when they ſeem ineffectual, never are without their Effect and Influence. They feel who affect to diſregard them, and note down for their future Rule, what they diſdain to anſwer. No Time had more excited the Attention of the Public to their Affairs, or with more Reaſon. War was declared againſt *Spain* and *France*, two powerful Enemies, vigilant, and well prepared againſt us.

The Queen exerted herſelf, and her Spirit was diffuſed throughout her Government.

The Fleet was got out early; and beſides this principal Force, the Diligence was indefatigable, which labour'd to ſend out Squadrons for particular Service.

The *Dutch*, whoſe common Cauſe it was with ours, once joined in Earneſt, and ſet an Example to Mankind of Expedition. Our Preparation deſerved Praiſe for the Speed with which it was equipp'd; but theirs was on the Coaſt a Month before our own was ready.

Our Ships came out; and we had the Satisfaction to ſee fifty of the Line in excellent Order, and ready for the Service.

The Diſappointments of the late Reign had taught Men now, that the Soul of Buſineſs, and the Source of Hope was Secrecy. The Queen obſerved the Leſſon punctually; ſhe caution'd, ſhe requeſted, ſhe commanded Silence in all who were intruſted, and the Effects were read immediately.

Cadiz was the deſtin'd Scene of Action; but this was kept ſo perfectly from the Enemy, that while they trembled at the Appearance of ſuch a Force, they knew not whether *France* or *Spain*, or *Portugal*, were devoted to the Fury which it threatened; and all were kept in conſtant Alarm together.

Sir *George Rook* had the Command; and it was an ill Omen to the Expedition, that he did not enter upon it with the true Spirit. There is a ſtubborn Fact very much againſt him. He wrote Word from *St. Helen's*, that the *Dutch* were victualled only till *September*, and it was then *July*.

The *Dutch* Commander declared againſt this loudly, nay, he complained, and he affirmed with great Truth, that all his Ships were victualled till *December*, and that himſelf and his People were ready, and were fit to undertake any Thing Men could execute.

This different Conduct chill'd Mens Blood at home. So much true Spirit in the *Dutchman*, and ſo little Truth or Spirit in our own Commander, preſaged Misfortune. The Queen, to whom the

Dutch Ambaſſador complained at the Inſtance of the States Admiral, ſtifled her Doubts, and her Reſentment; but ſhe took ſuch Meaſures, that there were many Motives to keep Men honeſt: Nay, even Cowardice would make them fight, for they underſtood they had no Hope elſe, and that it was better to ſtand the Chance of War, than the inevitable Sentence of a Court.

All was compoſed again by her Wiſdom, and every Thing wore a favourable Face. Sir *George Rooke*, with her Cautions, received new Marks of the Queen's Favour. Beſide the Command of the Fleet, he was appointed Vice-Admiral, and Lieutenant of the Admiralty of *England*; and Lieutenant of the Fleets and Seas of this Kingdom.

The Queen was wiſe, and himſelf and all *Europe* ſaw her Motives: Duty, Intereſt, Honour, every Conſideration that could have Influence over a great or honeſt Mind, claimed every Thing he could attempt in the Service.

The Duke of *Ormond* commanded thirteen thouſand *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Land-Forces, who embarked; and on the laſt Day of *May* the Admiral and Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* came to *Spithead*.

All the great Ships from the *Nore* were ordered thither, and Admiral *Fairborn* joined them from *Ireland*.

The Duke of *Ormond* arrived the Day after, and all was now ready for the Expedition. The Queen began Hoſtilities with an Act of honourable Juſtice. She ordered all Ships that had been ſtopp'd before the Declaration of War, to be diſcharg'd; and by the ſame Proclamation promiſed her Protection, Favour and Reward, to all who ſhould take Prizes afterward. Theſe were the Actions by which Queen *Anne* diſtinguiſhed herſelf; and for theſe ſhe was honoured even by her Enemies.

The Laws of Nations are the great Chain that holds the World together; and nothing is ſo honourable, nothing ſo wiſe, as ſuch Obſervance of them.

CHAP. XI.

The Fleet ſails.

THE *Dutch* were impatient, the *Engliſh* ready; the Officers on Board, and the Men in Camp at the *Iſle of Wight*, prepar'd for Embarkation.

The Prince came down on the ſecond of *June*; he reviewed the Soldiers, and gave the Admiral the Honour of his Company on Board his Ship, to Dinner. He took every Method of ſhewing the People his Reſpect for their Commander, and the perfect Confidence he repoſed in him. The Men were taken on Board in a few Days, and the Fleet weighed, and came to Anchor at *St. Helen's*.

With Sir *George Rooke*, honoured by ſo many Titles, were of the *Engliſh* Commanders Vice-Admiral *Hopſon*, and the Rear-Admirals *Fairborn* and *Graydon*. Of the *Dutch* there were five Flags, two Admirals, two Vice-Admirals, and a Rear-Admiral. The *Engliſh* Ships of the Line were thirty, the *Dutch* twenty; and with theſe were Fire-ſhips, Bomb-ketches, Victuallers, Hoſpital-Ships, and every Aſſiſtance; to the Number, in the whole, of a hundred and ſixty Sail.

A very prudent Conduct began this Expedition. A Squadron of thirty of the Ships was ſent out to look into the *Groyne*; if they found the *French* Fleet there, to block them up, and ſend Intelligence; if not, to cruiſe off *Cape Finiſterre*.

They arrived on the Coaſt of *Portugal*, and they found no *French* Ships were in the *Groyne*; a Council of all the Flag-Officers and Land-Generals was held.

The *Dutch*, who imagined that by this Time the *French* Squadron from *Toulon* might be come into the Ocean, propoſed continuing in that Station till Admiral *Fairborn*, ſent out with the Squadron, joined them; but the *Engliſh* with one Voice were for ſailing towards *Liſbon* to meet him. The *Dutch* gave up their Point, and anſwered cooly, let us but fight the Enemy, and manage it as you like.

The next Day they had Intelligence of Admiral *Fairborn*, and there were brought in ſeveral Prizes. Captain *Norris* diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this Service. His Ship was the *Orford*, he brought in three this Day. The next the Cruiſers were called in; the whole Fleet joined, and they made the Rock of *Liſbon*.

Here they ſought Intelligence of the State of *Cadiz*. In the Harbour of *Liſbon* lay, at this Time, four *French* Men of War, and four Gallies; and there lay two *Engliſh* in the ſame Place. The *French*, in the true Spirit of their Nation, deſired the Governor's Leave to ſink them; but he anſwered, they were not at War with *England*; and the Veſſels being under their Cannon, muſt have their Protection.

The Orders now were given for *Cadiz*. The Fleet was drawn up in a Line of Battle; and by Noon they were but ſix Leagues diſtant. A Detachment of Grenadiers was put on Board ſome Boats, to be landed at Night for Diſcovery, near *Rota*, and all Eyes were upon the Tranſaction.

The *French* Men of War, and the Gallies which lay in the Bay, retired within the Puntals; and all was Terror and Expectation.

CHAP. XII.

The Attempt on Cadiz.

THE Strength with which the *Engliſh* undertook this Expedition, and the ſtrict Secrecy obſerved in its firſt Execution, gave great Hopes: but they were daſh'd by later Intelligence. The Force was now before the Place; but two Things contributed to baffle the Enterpriſe: The *Engliſh* Commander had not laid down any Plan of Proceedings on his Arrival; and the Fortifications were ſtronger, and better garriſon'd, than had been repreſented.

The Duke of *Ormond*, whoſe Heart and Soul were on the Expedition, who promiſed himſelf great Glory from the Action, yet felt leſs Satisfaction from that Thought, than from the Service it would do his Country, was indefatigable in his Attention to the great Object. An Hour before Day, on the thirteenth, he ſent out a Party of Engineers, and Officers, under the Command of the Quarter-Maſter General, Sir *Thomas Smith*, to ſound the Shore on the Backſide of *Leon*, and ſee what Place was beſt for a Deſcent; between the Iſland of *St. Pedro*, and the Town of *Cadiz*.

Sir *Thomas* behaved like one who had been well ſelected for the Sevice: He went out in a twelve Oar'd Barge, attended by a Yacht and two Frigates; and he performed his important Office in Defiance of the Enemies Fire.

They ſent out a Party of Horſe, who followed all his Motions on the Shore; and they fired at him inceſſantly from the Batteries, and from the Town. He returned in the Afternoon, and brought his Account to the Duke of three Places proper for the Purpoſe. He added, to give Spirit to the *Engliſh*, the Conſternation of the Enemy: He deſcribed what he had ſeen, Men, Women and Children flying from the Town, and every Mark of the moſt perfect Terror and Deſpair.

Intelligence that had come earlier, poiſon'd his. Some Priſoners taken in Boats, declared, that all the Wealth of *Cadiz* was carried over to Port *St. Mary's*, an open Town oppoſite on the Continent of *Spain*. Sir *Thomas Smith's* Account of the Terror of the People, ſerved only to confirm this; and Men grew eager to ſeize this bloodleſs Booty; and in Proportion averſe to the Thought of an Attempt on the Iſle of *Cadiz*.

This was a ſecond Misfortune. The Surpriſe might have been of vaſt Importance, and Admiral *Fairborn* might have effected what he propoſed on coming up, which was to have followed the retiring Veſſels, as they made for the Puntals, and to have ſunk or burnt them. This might have been done, but he was not permitted to attempt it. The firſt Fury and Spirit of the War was damped by this Refuſal; and now came in the Hope of Plunder in the Place of Glory.

The Duke of *Ormond* tried to over-rule this Thought. He talked loudly of the Glory and the Advantage of the Attempt: And in the Council of War called for that Purpoſe, he propoſed to land immediately, where they found it might ſo well be done; and to take Advantage of this Conſternation in the Enemy.

He little knew how well ſome were prepared againſt his Purpoſes. A General Officer, of the Name of *O'Hara*, ſpoke long and largely on the oppoſite Part. The Intelligence they had obtained, was ſet in its ſtrongeſt Light, againſt the Attempt. The Inſtructions from *England* were read, and all went as was intended. The Warmth and preſſing Arguments of the Duke of *Ormond*, prompted by his own Courage, and ſupported by the Diſcoveries of his Officers, were over-ruled; and it was reſolved not to attempt ſuch landing. The Duke was told they had a thouſand veteran Horſe, with their Militia, to guard their Coaſt, four thouſand in the Town, and a whole People in Arms: That the Fleet could do nothing more than cover the Forces in landing, and bombard the Town; and that in rough Weather it would be unable to ſupply them from the Ships. The Duke of *Ormond* anſwered, that he required no more than they could do; and expected leſs: That once on Shore, they would ſupply themſelves. And that if the Number of the Garriſon were added to the Out-Guards, he knew his own Strength, and the Spirit of his Men ſo well, he did not doubt landing in ſpite of them. Plunder, perhaps, he added, might come more eaſily from elſewhere; but in what he propoſed was Glory. His Spirit, his Reaſons, and his Reproaches, were equally ineffectual.

Sir *George Rooke* affected to reverence the Duke's Courage, and to incline to his Opinions; but they know little of the Arts of higher Life, who cannot underſtand how eaſy it is to be ſecure of what one ſeems to oppoſe.

The Reſolution was taken not to make a Deſcent on the Iſland of *Cadiz*.

The next Day a Calm ſucceeded to a great deal of rough Weather; and the Duke of *Ormond*, indefatigable to attempt ſomething, talked with the beſt of the Engineers about bombarding the Town. They all declared it practicable; but they could not obtain Orders to do it. The reverend *Burnet* paſſes a heavy Sentence on the *Engliſh* Admiral, and dates it from an early Period. He ſays before the Fleet ſail'd, thoſe who converſed with him, declared he ſpoke ſo coldly of the Expedition, that they imagined he was reſolved to do the Enemy as little Harm as poſſible. Theſe are harſh Words, but ſuch is the Authority; and this Conduct gives them too much Force.

The Plunder of *St. Mary's* was the Point; And a Landing on the Continent was determined.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The English land.

THE *Spaniards* ſeemed to have better Intelligence than they could honeſtly, of the intended Operations, and the Manner of them reſolved in our Councils of War.

On the Fifteenth, the Troops were put in Order for landing; and they ſhewed themſelves prepared to diſpute it.

The Duke of *Ormond* made the Diſpoſition; and it was of a Piece with all his Conduct. It did him great Honour, every Thing was conducted with the moſt perfect Order and Regularity; and tho' the *Spaniards* oppoſed the landing with a large Body of Horſe, 'twas executed with Reſolution, and with little Loſs; many of the Enemy were taken Priſoners, their Commander killed in the Action, and the reſt diſperſed.

The *Dutch* were expoſed to the Fire of Fort *Saint Katherines*, and for ſome Time were galled by it conſiderably; but the *Lenox*, a third Rate of our Fleet, came in to their Defence, and bringing her Broadſide to bear, in three Diſcharges drove the *Spaniards* from their Cannon.

The ſmall Frigates performed the ſame Service againſt the Batteries upon the Left, and the *Dutch* took the Cannon.

Men ſaw by this, how much might have been done with better Meaſures. They reverenced *Ormond* as a God; and Curſes fell heavily upon the greateſt, who had oppoſed his Purpoſes.

The Town of *Rota* was the next Object of their Aſſault, and 'twas ſurrendered without a Blow.

This Succeſs at Land, gave ſome Spirit to thoſe at Sea; and ſuch as wiſhed leaſt Good to the Enterprize, dreaded Compariſons.

A Council of War was called, the Bombardment of *Cadiz* from the Sea, was propoſed; and the Queſtion was put, how it might be done moſt ſucceſsfully.

It was determined that the Taking Fort St. *Katherines*, was a neceſſary previous Step; but as ſoon as that ſhould be done, a Squadron of ſixteen Ships of War, with Fire-ſhips, Bomb-ketches and Frigates, ſhould be ſtationed for the Service.

Between the Seventeenth and Nineteenth, the Field-pieces, and all other Neceſſaries for the preſent Expedition, were put on Shore; and the Army next Day marched to Port *Saint Mary*'s; the great End of the principal People on Board: They found it as they had expected, a rich and eaſy Place of Plunder.

It was deſerted by the People, but the greater Part of their Riches were left behind.

The Soldiers plundered and rioted in their Succeſs. They burſt into the Cellars of the principal Houſes, and drank till they were ungovernable; they behaved with all the Fury and Inſolence of Conquerors; and raviſhed and murdered without Bounds.

The Duke of *Ormond* exclaimed: he had publiſhed a Manifeſto, offering his Protection to all who would ſubmit to the Emperor; and he repreſented to the Officers, how ill this Conduct became Men who offered their Aſſiſtance.

The drunken Soldiers were ungovernable; the Sailors whom they had called in to aſſiſt in carrying the Plunder to the Veſſels, more; and their Officers who thought more of the Spoil, than the Emperor's Intereſt, or their Country's Honour, were glad of an Excuſe, for ſuffering this Outrage.

If there was one Quality of a General the Duke of *Ormond* wanted, it was Severity; a few Examples made at firſt, would have taken Effect, where all his Words were fruitleſs.

The *Spaniards* from this Action, looked upon the *Engliſh* as Barbarians; and all the probable Succeſs of the Expedition, was ſacrificed to this ſhameful Avarice and Miſconduct.

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CHAP. XIV.

The English purſue their Succeſſes.

THE Duke of *Ormond* who lamented what he could not prevent at Fort *Saint Mary*'s, ſent off a Party under Colonel *Pierce*, for Fort *Saint Catherine*'s.

This was a Place of Importance, as the Determinations with Reſpect to *Cadiz*, depended upon its Reduction. 'Twas not ſurrenderered without Reſiſtance; but taken againſt all Oppoſition.

Baron *Spar* afterwards attempted *Matagorda*, an inconſiderable Fort over againſt the Puntals, and he was unſucceſsful.

The Duke, now *Saint Catherine*'s was taken, expected every Thing would be done, that had been reſolved on board the Fleet; but all his Expectations were diſappointed. He wrote, and he received evaſive Anſwers: He wrote again, and the Replies were like the former.

Nothing was done, the Time was loitered, or trifled away, till the Seventeenth of *September*, in Councils of War, and Letters, Anſwers, Repreſentations, and Propoſals.

The Forces were reimbarked, and the Queſtion was ſolemnly put in a Council, whether any farther Attempt ſhould be made upon the *Spaniſh* Towns? 'Twas reſolved, againſt many honeſt and brave Remonſtrances from the more honourable Members, that nothing more ſhould be attempted, and that the Fleet ſhould return to *England*.

The Duke of *Ormond*, who maintained his Opinion with that Courage which ſprings from Integrity, ſaw thoſe who had eſpouſed him in the Beginning of the Debate, drop from his Side, one after another, till in the End only Baron *Spar* remained with him.

Theſe two diſſented; but their Voice was drowned in the Multitude of Oppoſition; and the Fleet, which might have anſwered ſuch great Purpoſes, not to *England* and *Holland* only, but to *Europe*, returned with little Honour; having enriched a few, debauched a Multitude, and done the common Cauſe no Service.

As they were ſailing to *England*, Letters were received from Mr. *Methuen*, the *Engliſh* Conſul at *Liſbon*, directed to the Duke of *Ormond* and to Sir *George Rooke*, acquainting them with the Authority of the Government, that the King of *Portugal* was ready to aſſiſt by all Services, not in that Port only, but in any Part of his Dominions.

Much was expected from this, but it produced only a Council. The Propoſal was ſolemnly debated and conſidered: and the Reſolution was juſt what it had been before, to proceed to *England*.

On the Twenty-third, a Fleet was diſpatched to the *Weſt-Indies*; ſix Men of War and twelve Tranſports, having on board ſome Land-forces compoſed it; and the Command was given to Captain *Walker*; the reſt of the Fleet ſailed for *England*.

Nothing more was propoſed to have been done, but Accident threw into their Way an Expedition, much more to the Honour and Advantage of the Nation.

CHAP. XV.

An Account received of the Galleons.

THE Fleet ſailing for *England*, where it would have been very ill received, after ſo ſtrange Proceedings; the Commander, Sir *George Rooke*, ſent in the *Eagle*, and two more Ships to water in *Lagos-Bay*.

'Twas on the Twenty-firſt of *September*; and nothing to that Hour had been conſidered, but what beſt Apology to make to an enraged People.

Some Officers on Board went on ſhore as ſoon as they came in, and talking over the Affairs of *Spain*, received Intelligence, that ſomething might be done, much more important than they had conceived.

The *French* Conſul in the Oſtentation of his Heart, betrayed his Country. He boaſted of the Fleets his Sovereign would have out next Year; and talked of *Chateau-Renaud*, and the Galleons, as not far off, and in Safety.

Theſe were Hints that rouſed the Spirit of the *Engliſh* to enquire farther; and to the Addreſs and Management of a Clergyman, Mr. *Beauvoir*, Chaplain of one of the Ships, our Nation owes the Advantage of one of the moſt ſucceſsful Actions of the Time.

He joined a Gentleman, who had Letters of Intelligence, and took him on Board the *Pembroke* that Night.

What they had heard imperfectly from the *French* Conſul, was now made certain, by the Account of this Stranger; and the News was communicated to the Admiral, that the Galleons, the Plate Fleet of *Spain*, was then at *Vigo*, convoyed by *Chateau Renaud*, with a ſtrong Squadron.

Captain *Hardy* of the *Eagle*, carried the News to the Fleet, and it was immediately communicated to the *Dutch*.

Here was Plunder, as well as Glory to be acquired; and if the Attempt was bolder than that on *Saint Mary's*, the Treaſure was much more conſiderable.

It was reſolved to ſail for *Vigo*; and the next Day, in a Council of Flag Officers, it was determined to attack them, either in the whole Line, or by Detachments as ſhould be moſt ſerviceable.

Two Frigates were ſent a-head for Intelligence, and they returned with Confirmation of the News in the Night of the Ninth of *October*. The Ships, they now found, lay up the River, in *Redondella* Harbour.

Every Thing conſpired to give Succeſs: the Morning of the Tenth came in a Veſſel from Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, acquainting the Admiral, that he lay with his Squadron off *Cape Finiſterre*: Orders were ſent immediately for him to join them; and early in the Afternoon next Day, the Fleet anchored at *Vigo*.

CHAP. XVI.

The Attack of the Galleons.

THE *French* Admiral was a Man of Courage and Diſcretion: He had all the Caution in his Temper that could inſpire a Coward; and his Nation never produced a Man of more perſonal Bravery. We have ſaid 'twas *Chateau Renaud.* He took every Precaution human Prudence could direct for the Security of his important Convoy, and he determined to defend them with equal Hardineſs.

They were drawn up beyond a Streight, defended by a Caſtle on one Side; and on the other he had raiſed Platforms, and mounted ſome of his largeſt Guns. Acroſs the Entrance he had drawn a Boom made of Chains, Cables, Maſts and Yards, and kept it ſecure by Anchor. The Top-Chains at each End was moored to a ſeventy Gun Ship, and within the Boom he had diſpoſed five ſixty and ſeventy Gun Ships ſo carefully, that their Broadſides would bear with their Shot upon any Veſſel that came near either the Entrance or the Platform.

Time gave him no more Opportunities, elſe he had made the Place altogether inacceſſible. As it was, the Attempt he ſaw muſt be deſperate to force it; and he had received Intelligence of our Peoples Behaviour at *Cadiz.*

This, which might have lull'd another to Security, ſerved that excellent Commander only to raiſe the Courage of his Men. He told them the *Engliſh* were not to be feared; but he prepar'd to oppoſe them, as if he knew every Man to be a Hero.

Thus lay the *French* before their Charge: The Town fired inceſſantly, but with little Damage upon our Ships; and in the Midſt of all the Uproar, a Council was held, and every Difficulty and every Danger yielding before the Proſpect of ſo much Advantage, it was determined to attempt the Veſſels.

The whole Fleet could not make the Attack without Danger of running foul of one another: It was reſolved that a Detachment of five and twenty Ships of the Line, fifteen *Engliſh*, and ten *Dutch*, with all the Fireſhips, ſhould go in againſt them, to take or to deſtroy; and that the Frigates and Bomb-veſſels ſhould make the Rear; and the Remainder of the Fleet follow, to come in if needed.

Another very excellent Diſpoſition was, that the Land-Forces ſhould at the ſame Time attack the Fort on the South of *Redondella*, and thence proceed where they might make the beſt Diverſion, the moſt annoy, and the moſt they could, confuſe and perplex the Enemy.

The Duke of *Ormond* was the Author of this Propoſal, and he rejoiced once to find every Man unanimous in the Right. Sir *George Rooke* ſpent a great Part of the Night in Preparation, and went from Ship to Ship of thoſe deſtined to the Attack, to encourage the Officers and Men to do their Duty.

The Duke of *Ormond* did not ſleep: He got all ready; and an Hour before Sun-riſe was landed two Leagues from *Vigo*, on the South-ſide of the River. He led three thouſand Men on Shore without Oppoſition, and immediately ſent out the Grenadiers againſt the main Fort, under Lord *Shannon* and Colonel *Pierce.*

This was the Fort that guarded the Entrance where the Boom lay. Himſelf followed with the whole Body to ſupport them; and they ſet out in Order. A Body of eight thouſand *Spaniards* appeared upon the Hills, and ſkirmiſhed at ſafe Diſtance. The *Engliſh* paid little Regard to them, unleſs when they ventured near: They then drove them back, and purſued not them, but their March, to the Fort.

The Grenadiers were faced as they approached the Fort, by a ſecond Body, whom they attacked with all the *Engliſh* Fury: They drove them before them to the Fort; and puſhing their Advantage, made themſelves Maſters of the lower Platform, where there were eight and thirty Pieces of Cannon.

The Batteries taken, the Enemy retired into an old Caſtle of Stone, and fired thence on our People; but the Grenadiers now warm with Service and Succeſs, diſlodged them preſently.

One more Attack theſe gallant Troops had to ſtand, and that was almoſt an Act of Deſperation in the Enemy. A *French* Man commanded in the Fort, properly a Sea-Officer, M. *de Sorel*, a Man of moſt determined Spirit: He called the Remains of the People together, and told them there was no Way to avoid Deſtruction, but to face the Danger; he threw open the Gates, placed himſelf at their Head, and bade them follow him. His Purpoſe was to have cut his Way thro' the *Engliſh*; but he knew not whom he had to combat. The *Engliſh* Grenadiers forced with an irreſiſtible Violence into the Caſtle; and all were obliged to ſurrender to them on Diſcretion.

Mean time the Detachment weighed, and met a little Delay by a Calm, which obliged them to come to an Anchor.

CHAP. XVII.

The Attack of the Ships.

THE Calm which had obliged the Ships to anchor, did not laſt. A freſh and favourable Breeze ſprung up, and all prepared for Action. The *French* were determin'd; and they were well provided for Oppoſition. The *Engliſh* were not leſs intent on Glory: Vice-Admiral *Hopſon*, in the *Torbay*, a ſtout Ship, and an excellent Sailor, lay neareſt. He encouraged his Men with a ſhort Speech, cut his Cables, and againſt the Enemy's full Fire, with all his Sails up, drove full upon the Boom, and burſt it thro'.

The two beſt Ships of *France*, the *Bourbon* and *Eſperance*, lay cloſe behind, placed there to ſuſtain ſuch a Shock by *Chateau Renaud*; and manned with the Flower of the whole Squadron.

Our Admiral, who had burſt their great Defence, bore in, anchored between them, and received and returned both their Broadſides at once. The Sea never groaned beneath a more dreadful Conflict. The Odds of Number, and of Force were againſt *Hopſon*, but his Courage more than ballanced all. He reduced the *Bourbon* to a Wreck; and the firſt *Dutch* Ship that came up took her.

The *Eſperance* was too much ſhattered for Reſiſtance, and every Thing promiſed redoubled Glory to our Admiral; for he was throwing himſelf into his Boat to board her, when the Enemy ſent in his laſt Reſource, a Fireſhip, upon him. This called him back, and he reſolved to ſtand the common Danger with thoſe brave Men who had ſo well ſupported the deſperate Service to which he had led them. The Fireſhip ſtuck faſt to him: His Cordage ſnap'd, the Rigging flamed, the Maſts crackled, and nothing was expected but immediate Death.

This Fireſhip blew up, and the Exploſion put out the ſlight Fire. Happily for him this was not a regular one. *Chateau Renaud* had none in his Squadron, but his ready Invention in the extream Neceſſity, fitted up one of the Ships of the leaſt Value immediately for the Purpoſe. It was a Snuff-ſhip, and the Materials thrown into her in Haſte, tho' they threaten'd Deſtruction, were not of laſting Nature to execute it. The Shock of the Exploſion did ſome Damage, but not like what would have happened from a real Fireſhip.

Tho' our Admiral eſcaped, the Damage in his Sails and Rigging was not to be repaired. His Ship was towed out of the Place, and he hoiſted his Flag on board the *Monarque*.

The Valour of this one Commander determined the Fate of the Action. The *French* thought every *Engliſhman* a *Hopſon*, and conſequently that Reſiſtance was an Act of Deſperation. They judged too well of us, tho' there were many who did their Duty nobly. Far from all following him, the greater Part ſtuck at the Boom; for tho' he had broke his Way thro', the Remains of it were yet in the Place; and had not the gallant *Dutchman* forced thro' the very Place where he paſs'd tho' long after him, the Fight would have continued, as it began, between the *French* Fleet and the *Engliſh* Vice-Admiral in his Ship alone.

Now Confuſion was among the Enemy, and the confederate Fleet began to fall in boldly. A Battery of ſeventeen Guns on the Left-ſide of the Harbour, gall'd them extremely: Againſt this Captain *Backenham*, in a ninety Gun Ship, oppoſed his Broadſide; and the *Barfleur*, Captain *Mynell*, battered the Fort on the other Side.

The *French* were for giving up the Conteſt, but their Commander kept them to the Duty. At length ſeeing the Platform and Fort in the Hands of the Land-Forces, and the Fleet pouring in thro' the deſtroyed Boom, he alſo gave up Hope. He ſet Fire to his own Ship, commanded every Captain to do the ſame, and retired in his Boat.

Theſe Orders were executed in too much Confuſion to be performed effectually. The Victory was abſolute to the *Engliſh*, and the Advantage far from inconſiderable in Point of Capture.

There were in the Harbour, at the Time of the Attack, eighteen Men of War and twelve Gallies. Three of the Men of War were *Spaniſh*, fifteen *French*. The *Prompte*, the *Aſſure*, the *Eſperance*, the *Bourbon*, the *Syren*, the *Leforme*, the *Le Moine*, the *Superbe*, the *Volantaire*, and *Triton*, all *French* Ships of Force, were taken, one by the *Dutch*, all the reſt by the *Engliſh*. The *Le Fort*, *Le Solide*, *Le Prudent*, and *Le Dauphin*, were burnt. Some of the reſt ran on Shore, and the Frigates and ſmall Veſſels in general were deſtroyed. Of the thirteen Galleons the *Engliſh* took five, the *Dutch* four, and the reſt were burnt.

Chateau Renaud, and the *Spaniſh* General, made their Eſcape; but the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and moſt of the *French* Officers, were taken Priſoners.

The *Flota* was the richeſt that ever came into *Europe*. The Silver and Gold amounted to twenty Millions of Pieces of Eight, of which the Enemy got off fourteen Millions; the reſt was taken or loſt in the Deſtruction of the Veſſels. The Goods were about equal in Value to the Plate; and of theſe alſo a very conſiderable Part fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*.

The Action was, properly ſpeaking, performed by one Man; whom we have celebrated, and whom we truſt Poſterity will name for it with Reverence a thouſand Ages hence.

He burſt the Way; he made the Attack; he ſtood the whole Shock; and in his ſingle Veſſel loſt more Men than all the Ships, and the Land-Force together. Happily himſelf, tho' every where expoſed, received no Wound. There is a

Fortune, or would it not become us more to ſay a Providence that guards the Brave and Virtuous? He received due Honours at his Return; and all his Officers, and every ſurviving Man on Board his Ship, were diſtinguiſhed by the Queen, with Preſents, and particular Marks of Favour.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Fleet returns.

THE Duke of *Ormond*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in taking the Fort, found there a great deal of Plate, and other Things of Value, which he divided among his Men; and to purſue the Fortune which now favoured the *Engliſh* Cauſe, he propoſed to attack *Vigo*, and to leave a good Squadron to winter there. This would have been of vaſt Importance; but Sir *George Rooke* would not conſent to it: He offered the Duke to leave a few Frigates with him, if he choſe to ſtay, but told him at the ſame Time, they could not be ſecured; and with civil Words obſtinately perſiſted in his Refuſal.

On the ſixteenth of *October* Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* joined the Fleet. The next Day the Duke of *Ormond*, with the Land-Forces, left *Redondella*, and on the nineteenth they embarked, and the Fleet ſailed.

The Wind favoured, and they arrived on the ſeventh of *November* in the *Downs*.

If the Advantage from the Capture were all that could be accounted as the Gain of the *Engliſh* from this Expedition, it would ſtill have been a very noble one; but this was the leaſt Part: The Damage of the Enemy is the beſt Gain; and the *Spaniards*, as well as the *French*, ſuffered by this a Blow ſcarce to be recovered in an Age. *Spain* in a Manner became Bankrupt. The King ſeized on the Merchants Effects, which they had ſecured by carrying them out of the Galleons; and the moſt ſubſtantial of the trading People of that Nation failed at once. Many who were no Sufferers made the ſame Pretext; and their Correſpondents ſuffered, but none ſo much as the *French*.

Thus every Thing anſwered the great Purpoſe of diſtreſſing our Enemies; and there were more private Perſons enriched, than the Public at that Time conceived. Perhaps there was never ſo much Treaſure embezzled in ſo ſhort a Time, ſince the Knowledge of Money in the World. The *Spaniards* carried off a great deal, but much leſs than was pretended.

CHAP. XIX.

Sir Cloudſley Shovel *returns.*

THE Haſte Sir *George Rooke* made to get away, rendered it impoſſible to take back with him all the Prizes. He took only one of the Galleons with him, no other being in a Condition for ſailing; and the Command devolving on Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, he took Charge of the reſt. He had with him nineteen Third-Rates, and many ſmaller Ships; and under him in Command were the Vice-Admirals *Fairborn* and *Graydon*.

His Inſtructions were to ſee the *Engliſh* Prizes rigg'd, man'd, and brought home; that if any of them were paſt Repair, he ſhould ſave all he could of Value out of them, and then deſtroy them; that if he found any Embezzlement, he ſhould be ſtrict in puniſhing the Guilty, and that he ſhould enter in a Liſt of the Names of ſuch as behaved well whom the Lord High Admiral would reward.

Eight Days put the Prizes, *French* and *Spaniſh*, in a Condition to be brought home. The Ships were examined that were on Shore, and their beſt Effects taken out; and on the twenty-fifth of *October* he fired thoſe he could not get off, and ſailed. Having exchanged ſome Priſoners for ſome of ours as were in the Enemy's Hands.

The *Dragon* joined him, after a deſperate Engagement with a *French* Man of War off *Cape Fiſterre*, in which ſhe had loſt her Captain. In the ſetting out unfavourable Winds drove one of the Prizes, a Galleon, upon a ſunk Rock, where ſhe ſtruck. The Weather was rough in the Paſſage, but good Seamanſhip brought the whole Fleet, and all their other Prizes, ſafe into the Channel.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

A Squadron ſent to America.

THE Lord High Admiral, attentive to every Opportunity of Service while this large Fleet was out, diſpatch'd Sir *John Leake* with a Squadron to *North America*. He was directed to annoy the Enemy to the utmoſt, in general Terms; and particularly their Fiſheries.

His farther Directions were, to get an Account of the Strength of the Enemy's Forts; to proceed to *Newfoundland*, and there to protect and aſſiſt our own Fiſhery; to convoy the *Virginia* Ships outward to a certain Latitude; and the Trade Home, when they had done their Buſineſs.

On the Twenty-ſeventh of *July* he came into *Plymouth* Sound, and the next Day ſail'd. On the Twenty-ſecond of *Auguſt* he arriv'd at the Bay of *Bulls*, and learn'd that moſt of the *French* Fiſhing Veſſels were gone to *Placentia* for Convoy, where there lay two Men of War of that Nation.

Captain *Leake* proceeded that Evening for the Place: he did not meet with the Ships of War of the Enemy, but the Damage he did their Trade was very great: he took a great Number of Prizes, and burnt and deſtroy'd their Stages, Boats, and all their Neceſſaries for the Fiſhing.

He remain'd in thoſe Seas till the Twenty-third of *October*, and purſu'd the ſame Plan all the Time indefatigably. He deſtroy'd the Fort *St. Peter's*, and a Multitude of other leſs Fortifications, and every where their Stages and Houſes. He brought away thirty Veſſels of theirs, and burnt two; and return'd with great Credit to *England*.

CHAP. XXI.

A Squadron ſent off Dunkirk.

THE Navy of *England* had ſcarce ever been upon a better Footing than at the Period whereof we now treat; nor have we ſeen any in Command execute the Office of High Admiral with greater Attention than the Prince.

Ponti lay at this Time with a Squadron in the Port of *Dunkirk*, and another was ſent out to obſerve his Strength, and keep him in.

Captain *Beaumont* had the Honour of this Command. He was well fitted out, and had Inſtructions, if he found his Force too ſmall for the Purpoſe, to call in the Aſſiſtance of a *Dutch* Squadron, which then lay off *Schonfeldt*.

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Thus the ſame Ships which were deſtin'd to annoy the Enemy, had ſecond Inſtructions, if they found no Cauſe or Opportunity of Action, to ſerve the Trade and Commerce of the Kingdom, and protect that of her Allies.

The great Fleets were often directed to ſend off occaſional Numbers for theſe Purpoſes; and the Squadrons ſent from Port on particular Services, never fail'd to have theſe ſecond Directions.

The Eye of the Admiralty continued upon the Enemy, and on the Trade at once: Accounts were ſent frequently of the Condition of the Enemy; and it was known quickly whether thoſe Ships were or were not needed for the original Service: if they were, others were ſent to convoy the Trade; and if not, they receiv'd Notice of it. Either Way the Merchant was aſſur'd of Protection, and the Government never laviſh'd her Strength or Treaſures, nor ever left her Coaſts unguarded, the Enemy unobſerv'd, nor the Trade in Danger. Theſe were the great Acts which render'd Queen *Anne* reſpected by her People; and to theſe ſhe added every Condeſcention, not unbecoming Royalty, to render herſelf belov'd.

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CHAP. XX.

A Squadron ſent to America.

THE Lord High Admiral, attentive to every Opportunity of Service while this large Fleet was out, diſpatch'd Sir *John Leake* with a Squadron to *North America*. He was directed to annoy the Enemy to the utmoſt, in general Terms; and particularly their Fiſheries.

His farther Directions were, to get an Account of the Strength of the Enemy's Forts; to proceed to *Newfoundland*, and there to protect and aſſiſt our own Fiſhery; to convoy the *Virginia* Ships outward to a certain Latitude; and the Trade Home, when they had done their Buſineſs.

On the Twenty-ſeventh of *July* he came into *Plymouth* Sound, and the next Day ſail'd. On the Twenty-ſecond of *Auguſt* he arriv'd at the Bay of *Bulls*, and learn'd that moſt of the *French* Fiſhing Veſſels were gone to *Placentia* for Convoy, where there lay two Men of War of that Nation.

Captain *Leake* proceeded that Evening for the Place: he did not meet with the Ships of War of the Enemy, but the Damage he did their Trade was very great: he took a great Number of Prizes, and burnt and deſtroy'd their Stages, Boats, and all their Neceſſaries for the Fiſhing.

He remain'd in thoſe Seas till the Twenty-third of *October*, and purſu'd the ſame Plan all the Time indefatigably. He deſtroy'd the Fort *St. Peter's*, and a Multitude of other leſs Fortifications, and every where their Stages and Houſes. He brought away thirty Veſſels of theirs, and burnt two; and return'd with great Credit to *England*.

CHAP. XXI.

A Squadron ſent off Dunkirk.

THE Navy of *England* had ſcarce ever been upon a better Footing than at the Period whereof we now treat; nor have we ſeen any in Command execute the Office of High Admiral with greater Attention than the Prince.

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The Nation applauded; and Men grew eager to ſignalize themſelves in the Service of ſuch a Sovereign, and ſo grateful a People.

One great Act of the ſame Kind concluded the Year 1702, the Queen created the Earl of *Marlborough* a Duke, and ſettled upon him five Thouſand Pounds a Year during her Life, from the Revenue of the Poſt-Office.

Theſe were Rewards of Virtue; and as there is no Generoſity equal to it, there is no Policy ſo true or uſeful: Puniſhments ſerve to deter bad Men, but theſe Regards of Sovereigns, alone can ſtir the Spirit of the Brave and Virtuous.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Service in the West-Indies, 1703.

REAR Admiral *Whetſtone* was left toward the Cloſe of the laſt Year cruiſing off *Hiſpaniola*, and Captain *Walker* was diſpatch'd afterwards by Sir *George Rooke* to the ſame Part of the World with a conſiderable Squadron, and with Land-Forces. The *French* had ſome Strength, and they threaten'd to have more in thoſe Seas; and our Government determined to protect the Settlements, not only from Hoſtilities, but Fear.

Captain *Walker* had four Regiments on Board the Tranſport Ships that attended his Squadron: Theſe he was to diſembark at the *Leeward-Iſlands*, and thence he was to make *Jamaica*.

His general Orders were to defend the Colonies, and he had particular Inſtructions to keep up a due and regular Correſpondence with the Governors for that Purpoſe. This was a Commander worthy ſuch Service: The Government knew they had more to expect from the Treachery of the Enemy at preſent in that Quarter, than from their Force; and they gave *Walker* all Caution on that Head. He lay off *Barbadoes* ſome Time after his Arrival; and ſaw a *French* Veſſel, under the Sanction of a Flag of Truce, put in there. He let ſome of the People land; and he then took the Veſſel and all who belong'd to her into his Hands. He talked with the People, and by harſh and gentle Words together, made out their Purpoſe; he found they came as Spies, and he ordered a Court-Martial for their Trial. Severity was never ſhewn more properly, nor with more Moderation: Proof appear'd in their Inſtructions; and by their Confeſſion that they were no better than he had ſuſpected the Court, repreſented to them, that by the Laws of Nations and Mankind, they had ſacrificed their Lives in accepting their Commiſſion: One who appeared moſt guilty was executed as an Example; and the reſt diſmiſſed to tell their Country, *England* was not to be deluded by any Pretences.

The Government attentive to the Supplies of thoſe remote Squadrons, ſent over ſome Months after, a Reinforcement of Ships, and with them Proviſions and Recruits for the Land-Forces. Six homeward-bound *Eaſt-India* Ships came in while Capt. *Walker* lay there, and he ſent off a third Rate as their Convoy, who arrived with them ſafe in *England*: This weakened his Squadron ſomething, but it ſtill appeared to him equal to the Service; and he knew the Attention the Admiralty paid to the Security of ſo rich and profitable a Part of Commerce.

Vice-Admiral *Graydon* was now ſent with another Squadron to the ſame Quarter of the World: He was to have convoyed the Earl of *Peterboro'* thither with a large Power: Himſelf received the Commiſſion now, but under Reſtrictions to which that gallant Officer would never have ſubmitted. The Earl of *Peterboro'* it was well known would have exerted his large Power farther than to the Protection of our own Settlements; to the Invaſion of ſome of the *Spaniſh* Colonies: it was intended this ſhould have been done when he received the Commiſſion, but colder Councils afterwards prevailed; and 'twas objected that ſuch Hoſtilities would do more Harm in *Europe* by uniting the *Spaniards* and the *French* too firmly, than good there. 'Twas therefore the Earl of *Peterborough* was not ſent; and therefore *Graydon*, a Man of calmer Temper, was entruſted with the Power.

This was an ill Choice, for he was no Friend to thoſe in Office; and the Preferment chang'd his Diſpoſition: He was no ſooner there in Quality of Commander in Chief, than he put on the Brute and Tyrant.

The Earl of *Peterborough* might have been more terrible to the Enemy, but he would have been much more beloved by his People.

CHAP. XXIV.

Deſigns againſt the French.

GRAYDON had no Commiſſion but defenſive in regard to the *Spaniards* in *America*; but with reſpect to the *French*, he was entruſted with a Purpoſe of the firſt Importance. The Fiſhery of *Newfoundland* was an Article of vaſt Importance: The *French* were too ſucceſsful in their Part of it; *Placentia* flouriſhed with the Trade that the *Engliſh* wiſhed to have kept to themſelves; and this was the great Object of the Expedition. *Graydon* had Instructions to collect the Forces from the ſeveral Parts of our Plantations, and with the full Strength fall upon *Placentia*; to take it, and to drive the *French* out of the *Newfoundland* Trade forever.

Graydon had ſo little Secrecy in his Diſpoſition, that an Expedition, the great Hope from which was in the Surprize, was known to all his Friends as ſoon as he was entruſted with it; and quickly after to his Country's Enemies. The *French* knew the Importance of this Trade as well as we did; and they ſent a greater Force to defend *Placentia* than we had ſent to attack it; or than he could collect with all his Power for that Purpoſe.

The Paſſage gave ſome Opportunity of Action: On the Eighteenth of *March* he was in the Latitude of forty-ſeven Degrees ſteering his due Courſe, and with his full Squadron, when four *French* Ships of War appeared; two were of ſixty Guns, the others of fifty and of forty. Captain *Cleveland*, who commanded the *Montague*, no Part of his Squadron, but one of two Ships ordered to ſail with with him to a certain Latitude, bore down upon the Sternmoſt of the Enemy, and engaged her.

The Admiral made the Signal for a Line of Battle, and ordered off the *Montague*. The Veſſel had received too much Damage to be quick in obeying the Order, and the three other *French* Ships bore down to that he had engaged, and gave him each a Broadſide, though at too much Diſtance to do any great Damage. After this, which was mere Bravado, they made off as faſt as they could. The Vice-Admiral ſaw this with Satiſfaction, and let them take their Courſe. They were a Part of *du Caſſe*'s Squadron ſo bravely fought by *Bembow*, without all Aſſiſtance from his Captains; and it ſeemed a Fatality that only one Ship of an *Engliſh* Squadron ſhould attack them.

The *Montague* had ſeverely ſhatter'd the Ship ſhe engaged; and *Graydon*, if he pleas'd, might have ſent them all to *England*. They were foul, and full of Sick, the Commanders diſpirited, and the People mutinous. Never was an eaſier Opportunity of ſerving the Kingdom! Never one in which the Service would have been ſo well rewarded in itſelf! The Veſſels were as rich as weak; they brought the Treaſures home from *Carthagena* and other Parts of the *Weſt-Indies*, to the Amount of four Millions of Pieces of Eight.

The real Motives of our Admiral cannot be known, but his Pretence was Orders. The Service on which he went was urgent and important; and he was directed not to ſtop for any Thing: But all Opportunities can never be foreſeen, and ſo little Time would have been loſt, and ſo much Advantage gained by this, that it would have been Virtue to have acted according to his general Power againſt thoſe particular Articles.

CHAP. XXV.

Conduct and Succeſs of Whetſtone.

WHILE theſe Opportunities were offered and neglected in the *European* Seas, Rear-Admiral *Whetſtone* was doing his utmoſt in the Service in *America*. About the Middle of *February* he received Advice of a large Fleet of Merchant-Veſſels of the Enemy off *Hiſpaniola*, and he ſailed in Queſt of them. He ſtation'd himſelf wiſely, and he uſed every Precaution not to miſs the Prize: But his Intelligence had been falſe; a Stratagem of the *French* to divert him from Service that they fear'd.

After a five Weeks Cruize he gave up theſe Hopes, and he determined to look into *Port Lewis*. He brav'd the Seas in this Part of the World, he viſited that Port, and *Petit-Guavas*, and finding nothing there, examined how Things ſtood at *Leogane*. After this he divided his Force, and ſending a Part Southward, himſelf continued cruiſing to the North. Three Privateers of *France* fell in his Way here, and he attacked them; two he drove on Shore and burnt, the other he took after ſome Reſiſtance.

Captain *Vincent* now diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a very ſignal and important Service. In *St. Ciel* lay four Ships full freighted to a very great Amount, and prepared for ſailing.

This gallant Officer put himſelf into one of the Boats, and led the reſt at Midnight to the Attack. They were ſucceſsful; one of the four he burnt, a ſecond he ſunk, and blew up a third, a fourth he brought out, with a hundred Priſoners.

The Advantage to himſelf was leſs than that of his Country; which he much more regarded. The Enemy's Loſs, not his Gain, was the Account he took, and Men applauded his diſintereſted Spirit, equally with his Courage.

They who moſt applauded, did not yet know the vaſt Importance of this Action.

The *French* had determined to make a Deſcent upon the Iſland of *Jamaica*, to burn and plunder. They had got five Hundred Men for the Purpoſe, the Place of landing, the Conduct of the Expedition, even the Diviſion of the Plunder was adjuſted by regular Agreement, and theſe Ships were to have carried them.

The People of *Jamaica*, who had been often alarmed idly, knew nothing of their Danger. The Country would have been a Scene of Blood and Fire: for they could no more have prevented theſe People landing on the north Side, where they intended, than they could have oppoſed them, when landed.

This bold and fortunate Stroke, deſtroyed the Purpoſe, and preſerved the Iſland: The People who ſhould have gone, were diſpirited; the *French* had no more Ships to carry, or Privateers to protect them; and they diſperſed, and never thought again of the deſperate Project.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

The People of Jamaica *ſignalize themſelves.*

THE Succeſs of the Royal Force in theſe Seas, encouraged private Adventurers. Many ſingle Veſſels were fitted out againſt the Enemy, and mann'd with Perſons of bold Tempers, and deſperate Fortune: but a much more conſiderable Armament of that Nature, diſtinguiſhed the Year 1703.

The Merchants of *Port-Royal* raiſed a Joint-Stock, and ſent twelve Privateers well manned, upon a bold and ſecret Expedition.

Their firſt Attack was on a Place called *Toulon*, ten Leagues from *Carthagena*. They made themſelves Maſters of the Place, plundered, and left it in Aſhes.

Thence they ſailed for *Caledonia*; they went up the River *Darien*, took *Indians* for their Guides, and in twelve Days came in a Body to the Gold-Mines of *Santa Cruz de Cana*, near *St. Maria*.

They were Maſters the Moment they appeared; but their Succeſs, great as it was, would have been much more conſiderable, had there not been Intelligence of their Coming.

The *Spaniards*, who are timerous in Proportion to their Riches, keep Out-Guards, where for Ages there comes no Danger. 'Twas ſo in this Part of the Country; a Guard of ten Men were poſted three Days March diſtant from the Town, to give Notice of approaching Enemies. Our Adventurers fell in with theſe. Nine of them they took Priſoners, but the Tenth who eſcaped, was long enough before them, to give Notice to the Inhabitants, of an Army of *Engliſh* (ſo they called it) marching to the Place.

They buried, what they could not remove of their Treaſure: and loaded to their Strength, fled to the Woods.

The *Engliſh* entered the Fort, and took Poſſeſſion of the Mines; they ſtaid three Weeks, ſearching for the hidden Plate, by the freſh broken Earth, and by Intelligence; and they kept the Negroes of the Mines working all that Time for them.

The Day of their Departure arrived, and they went off in good Order; they carried on board the Gold, and other Treaſures, took all the Negroes with them, and burnt the Town.

Another Party of the ſame Body, plundered and burnt *Trinidada*; and thus revenged and enriched, they returned without Loſs.

CHAP. XXVII.

Captain Walker's *Services.*

WALKER diſpatched on this Service, arrived about the Middle of *February* at *Antegoa*, and there found Colonel *Codrington* Commander of the Land Forces in great Diſtreſs. He ſupplied him with Powder from on Board; but this was only one of many Articles, in which his Preparation was equally deficient.

The Captain was indefatigable, in getting every Thing ready with the beſt Speed, and in the beſt Manner it could be done; and by the Seventh of the ſucceeding Month, he was out at Sea; with a vaſt Reinforcement of Privateers, and with the Forces under Colonel *Codrington*, in the beſt Condition they could put them.

He ſailed with Reſolution to obey his Inſtructions thoroughly; to annoy the Enemy, where ever poſſible; and to regard Service, more than Profit.

Their firſt Expedition was at *Guadalupe*. They landed a Body of Men, who plundered and burnt ſome of the near Towns and Plantations.

On the Twelfth of *March*, at Day-break, they landed another Party at *Les Petits Habitants*: the *French* were now upon the Alarm, and their March was diſputed with ſome Spirit, but the *Engliſh* were Maſters of the Ground: by nine, another Party landed at *La Bayliſſe*: here the *French* had a regular, tho' not very large Fort.

They fired upon our People briſkly; but the Officers were Men of Conduct, as well as Courage. They led their Men up, without firing a Shot, till they could lay their Muſkets upon the Breaſt-Works.

A ſingle Diſcharge gave them the Entrenchments, and a Diſpute of two Hours more, the Town; except ſome Places of Strength: they kept their Ground firmly; and the next Day, gave them all the north Part of the Town *Baſſe-terre*.

The great Fort and Caſtle, were now all that remained in the Hands of the Enemy: theſe they held out till the Third of *April*, and then finding the *Engliſh* irreſiſtable, they blew up the Fortifications, and retired into the Mountains.

All was now in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and they had only to conſider how to diſtreſs the Enemy: they began with ravaging the adjacent Country, which they plundered and burnt; and when they had deſtroyed all the Plantations, they went to work upon the Town itſelf.

They carried off the beſt of the Cannon, burſt the others, deſtroyed the Fortifications, and burnt the Houſes. Never was there a more perfect Scene of Ruin.

Every Thing now ſpoke the Conqueſt of the Iſland eaſy: But private Quarrels among the Officers prevented it. The *French* could have made no more Reſiſtance.

It was our Misfortune to have loſt ſome of the beſt Officers in theſe Conflicts; and Wranglings among the reſt prevented any uſeful Service. The Men grew ſickly; and mutinous from Want of Service; and nothing remained but to reimbark the Force.

The Men were taken off the Iſland, when it was in a Manner in our Poſſeſſion: And the *French*, who had given up Hopes, looked upon our Departure with Wonder. *Walker* exclaimed, but he could not command.

The Enemy did not attempt to harraſs the Troops in their Embarkation: But their Hiſtorians are contemptible, who ſay we made no Conqueſt there, but were repulſed with Loſs.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Conduct of Graydon.

VICE Admiral *Graydon* now arrived in theſe Seas, full of Talk of the great Purpoſe on which he was diſpatched; and nothing was thought of but the driving the *French* from *Placentia*, and ſecuring to *England* the Fiſhery of *Newfoundland*.

He reached *Barbadoes* in *May*; and hearing the Fleet under *Walker* wanted Proviſions, he took in what he could, met him and ſupplied him. On the fourth of *June* he reached *Jamaica*, and there had a Survey taken of the Condition of the Ships.

Faults are eaſily found, and there were enough talked of on this Occaſion. They were declared to be defective in their Hulls, ſhatter'd in their Rigging, and ill ſupplied with Men: Stores they had none. Thus was their Condition repreſented, and from this Men made no good Preſages.

Quarrels with the chief People of the Iſland were the next Source of Diſappointment; and Hope was changed to Deſpondence. *Graydon* left ſome Ships at *Jamaica*, and was eager to get away from a Place where he found, and where he indeed deſerved, ſo ill a Reception. On the twenty-firſt of *June* he went for *Blewfields* to water; and thence ſailing for *Newfoundland*, he fell in with Cape *Pine* on the ſecond of *Auguſt*.

As ſoon as they had got thro' the Gulph, the Commanders diſpatched a Sloop to *St. John's*, deſiring Captain *Richards*, who commanded there, to come on Board, to bring ſome Neceſſaries with him; and to join the Expedition.

Captain *Richards* obeyed with Readineſs; he took with him all the Neceſſaries demanded, and he joined the Squadron.

They were now at the Scene of Action, but there wanted that keen Appetite for Glory our other Commander had ſhewn. A Fog came on, and laſted more than a Month. The Vice-Admiral put into *St. Mary's*, and thought himſelf as happy in the Fog as Secrecy. Theſe were Excuſes for not undertaking an important Service, for which his Country, or thoſe that managed for his Country, choſe him, in Preference of the Brave and Honeſt.

On the third of *September* a Council of War was called to determine what ſhould be done. Difficulties were ſtarted in all their Force, and Anſwers to them heard with little Satisfaction. The Condition of the Ships was an Objection to the Attempt; but here ſome braver than the reſt, or honeſter, declared theirs appeared not incapable of the Service.

The Loſs of Time, and the Occaſion of it, the Fog, were next the great Excuſes: But to theſe Captain *Richards* anſwered, tho' much Time was loſt, there remained enough; and that as to the Fog, he had found his Way to them in the thickeſt of it. He thought it no reaſonable Excuſe; and that it might have been turned to great Account by ſurpriſing the Enemy.

When theſe Anſwers had ſet aſide the former Excuſes, the Strength of the Enemy came on the Carpet. This thoſe who were averſe to Action, magnified, and ſought out every Means by which they might have Aſſiſtance. The Privateers, the Shipping at *Placentia*; every Thing that could help them, and could diſhearten our People, was minutely recounted; and Men already determined on the ſame Side, found them weighty Reaſons. All Thoughts of the Enterprize was drop'd, and the Fleet ſail'd for *England*.

CHAP. XXIX.

A Review of Affairs at Land in this Period.

THIS Expedition of *Graydon*, in which he ſacrificed with his Country's Intereſts, his own Reputarion, was the worſt Incident of the Period in which it happened. Elſewhere our Fleets had been ſucceſsful; and at Land we had gained as much Glory, and much more Advantage than under *William*.

The Duke of *Marlborough* roſe to croſs the Purpoſes of *France*, more violent at this, than any former Period, in her Ambition. He had learned under the Marſhal *Turenne*, that Art by which he humbled *Franee*. The Marſhal had ſeen his Genius for War; and even when he ſerved as a Volunteer, preſaged what happened afterwards.

He ſaw ſomething in that *Engliſhman*, he ſaid, at which his Country would tremble; and propheſied of him ſo early what Hiſtory declares, and will perpetuate thro' all Ages. He had ſet out with great Reputation, and was now loaded with new Honours.

His Dutcheſs ruled the Heart of the Queen; and his Alliance with the Lord High Treaſurer *Godolphin* gave him an Influence there, and in the Parliament, which was able to carry any Thing; and which he employed, not as bad Men have done, to aggrandiſe himſelf at the Expence of his Country, but with its Glory and Applauſe.

His Merit was equal in the Council and the Field: Temperate in Succeſs, ready in Apprehenſion of Danger equally, and of Advantage: With theſe great Qualities, he had that much greater, Integrity. A Man thus knowing, and always meaning well, was calculated for the Service of the Time; he was raiſed indeed by Providence to ſave *Europe*, the devoted Prey of *French* Ambition.

Marlborough was uncontrouled Commander of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Forces; no Orders, no Inſtructions ſtop'd his Courſe to Victories: Where he ſaw Advantage, 'twas in his Power to take it always; and he never failed to do ſo.

With Prince *Eugene*, his Brother in the War, he lived in Terms of perfect Harmony; and theſe with the *Dutch Heinſius*, gave Law to *Chriſtendom*. They armed half *Europe* againſt the Houſe of *Bourbon*; and they had ſo weak a Man, and ſo bad a Politician to oppoſe, for 'twas *Chamillard* then guided the Affairs of *France*, that every Thing was eaſy. The World ſaw him with Aſtoniſhment baffle the Duke of *Burgundy*, to whoſe Name, and to the Care of *Boufflers*, *Lewis* had given his Wars in that Quarter; and proceeded Step by Step, always forward, from the Time when he ſet Foot againſt them, to the Concluſion of the Campaign.

The Duke of *Burgundy* ſaw no Laurels were to be gathered there, but by the Enemy; and he left the Camp before half the Operations were attempted. *Boufflers* remained to ſee, and grace the Triumph of the victorious *Engliſhman*. Their Towns yielded to his Succeſs, without Exception; and he now returned to receive Honours from his Sovereign, and Thanks from his Country, that might have warm'd a colder Heart than his to greater Undertakings.

So cloſed upon this Kingdom the Year 1702, always to be remembred with Honour. The Services of the ſucceeding Seaſon required an Augmentation of the foreign Forces: The *Dutch* demanded this; the *Engliſh* General declared it expedient; and the People granted the Supplies with Chearfulneſs.

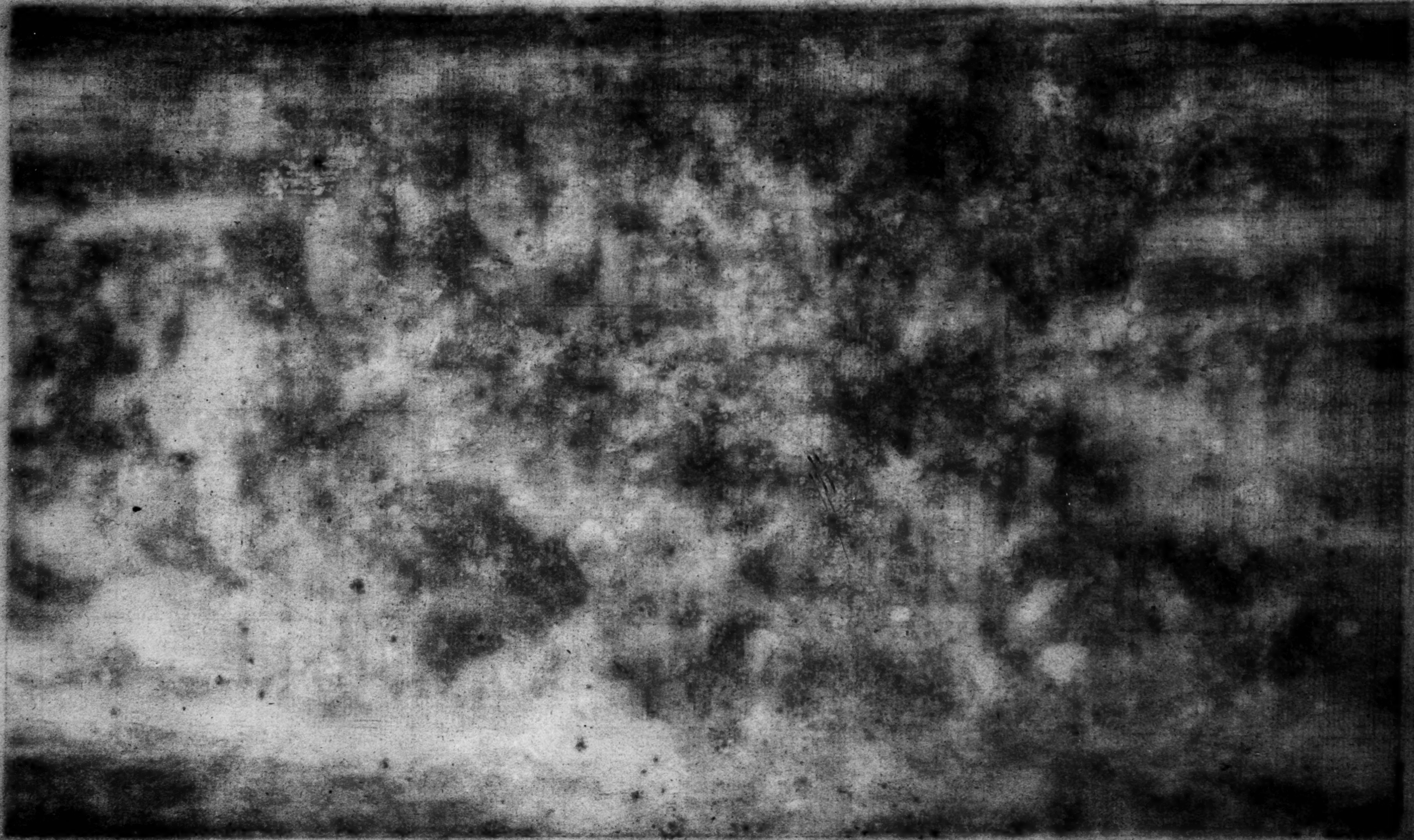
The *Dutch* at this Time, in the full Spirit of their Country, traded with the common Enemy: While they ſollicited in *England* an Augmentation of the Army, which was to fight the *French*, they ſold thoſe People Powder and Ball for their Defence.

The War which drained our Country was thus to them a Trade. Our Repreſentatives ſaw this with Indignation; and they took this Opportunity of declaring themſelves as became their Office and their Honour. They agreed to an Augmentation of ten thouſand foreign Troops; but at the ſame Time deſired the Queen that *England* might not be charg'd with their Pay, till *Holland* ſtop'd all Intercourſe with *France* and *Spain*.

The Lords addreſſed the Queen to the ſame Purpoſe, and in the moſt expreſs Terms added, that her Majeſty's furniſhing her Quota to the Augmentation, would be uſeleſs, unleſs all Correſpondence by Letter, or otherwiſe, were prohibited between any of her Majeſty's Allies and the common Enemy.

Every Thing that could be done was done to ſtop this moſt unjuſtifiable Practice of the *Dutch*; but every Thing was ineffectual. They promiſed, but they regarded no Promiſes. The Traffic was continued thro' the War; and the *Engliſh* had to fight the Treachery of their Allies, as well as the Forces of their Enemies.

CHAP.



1. Sr Cloudesly Shovel begining the Engagement with 2 the Marquis De Villette whose poop is blown up by a Bomb. and his Ship set on Fire. 3 the Dutch in the Rear closely Engag'd. 4. Monsr De Kouwer The French Admirals Second, fall'n out of the Line, Stoping his Leaks. 5. The Count De Toulouse, tow'd off by the Gallies from the Engagement.

CHAP. XXX.

Conduct of the Navy at this Period.

THE Duke of *Marlborough*, whoſe Virtues threw all Praiſe behind, whom his own Time reverenced, and After-ages ſhall celebrate, as long as there is *England*, or is Hiſtory, ſet a glorious Example in Promotions; and they were doubly blameable who did not follow it in the other Province. He knew the Importance of good Officers, and he made no others. He was in Action preſent every where, ſaw every Thing that was done, and rewarded all who deſerved it.

This the Army knew, and this made every Man a Hero.

He reverenced Service, and he knew the Regard due to Experience; but he alſo knew there were Men, who ſpent their Lives in War, without advancing their Knowledge.

He broke therefore in upon the dull Rule of Seniority, and to thoſe who murmured, he made Anſwer, that if this were the inviolable Method of Preferment, Merit was uſeleſs; and there would be an End of Emulation.

He therefore raiſed Subalterns to command, when he had ſeen them ſhew they were worthy of it; and as he never once gave Rank but where there was Deſert, his Officers loved him, and obeyed him thro' Inclination. Gratitude to their Country inſpired them in every Undertaking, and they fought to vindicate their General's Choice in their Advancement.

The Year 1703 opened with Preferments in the Navy; and many brave Men had their Share, but it had been well, if none but the worthy had received theſe Honours.

Prince *George*, who always meant as well as the Duke of *Marlborough*, had not his Advantages of knowing thoſe on whom he beſtowed Honours and Employments: he kept the ſame good Heart, and the Reverence the People ſhew'd the Queen, made alſo his Name ſacred; but bad Men impoſed upon him: Facts were miſrepreſented to him; and it was found ſomewhat too late; this *Burgundy* wanted alſo his *Boufflers*.

Sir *George Rooke* kept Command; and *Graydon* was promoted. Our principal Fleet was ready for Sea in *May*, but the *Dutch* were not come.

Sir *George* was ordered to take the Command of that Part deſigned for the Service of the Channel. He learned in the *Downs*, that two *Engliſh* Men of War had fallen into the Hands of the Enemy; a Squadron of *French* Ships from *Dunkirk*, having taken them.

He diſpatched *Byng*, now made an Admiral; with five Ships of the Line, to lye off *Dunkirk*, and intercept that Squadron in its Return.

Rear Admiral *Beaumont*, another of the new promoted Ones, was ſent out with the ſame Orders; to lie in wait off the Port, whence thoſe Ships of the Enemy had failed; and whether it was known

they would return; they fail'd, but never ſaw the *French*.

The Prizes were indeed taken by them; and as the Story is told by their own Writers much to our Diſhonour; but the Circumſtances are not aſcertained by due Proof of that Time, and therefore now never will be.

Burchet, a Man too eaſily influenced, for much Dependance on his Writings, has given his Relation of it; and *De Larry*, his. Probably both exaggerate and extenuate in Favour of their Country: one writes as an *Engliſhman*, the other as a *Frenchman*; neither of them as an Hiſtorian.

The Fact appears to have been thus: Two *Engliſh* Men of War, the *Saliſbury*, and the *Adventure*, we will not believe *De Larry*, who ſays four, fell in with a Squadron of *French* and *Spaniſh* Ships, four of them Men of War, and the three others Privateers.

One of our Ships only, the *Saliſbury* engaged, and after ſome Reſiſtance, was obliged to yield; the other endeavoured to eſcape by Flight, but in vain; and whether Sir *George Rooke* ſent out his Squadrons too late; or they had ill Luck, ill Conduct, or ill Reſolution, the Prizes were got in ſafe, and the *Saliſbury* long braved us afterwards, among their Squadrons.

The Admiral came to the *Downs*, and Vice-Admiral *Leake* joined him there; he was returned from a fruitleſs Expedition, to the Coaſts of *France*.

It was propoſed to ſail with a large Force to the Bay of *Biſcay*, and there prey upon the Commerce of the Enemy.

Off *Plymouth*, a Council of War was called, four *Engliſh* Veſſels were ſent to the Place, to get Intelligence: the Accounts they brought, occaſioned another Council of War, in which little was concluded. Some of the Enemies Ships of Commerce, fell into the Hands of the Fleet; and they at length arrived in the Bay of *Biſcay*.

Here they received Intelligence, that ſix and Twenty *French* Men of War had been ſeen a few Days before, ſtanding Weſtward the Land about *Bourdeaux*, then bearing Eaſt by South, near fifteen Leagues off.

A Council of War was held again, and it was judged prudent to proceed to *Belliſle*.

From thence Cruiſers of Force were ſent out different Ways; but no Intelligence of the *French* was brought, and the whole Advantage was in two or three trifling Veſſels, taken out of a large Number, the reſt of which in general got into *Port Louis*.

Some Attempts or Pretences were made of landing Men at *Belliſle* and elſewhere, but it amounted to nothing: This with the taking a Sixty-gun Privateer by the *Dragon*, was all the Advantage of a

Preparation on which the Nation had expended a vaſt Sum, and on whoſe Operations the Eyes of *Europe* were for ſome Time fixed.

Private Commanders executed their Commiſſion better. The Lord *Berkley*, then Lord *Durſley*, coming from the Body of the Fleet, attack'd a *French* Ship of War of nearly equal Force, and carrying more Men. The Conflict was obſtinate and continued three Hours, but the *Engliſh* were Conquerors; and the *French* Ship, with another, a trading Veſſel, from *Martinico*, were brought to *Spithead*. The Nation was diſhonour'd by the Conduct of this Fleet; but Men ſtill ſaw, by the Behaviour of Lord *Durſley*, that whatever ill Fate attended public Meaſures, there was ſtill in *England*, private Virtue.

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CHAP. XXXI.

Admiral Dilkes *fights the* French.

THE good Preſages Men had form'd from this ſingle Act of Courage, were accompliſhed ſoon after, by the great and brave *Dilkes*; a Commander worthy to be entruſted with the Intereſt and the Honour of his Country.

The Government had Notice of a Squadron of the Enemy in *Concal* Bay; and they diſpatched this Commander to ſeek them.

He ſailed the Twenty-fourth of *May*, and ſending the *Nonſuch* a-head of the Squadron, he ordered him to ſtand in near *Alderney*; and to ſend the Boat for Advice.

On the Twenty-fifth, he anchored off *Jerſey*; and ſent in there alſo to the Governor for Intelligence. Here he received two Perſons on Board, who were well acquainted with the Coaſt; and learned that a Fleet of forty Sail had been ſeen in their Way to *Granville*.

Admiral *Dilkes* was not one who trifled away Moments that might be precious: He came to the Reſolution of fighting them immediately, and againſt Tide and all Oppoſition, propos'd, by immediately ſailing to get clear of the *Minques* Rocks, to attack the Enemy next Morning by Day break.

He got his intended Station that Evening, and the Dawn diſcovered the Enemy at Anchor a League from *Granville*. The *Engliſh* prepared for the Attack, but the *French* were as ready in their Preparation to avoid it; they ſtood in to the Shoar.

All this was before Day well diſclos'd what the Enemy were; the Admiral gave Orders to follow them in as far as could be done with Safety; and as much depended on the Pilots, he ſpoke to them with great Earneſtneſs. He promiſed Favours if they did their Duty; he threaten'd ſeverely if it ſhould appear afterwards they were faulty; and repeating his Orders to continue following them as far as could be done with Safety, he began to examine what they were. The Appearance was more than the Force. The great Numbers were Merchant-Ships; there were only three Men of War their Convoy.

When the Admiral had come as near as his Ships could be brought with Safety, he mann'd all his Boats, commanded his Captains to do the ſame; and the affrighted Enemy ſcarce attempted to defend themſelves; in a few Hours they had taken fifteen, burnt ſix, and ſunk three.

The reſt ſtood into a commodious Bay between *Auranchi* and Mount *St. Michael*, and thought themſelves ſecure: Our Pilots joined with them, that the Ships could not attack them; but Admiral *Dilkes* was too intent on Glory, and too happy in the Opportunity that preſented, of diſtreſſing the Enemy, to liſten to any Reaſons of giving up the Occaſion, while there remain'd any Way to purſue it. In the Evening he ſettled the Operations for the ſucceeding Day; and the next Morning he entered the Bay with four ſmall Ships, two Fire-Ships and all the Boats, himſelf leading.

The Enemy appeared prepar'd to reſiſt, and every Thing ſeem'd to have been got ready for an obſtinate Conflict. Several Sloops were ſent out from *Granville* to attack our Boats; but the Admiral who had ſeen as well as they what Advantage there might be on each Side, had not left theſe undefended. He poſted ſome Veſſels in the Way arm'd, to diſpute the Paſſage; and the Sloops retir'd without attempting their intended Service.

Upon the Shore were five Thouſand Men drawn up, but theſe could only be Spectators of the *Engliſh* Glory: the Works of *Granville* Fort were full mann'd and the Cannon pointed; but at this our Commander laugh'd equally: he knew how to deſpiſe Force that could not come into Service; and leading the Boats and Veſſels to the Attack, he ſeconded his firſt Succeſs worthily.

Of the three Men of War, the Convoy and Protection for this Fleet, the Enemy were reduced to burn one themſelves, the ſecond in Force was fir'd by a Lieutenant of our Ship the *Kent*, Mr. *Paul*; and the third, the ſmalleſt, was brought off by our People: Of the Merchant-Ships, ſeventeen more were deſtroyed.

Of the whole Number, only four eſcaped: Theſe in the Confuſion and Smoke of the reſt, got under the Cannon of *Granville*.

The *Engliſh*, after they had ſeen the Deſtruction of the reſt compleated, return'd to their Ships; and the Queen did them proper Honour.

There were Medals ſtruck upon the Occaſion, and diſtributed among the Perſons principally concerned: And the Prince introduced to the Queen's Preſence, with the Admiral, that Lieutenant of the *Kent*, who when he fir'd the *French* Man of War, continued in the Poſt of Danger after he was ſhot through the Lower Jaw by a Musket-Ball, and would not think of his Wound till he ſaw the Enemy in Flames. He went away rewarded; and Men were ſpirited to every Kind of Gallantry, when they ſaw no Act worthy of Notice paſs'd unregarded.

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CHAP. XXXII.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel *commands in the* Mediterranean.

THERE ſeem'd a Fate in it, that of the *Engliſh* Force ſmall Numbers were to do the Service. Impartial Hiſtory declares againſt *Rooke*, for his Miſmanagement of the great Fleet of the Nation, while it immortalizes *Dilkes*, a Name vainly endeavoured to be ſunk in Oblivion by thoſe whom Partiality, Command, or Hope of Favour have directed in their Memorials.

Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* deſerves here no better Praiſe than *Rooke*: Names and Titles have no Pretences to Diſtinction, when only Service is regarded.

Sir *Cloudſley* had his Orders to proceed with his Squadron to the *Mediterranean*. He was reinforced by twelve *Dutch* Ships of War, and our Admiralty ſent eight more to him before he ſail'd. His Strength was equal to any Service, his Inſtructions punctual: The Buſineſs important; and no more was expected of him than was eaſy.

He had Arms, Neceſſaries and Money for the People of the *Cevennois*; People then in Arms for their Liberties againſt the Force of *France*. He was after this to deſtroy, if poſſible, the Salt-works of *Peccais*; he was thence to proceed to *Palermo*, and there to join in ſeizing the City, and to aſſiſt the People, in ſuch Undertaking, with his Bomb-Ketches and Marines, protecting them with the larger Veſſels.

Hence he was to proceed to *Meſſina*, and if he found it a practicable Attempt, he was to aſſiſt alſo in taking that Place; in this as in other Inſtances, helping the Inhabitants in freeing themſelves from the Oppreſſions of *France*, and the ill founded *Spaniſh* Government; and in reducing the Iſland of *Sicily* to the Dominion of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

Hence he was to proceed to the Coaſt of *Naples*, to aſſiſt the Commanding Officers of the Emperor's Forces there, in reducing the Kingdom to their Obedience.

He was to proceed himſelf to *Legborn*, in his Way to *Sicily*, or at leaſt to ſend a Ship thither, to confer with thoſe Perſons ſent thither by Prince *Eugene*, and learn in what Manner he might moſt agreeably to the Intentions of that Commander, ſerve the common Cauſe.

Beſide theſe important Services, he had Orders to touch at the Coaſt of *Barbary*; and authorize the Conſuls to make Peace, and give the uſual Preſents; if he could bring them to declare War againſt *France*, he was to give farther and larger Donations on the firſt Act of Hoſtility againſt that Nation; he was to diſpatch afterwards, a ſufficient Force to *Legborn*, to take or deſtroy the Enemies Ships, coming in, or going out; he was to demand that no Seaman, ſubject to her Majeſty, ſhould be detained under the Great Duke's Order, without his own Conſent; and if he could not by Meſſage obtain proper Aſſurance and Satisfaction, he had Orders to return that Way, and demand it more ſtrictly.

On ſending a Force into the *Adriatick*, he was to order his Captains to deſtroy the *French* Veſſels they ſhould find in the *Venetian* Ports; to demand a Releaſe of all *Engliſh* Subjects, then detained in the *Venetian* Ships and Gallies; and in Caſe of Refuſal, to take the Subjects of *Venice* out of their own Ships, and detain them till ours were returned, or bring them Home: and he was to take every Opportunity of attacking *Cadiz*, *Toulon*, or other of the *French* or *Spaniſh* Ports, with their Shipping.

If he found the *French* had Magazines near *Genoa*, he was finally to conſider, whether by landing a Body of Marines at *Porto Spezza*, he might not deſtroy them.

With theſe Inſtructions, he had great Power. He had Commiſſion under the great Seal for the Affair in *Barbary*; he had Authority to make a Truce occaſionally with the Enemy, and treat with them for a Supply of Neceſſaries: he had Liberty to apply Prizes or Stores, for the Benefit and Encouragement of his Seamen; and he had Liberty to exchange Priſoners at his Diſcretion.

'Tis fit we place before the Reader theſe Inſtructions, and theſe Powers at large: more general Orders were never given, or eaſier of Execution: no Directions had been more punctual; nor has there often been any Inſtance of greater Power allowed to a Commander.

The Force was ſufficient for the Purpoſe, the Time preſſing; the Service in the higheſt Degree important to the Nation, and the Commander much reſpected by the People. Great Expectations were form'd; but they were not greatly anſwered.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Conduct of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel.

WITH theſe Inſtructions and theſe Powers, he ſailed: and Notice of the *French* Force, and the Suſpicion of their Deſigns being received here immediately afterwards, farther Directions were ſent after him, that if he found the *French* Fleet endeavouring to repaſs the Streights, he was to keep a watchful Eye upon their Motions, and by all poſſible Means to hinder their coming toward *Portugal*, or into thoſe Seas.

On the firſt of *July*, he ſailed from *St. Helens*, and three Months were allowed him for the Service, to the Time of his returning down the Streights, which was fixed to be within the Month of *September*.

Captain *Norris*, of the *Orford*, joined the Fleet in *Torbay*, having juſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſucceſsful Engagement in the Soundings, with the *Philippeux*, a *French* Man of War, whoſe Commander fought till he had loſt a Third of his Men, and had but the Choice to ſtrike, or ſink.

While contrary Winds kept the Fleet in *Torbay*, *Norris* had more Succeſs; he took a ſecond *French* Ship of Force, after an obſtinate Struggle.

The *Montague*, another Cruiſer, had alſo her good Fortune, tho' not equal to that of the *Orford*.

On the Eighth of *July*, the Fleet got out, and made for the Rendezvous, off the Rock of *Liſbon*. In their Way, two *French* Men of War fell in with them; and not much to our People's Credit, but one of them was taken.

On the Twenty-fourth, the Fleet arrived off *Caſcais*; and there Vice Admiral *Leake* joined them with a farther Reinforcement of five Ships from *England*.

On the Ninth of *Auguſt*, they arrived in *Tangier* Road; and on the Twelfth, got thro' the Streights.

The Want of Water, carried them to *Cape Hary*, and there the *Moors* refuſed it; fired upon the Boat, and killed the Officer and ſome of the People.

It was now reſolved to put into *Altea*, in *Spain*, and two Ships were ſent before. The Governor fired upon them, but they ſoon ſilenced his little Batteries; and the next Evening all the Fleet came up.

The next Day, two Thouſand five Hundred Men were landed without Oppoſition. The Effect of this was, the obtaining Proviſions and Water. The Admirals declared themſelves Friends, not Enemies; and they brought in every Thing they wanted.

This done, they ſailed for *Leghorn*, where they arrived on the Nineteenth of *September*.

We have ſeen the Inſtructions, and the limitted Time; what muſt the honeſt Reader ſay, to ſee the three Months elapſed, and nothing done by the Fleet, but providing themſelves with Water? The moſt modern Commander could not have done leſs.

The firſt Step toward Service, was taken the Day after this; two *French* Refugees were ſent to the *Cevennes*, to tell the People the Queen of *England*'s kind Intentions.

The Marquiſs *de Miremont* diſpatched a Third; and happy it was he did ſo, for his Meſſenger alone found his Way thither, and returned.

This promiſed ſome Succeſs: but now the Admiral ſpoke plainly. He ſent indeed a Perſon put on board on Purpoſe, a Refugee, who was to teſtify the good Intentions of the *Engliſh* towards them; but the Meſſage was a very cold one. He aſſured them, his Royal Miſtreſs had commanded him to give them every Aſſiſtance in his Power: but that the Seaſon was now far advanced, and the Gulph of *Lyons* dangerous; that his Orders left him a diſcretionary Power, and that he could not hazard her Majeſty's Fleet there. But he was very ſorry he could not more eſſentially help his brave Friends, and that he would ſend two Ships with Money and Neceſſaries for them.

The two Ships ſailed, and in their Way they took a *French* Tartan, whoſe People told them, that the Deſign was all diſcovered; and that the *French* had taken Care to guard their Coaſt.

The Enemy called together their People, and as the *Engliſh* Ships approached the Shore; they fired upon them, and ſent out ſome Gallies with a Shew of attacking them; but this was mere Bravado.

The Signals from theſe Ships were not anſwer'd from the Shore; and when the *Frenchman* on board with his Companions, propoſed to go to land in a Boat, the Captains agreed to it at Night; but in the Morning, repreſented the Danger from the Enemies, and would not ſuffer it.

The *Frenchman* who ſhould have been commiſſioned with this Service deſpaired; and the Ships ſailed back for the Fleet.

One laughs, to read in Hiſtory, the Sequel. Sir *Cloudeſly* inſiſted upon a royal Salute, becauſe he had the Union Flag; and News being brought that the Archduke of *Auſtria* had been proclaimed King of *Spain*, at *Vienna*, the Guns were fired, and the Commanders drank his Catholick Majeſty's Health.

Of ſuch Facts, Books call'd Hiſtories take Notice; while material Tranſactions paſs unregarded. Thus cloſed the great Expedition into the *Mediterranean* in 1703. The Fleet returned to *Altea Bay*, and thence came ſafely to the *Downs* again.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The English *Fleet ſuffers by a Storm.*

THREE Days before the Admiral arrived from this Expedition; the *Orford*, with two other Men of War ſeparated from the reſt, met with a ſingle *French* Ship of War. It was a Fifty-two Gun Ship, commanded by Mr. *de la Rue*, and then returning from *Newfoundland*.

The Odds were terrible, but the *Frenchman* behaved gallantly; he maintained a ſharp Conflict with them nine Hours, and when he ſtruck, had ſcarce a Man without a Wound on board him.

The Winter approached, and the Service of the next Year came under Conſideration. The Parliament met; and forty Thouſand Men were agreed to, for the Service of the Navy, in the ſucceeding Year.

The *French* who ſaw how little Uſe was made of our great Fleets, ſlighted Addition of Numbers. They ſaw what they might deſpiſe, what fear; and they trembled more at a Squadron under a *Dilkes*, or a ſingle Ship commanded by a *Norris*, than at the beſt Fleets which preſs'd the Seas, under our *Rooke's* and *Shovel's*.

The Day after this Reſolution was paſſed in the Commons, a Storm, more terrible than had been known in *England* before, did great Damage to the Fleet, and at Land.

The Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* ſuffered to the Amount of a Million and a half in Money. Steeples fell; Trees were torn up, or broken in the Middle; the Roofs of Houſes were thrown off, and the Lead roll'd up like Parchment, on the Tops of Buildings.

The *Reſerve* was loſt at *Yarmouth*; the *Vanguard*, a ſecond Rate, was ſunk in *Chatham* Harbour; the *Northumberland* was loſt on the *Goodwin* Sands, and with her, the *Reſtoration*, and the *Sterling Caſtle*; the *Mary*, a fourth Rate, and the *Mortar* Bomb-Ketch. Six other Men of War, were wreck'd on the Coaſt of *Suſſex* and elſewhere; and there periſhed with them one Thouſand five Hundred and ninety Men.

The Cataſtrophe was dreadful, and all felt it: The Houſe of Commons behaved with a proper Regard to the Circumſtance, and with a becoming Reſolution: they immediately addreſſed the Queen with their Condolance, and requeſted that her Majeſty would give immediate Orders to repair the Damage: that they could not with Unconcern ſee any Diminution in her Majeſty's Navy; and beſought her to give immediate Orders for building ſuch capital Ships as were neceſſary: they added, that they would at the next Meeting of the Houſe, effectually make good the Expence; and conſider Means for manning in a ſufficient Manner, her Majeſty's Navy.

The Queen gave the Orders, and there were thoſe in Power, who beſtowed ſufficient Attention upon the ſeeing them duly performed.

The Damage was ſoon repaired, and the Kingdom again in Condition to vindicate its Honour, ſupport the Intereſt of its Allies, and humble the Inſolence of *France*.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Affairs of Europe *at this Period.*

LEWIS the Fourteenth, who had a little before eſteemed himſelf the moſt powerful and the happieſt of Kings, now began to alter that Opinion.

The Succeſs of the Allies at land, and the Strength of the Confederate Fleet, ſhewed him his Condition.

The Duke of *Savoy* had quitted the *Bourbon* Intereſt, and the King of *Portugal* had now ſhewn himſelf againſt him, declaring the Arch-duke of *Auſtria* King of *Spain*.

A Fleet of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Men of War, was early this Year prepared to carry him to his new Dominions, and he took his Journey for *Holland*, with his Miniſters and Retinue to embark on board them.

He was to be convoyed to *Liſbon*, where his new Ally, the King of *Portugal*, expected him with Eagerneſs, to concert Meaſures againſt the common Enemy, the Duke of *Anjou*.

Sir *George Rooke*, appointed for this honourable Service, ſailed with a Squadron for *Holland*. Ill Weather prevented the King of *Spain* from ſailing ſome Time; but at length he got out, and arriving at *Spithead*, viſited *England*.

The Duke of *Somerſet* attended him at *Portſmouth*, where he landed, and was commiſſioned by the Queen to attend his Majeſty to *Windſor*. Prince *George* met him upon the Road; and he was every where entertained with Magnificence. His own Behaviour was unexceptionable; ſedate, and obliging. He ſtaid three Days at the *Engliſh* Court; and when he took Leave, he made many handſome Preſents to the People in Favour, and received from the Queen one that became her Dignity and Spirit, fifty thouſand Pounds.

The greater Part of theſe Tranſactions were in the laſt Month of the preceding Year. Early in *January* Sir *George Rooke* ſailed with him; but Storms drove them back, and it was the firſt of *February* before they ſailed again.

The King this Time remained at *Portſmouth*, but after ſome more Diſappointments by the Weather, they ſailed; and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame Month, arrived in the River of *Liſbon*.

The King of *Spain* was received with all poſſible Teſtimonies of Reſpect and Satiſfaction. Vice-Admiral *Leake* arrived a few Days after: and on the fifth of *March* Sir *George Rooke* leaving him there, ſailed with a large Squadron to cruiſe.

He was ſcarce clear of the River when he had Intelligence of three *Spaniſh* Men of War, with a ſmaller Veſſel, about ten Leagues diſtant. Sir *George Rooke*'s Squadron was of great Force, two and twenty Ships, moſt of the Line, and all in excellent Order. He chas'd the *Spaniards*, and ſent out *Dilkes*, with ſome others, a-head. It was his Fortune to come up with them; and he began the Engagement.

The *Spaniards*, who did not know how near the great Force of the *Engliſh* lay, fought deſperately, but in vain. Rear-Admiral *Dilkes*, who had before diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo nobly, acted on this Occaſion with his uſual Courage, and the Commodore ſtruck to him. One of the *Spaniſh* Ships had ſtruck before, and the other ſoon followed the Example. Bad Weather unluckily followed, and the Ships, as well as their Prizes, ſuffered ſome Damage. They were a conſiderable Time in getting them in, and one of them, the *Tereſa*, was loſt.

The *French* fared no better when their detached Ships fell in our Way. A few Days after the taking of theſe *Spaniſh* Veſſels, one of their Men of War fell in with two of the Cruiſers from Sir *George Rooke*'s Detachment. She attempted to eſcape by Flight, but was driven on a Sand-Bank, near *Ayamant*, and deſtroyed; and ſome more *Spaniſh* Veſſels ſhared the ſame Fate. Mean time a Fleet of Merchant-Ships of our own were ſaved by an Accident from falling at once into the Hands of the *French*. The *Breſt* Fleet in their Way to join the *Toulon* Squadron, lay in *Tunis* Bay.

The *Scanderoon* Fleet knew nothing of this, but paſs'd without Fear. A Fog hid them, and they knew not their Danger till they had got by.

Sir *George Rooke* returned to *Liſbon*, and there received Orders to proceed up the *Streights*. The Fleet was reinforced; but Councils of War conſumed, as uſual, the Time that might have been employed in Action.

Graydon, who thought he had eſcaped the Cenſure he deſerved for ſuffering the ſhattered and foul Squadron of *Du Caſſe* to eſcape, was alarmed to hear the Houſe of Lords were about to examine into the Conduct of the Navy. A Council was appointed for that Purpoſe; and it was determined on the firſt Enquiry, that *Graydon* had in this been unſerviceable to the Queen, and a Diſhonour to the Nation.

This carried them a little farther back; they called for an Account of his Behaviour in the *Weſt Indies*; and they came to a Reſolution, that his Conduct had been oppreſſive and unjuſtifiable, and that he had rendered himſelf unworthy to ſerve longer.

This, and many other Abuſes, they laid before her Majeſty in an Addreſs, and even the Council of the Prince were cenſured heavily, for not obſerving his Inſtructions.

People were pleaſed with this; and the Queen ſeemed to receive the Addreſs with Satiſfaction.

In the Beginning of *April*, the Parliament was prorogued; and a few Days after the Earl of *Nottingham* reſigned his Poſt as Secretary of State; and other Changes in the Miniſtry followed. At this Time *Butler* lay as Commodore off *Cherburg*; He received Advice that five and thirty Sail of the Enemy's Ships had juſt come out of *St. Malo*'s. He immediately ſtood over with his Squadron, and drove one and twenty, with two Men of War, their Convoy, into *Cherburg*. Captain *Butler* then ordered the *Dunwich*, one of his Squadron, to ſtand in to the ſouthward of *Grandome* Bay; and himſelf took Poſt to the northward of it.

The *French* Commodore, with a ſmaller Ship of War, and eight Sail of the Merchant-Veſſels, were chaced in here; and the *Engliſh* following, they were all deſtroyed. The Caſtle protected thoſe at *Cherburg*; but the Loſs of theſe others was a very conſiderable Stroke to *France*.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Count de Tholouſe *commands the* French.

WHILE our ſmaller Squadrons and ſingle Ships were ſucceſsful as uſual, and our main Fleets, as had been now for ſome Time cuſtomary, did little Service; the *French* were buſy in their Preparations. A very conſiderable Force was fitting out at *Breſt*; and the Count *de Thouloſe*, a Commander of very diſtinguiſhed Courage, took the Conduct of the Enterpriſe.

The News alarmed *England*; and the Reſolution of intercepting this Force, before joined by any other, was taken unanimouſly.

Names and high Ranks carried all with the new

People in Power. The Command of this important Service, for which *Dilkes*, ready and bold, was cut out by Nature, was given to Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*. He was ordered to *Spithead*, to take under his Command a Squadron purpoſed for this Undertaking; and his Inſtructions were immediately ſent after him: He ſailed, and his Cruiſers took ſome Prizes: He held two Councils of War, and he joined Sir *George Rooke* from *Liſbon*.

It took ſome Time to tranſact theſe important Services, recorded full as largely as they deſerve, in a Sentence. Mean time the Count *de Tholouſe* led out his Force; and his Fleet, five and thirty Sail, appeared off the Rock of *Liſbon*; bending their Courſe toward the Mediterranean.

On the eighth of *May* a Fog brought ſome of their Ships nearer ours than they intended.

Six of *Tholouſe*'s Fleet fell in with the *Engliſh* Force off *Palos* to the Eaſt of *Carthagena*. They ſtood away when the Fog cleared up; and the Admiral ordered ſome Ships to chaſe; but the Event was very diſhonourable: Theſe came in Sight, but feared to attack them, tho' ſuperior in Strength.

Some palliate the Story, and ſome paſs it unnoticed; but the Fact is certain. The People talk'd loudly of it, and Trials and Courts Martial were the Words; and Deſerts, and Sentences, and Death. *Leake* was obliged to ſubmit to the Formality of the Proceeding; but he laught at the Threatnings: He was tried, and he was acquitted.

CHAP. XXXVII.

An Attack off Barcelona.

THE Prince of *Heſſe*, who was on board the *Engliſh* Fleet, and was intent on the Action, could not bear the needleſs Delays. He remonſtrated with the Admiral, and preſs'd him to ſail for *Barcelona*. They arrived on the eighteenth, and the Prince ſent, with a Flag of Truce, a Letter to the Governor, ſummoning him to ſurrender to King *Charles*, his lawful Sovereign.

Some *Spaniards* came in, and ſurrendered themſelves to the Prince; and they told him, that of the Inhabitants of *Barcelona*, five to one were for him. On this the Marines, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, were landed, to the Number of ſixteen hundred; and it was expected the Party in the City would declare themſelves, and give it up.

Nothing of this appearing, a ſecond Summons was ſent; which the Governor treated with as little Regard as the firſt. The Volunteers now join'd the Natives; and the Number was increaſed to between two and three thouſand, by a Company of *Catalan* Foot, brought with them.

The Orders were given for bombarding the Place; and Bombs flew thick, and did ſome Execution. There was now indeed a Proſpect of the Place being ſurrendered; for the Inhabitants were thrown into Confuſion by this unexpected Attack; and it was true that the new King had many Friends.

Intelligence got ſome Way to the Governor, of the State of the Enemy, and he held out. He was told; the *Engliſh* on Shore were leſs than three thouſand, and that it was *Rooke* who commanded the Fleet: That the Prince of *Heſſe* had brought him hither by Importunities, againſt his Purpoſe; and that he would not ſtay more than a Day or two.

This was Truth improper for the Enemy to be told, but knowing it, all Hope was over. He ſeized thoſe in the City who were ſuppoſed warmeſt in the new King's Intereſt; and the Prince finding him reſolute to hold out, and the *Engliſh* Admiral little in Earneſt to ſupport him, ſilenc'd the Batteries, and reimbark'd his Men.

He preſs'd the Admiral to ſtay but a few Days more, for that he was certain they had Friends in the Place; but he would not conſent. His Orders, he ſaid, were poſitive, the *French* were expected to beſiege *Nice*; and his Force was neceſſary there.

On the eighteenth Admiral *Wiſhart* joined the Fleet, and they ſailed. They had Intelligence on the twenty-ſeventh, that the *French* Fleet were in Sight; and for this they had been prepared two or three Days by repeated Notice that they were paſs'd the Streights. The Admiral doubted not but they were making for *Toulon*; and he tack'd and ſtood all Night to the Northward.

Day break diſclos'd the Scene more perfectly. The *Engliſh* could count forty Sail; and it was evident they were crowding Sail away. A Council of War was held, and it was reſolved to chaſe.

The *Engliſh* followed them till the twenty-ninth in the Evening, when they were within thirty Leagues of *Toulon*. The Chace was a very diſtant one, for they could this Evening ſcarce be ſeen: And the Admiral now thinking they might be conſiderably reinforced, gave over the Purſuit, and ſteered to the *Streights*.

Theſe Tranſactions could not fail of being known; and People who had contributed largely and freely to the Expence of the Naval Preparations of the Year, enquired boldly why he did not uſe a palpable Advantage? Why Sir *George Rooke*, with a Force they ſhunn'd, purſued them at ſuch Diſtance; and why he left them? Why, when he had two Days an Opportunity to have come up with them, he kept behind, and at laſt ſaw them go to *Toulon*, and ſteer'd another Way? It was not eaſy to anſwer theſe Queſtions: there were ſome who pretended Orders in the Caſe; but that was ſuppoſing the Crime greater; and excuſing bad by worſe.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Taking of Gibraltar.

WE have recorded Tranſactions very diſhonourable to the *Engliſh* Name, but Hiſtory claims her Prerogative of Truth, and they will ſtand as Monuments of Infamy to thoſe concerned in them. It has been with Regret we related them, and 'tis with Pride and Pleaſure, we enter now on the Account of better Conduct, and more honourable Actions: with the more Pleaſure, becauſe ſome of thoſe, whom we have been obliged to cenſure, we ſhall have now cauſe to praiſe.

Sir *George Rooke*, to whoſe better Conduct thoſe Hiſtorians are unwilling to do Juſtice, who ſhew ſo great Pleaſure in cenſuring the bad, now did an acceptable Service.

When he had left the *French*, after a faint Purſuit, he put in at *Altea*, for Water; and on the Eighth of *June*, contrived to land a Body of Men unſuſpected, who had their Orders, and who executed them with a becoming Spirit: They made themſelves Maſters of the Caſtle there, and blew it up.

The Conduct of the Governor, had deſerved this; and the Name of a Commander, too little fear'd before, grew honoured.

Sir *George* paſſed the Streights Mouth a Week after; and on the Twentieth, joined off *Lagos*, the Squadron with Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*.

Orders met him here, to be directed by the King of *Spain* and King of *Portugal*: They propoſed an Attempt on the Coaſt of *Andaluſia*, and in the next Council of War, in which the *Dutch* Flag-Officers aſſiſted, and much was ſaid of the too little that had been done, it was reſolved to attempt *Gibraltar*.

The Surprize, was one great Article in their Succeſs; and it was determined for that Reaſon, to bring the Attack to immediate Execution.

The Prince of *Heſſe* took the Command of the whole Body of Marines, where it was reſolved to land in the Bay of *Gibraltar*, to cut off all Communication between the Town and the Main; and then to proceed in all the Operations of a Siege.

The Importance of the Place, the Value the *Spaniards* have at all Times ſet upon it, the Glory of the Attempt, even if it ſhould not ſucceed, riſing from the Difficulty of the Undertaking, conſpired to give all Spirits and Reſolution for the Enterprize.

The Troops were impatient to be landed; the Prince eager to command them. Bombs, Mortars, Cannon, and their Ammunition were put in readineſs, with uncommon Application; and in the Night of the Twentieth of *June*, the Fleet ſtood for the *Barbary* Shore, and next Day got into the Bay. All was ready, and the Marines that Day landed.

The Prince of *Heſſe* firſt ſet his Foot upon the Shore; and the Neck of Land to the North of the Town was the Place.

This cut off in the Inſtant all Communication with the Country; and the Men were poſted.

A Meſſage was ſent to the Governor, ſummoning him to ſurrender the Place to *Charles* their proper King.

He anſwered, they had ſworn to *Philip*, and that they would defend the Place for him.

Admiral *Byng*, and the *Dutch Vander Duſſen*, commanded the Ships appointed to cannonade the Town; and Captain *Hickes* was deſtin'd to act againſt the South Mole.

On the Twenty-ſecond, in the Morning, Orders were given for their ranging themſelves in Order of Service: but the Wind was unfavourable all that Day.

Under the old Mole lay a *French* Privateer of Twelve Guns; Captain *Whitaker* had the Commiſſion for her Deſtruction, and he performed it bravely; he fired her, and drew off, to ſee her blow to Pieces.

Thus paſſed the firſt Day, but the next, the Twenty-third, was deſtined to more Buſineſs. In the Evening of the Twenty-ſecond, the Wind ſhifted a little.

The Commanders were indefatigable all Night, and at Day-break appeared in their Places, and Captain *Hickes* anſwered the Admiral's Signal with a Diſcharge upon the South Mole, that confounded thoſe who were there in Command.

They returned it from the Forts; and the Diſpute was very furious two Hours. After that, the *Spaniards* by Degrees ſlackened their Fire, and were finally driven from their Guns.

The Ships deſtined to cannonade the Town, performed their Service with equal Spirit; the Fire continued five Hours and a half; and in that Time, more than fifteen Thouſand Shot were diſcharged by the *Engliſh*.

Every Advantage was now taken with a proper Attention and Spirit.

The Guns of the South Mole were no ſooner ſilenced by Captain *Hickes*, than all the Boats were arm'd; and *Whitaker*, who had burnt the Privateer, led the Men to the Ramparts.

Captain *Hickes* threw himſelf into one of his own Boats, and led them all on the ſame Service; they landed firſt.

The Enemy ſprung their Mine, and did ſome Execution, but *Hickes* preſs'd on, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of the great Platform.

Whitaker by this Time came up, and purſuing the Succeſs of the firſt Party, ſeiz'd a Redoubt, half Way between the Mole and Town, and took Poſſeſſion of the Cannon.

The Prince of *Heſſe* now ſent the Governor a peremptory Meſſage to ſurrender the Place, and the Admiral join'd it by a Meſſage of like Import: the Governor offered to capitulate; and in the Evening the Prince of *Heſſe* marched into the Town, and took Poſſeſſion of the Moles and Outworks.

The *Engliſh* Sailors took *Gibraltar*: for it was they who climbed the inacceſſible Rocks, as they had been called, and always thought; and opened the Way to the Forts.

When the *Engliſh* were Maſters of the Place, they were themſelves aſtoniſhed how they had taken it.

'Twas ſtrong in every Part, and well provided: a hundred Cannon was placed facing the Sea, and the two narrow Paſſes to the Land: theſe were in perfect Order; and there was plenty of Ammunition.

The Surprize did a great deal; and the Thinneſs of the Garriſon compleated the Succeſs on our Part: they amounted at that Time to ſcarce a hundred Men.

Theſe however, if they had done their Duty, might have defended the Place againſt a much more formidable Enemy.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Engliſh *fight the* French *off* Malaga.

THE taking of *Gibraltar* reſounded throughout *Europe*; and the Spirit of thoſe Commanders in the *Engliſh* Navy, who had been too remiſs for their own Honour and their Country's, grew to a better Height from the Succeſs.

The Fleet ſtood over to the Coaſt of *Barbary*; and having watered, and returning, the Scouts made Signal of the Enemy's Fleet being in Sight.

Our Force conſiſted of five and Forty Ships of the Line, and had on board, beſide the Admiral of the Red and White, Sir *George Rooke*, and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*; the Vice Admiral of the Blue, Sir *John Leake*; and Rear Admirals *Dilkes* and *Byng*; with the large Ships were eighteen Frigates, Fire-ſhips, and Bomb-Ketches.

The *Dutch* had twelve Ships of the Line. So that the whole Force amounted to fifty three of the Line, beſide the ſmall Craft.

The *French* Fleet conſiſted of fifty Ships of the Line, eight Frigates, and nine Fire-ſhips, and there were with them three and Twenty Gallies.

The Count *de Tholouſe* commanded in the Centre, the Numbers and Force were not far from equal. The Scouts on their Side, perceived our Ships, as ſoon as ours ſaw theirs; and there was the Proſpect of a dreadful Action.

To retreat, would have been Infamy in either: the Count *de Tholouſe* inſpired his Officers with a Deſire of ſignalizing themſelves, and the *Engliſh* were in better Spirit than they had ſhewn in general for ſome Time.

The *French* Commander expected every Moment, the Gallies he had ordered to follow him from *Velez Malaga*; and he had the Conduct, when they did not come up, to ply for *Velez Malaga* to join them.

The *Engliſh* who expected the Attack, threw themſelves to the Eaſtward of *Gibraltar* to receive them.

The Tenth and Eleventh of *Auguſt*, were ſpent in plying to the Windward, in Purſuit of the Enemy, whoſe Purpoſe, our People did not underſtand.

The Twelfth, about Noon, the *French* appeared with the additional Force of their Gallies to the Weſtward off Cape *Malaga*. They bore away; and the *Engliſh* purſued them all the Night in the Line of Battle.

Day-break diſcovered them on the Thirteenth, within three Leagues, and they immediately brought to, and formed their Line.

CHAP. XL.

The Fleets engage.

OUR People who had thought the *French* declin'd an Engagement, now found they had only taken an Advantage: there appeared in their Diſpoſition all the Skill of a great Commander; and in their Aſpect, a determined Reſolution to make this Action deciſive.

They thought they had more Advantage, than there was in reality; but what there was, they had; their Ships were cleaner, and they were better mann'd; their Number of three decked Veſſels, exceeded that of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* conſiderably, and they had a large Number of Gallies; an Article of ſo much Conſequence, that the Count had done very wiſely in defering the Action till they had all joined him.

The *Engliſh* were foul, not full mann'd; and even their Stores were not ſufficient for the Service: but they had gathered Courage from their late Advantage, and were determined to purſue their good Fortune.

'Twas *Sunday* the thirteenth of *Auguſt* when the Fleet of *France*, which they had thought retreating, turned upon them. The Count *de Tholouſe*, when he had formed his Line, waited for their Attack; and our Commanders bore down upon them in order of Battle. At ten o'Clock they were within half Gun-ſhot: And the *French* obſerving the Admiral, as he bore down, was at ſome Diſtance from the Centre, thinking they might get a-head of that Squadron with ſome of the foremoſt Ships, made Signal to the headmoſt to crowd all the Sail they could.

The Signal was immediately obeyed; the Ships ſet all their Sail at once; and Admiral *Shovel* ſtill bearing down upon them with the Van, found himſelf a-head of them in their Line.

The *French* kept their Wind, crowded all their Sail, and endeavoured to cut off the Van from the Centre of our Fleet; ſo that if it grew calm, an Incident very common in Sea-fights, their Gallies might tow them off, and they might make a double; and weathering Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, fire on him on both Sides.

We ſee the Conduct of their Commander in this; but let us do Juſtice alſo to our own. Sir *Cloudſley* ſaw their Deſign, he clap'd upon a Wind; and Sir *George Rooke* eaſily ſeeing the Conſequence, if his Van ſhould be intercepted, bore down upon the Enemy, and put out the Signal for Battle.

Sir *Cloudſley* from his own Ship, the *Barfleur*, gave the firſt Broadſide; and in a Moment all was Tumult, Horror, and Deſtruction. Both Parties fought with an uncommon Fury. The Marquis *de Villette*, who had conducted this Attempt upon our Van, engag'd with the Spirit of an *Engliſh*, not a *French* Commander.

He ſtood unmov'd when his Poop was blown up by a Bomb; and 'twas with Reluctance he quitted the Line when he found his Ship on Fire in three Places, and in Danger of blowing up.

This was the firſt Advantage of the *Engliſh*. The next in Fury to the Marquis had been Monſieur *de Beliſle*. He fac'd all Dangers; and he fell early in the Action. His Second fought the Ship ſo well, that our People did not perceive the Loſs of that brave Man; but toward two in the Afternoon this Ship alſo was fir'd; and was oblig'd to follow his Commander out of the Line. Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, who for this Day's Service demands immortal Glory, ſaw the Advantage, and preſs'd it to the utmoſt. He put the whole Van into Confuſion, and they gave Way before him.

All this Time the Fight was hot in other Diviſions of the Fleet. The *Dutch*, who were poſted in the Rear, engaged from Morning till Night, with great Fury. They had the Advantage: They drove *de Rouvre*, one of the *French* Rear-Admiral's Seconds, out of the Line, with a Leak hardly to be ſtop'd.

The Centre of the *French*, where the great *Tholouſe* commanded, maintain'd a Superiority throughout the Action. Never was more Courage, never more Conduct ſhewn. He watch'd all Advantages: He redoubled his Fire when ours ſlacken'd, and drove one after another, ſeveral of the Admiral's, and of *Byng*'s and *Dilkes*'s Ships out of the Line.

The *St. George*, the *Shrewſbury*, and the Admiral's own Ship, the *St. Catharine*, were preſs'd hard. Too much Ammunition had been expended before *Gibraltar* to have left enough for ſuch Service; and Ships driven from their Poſt pleaded their Want of Powder as Reaſon for not returning.

'Tis hard to ſay what would have been the Event. The *Engliſh* Admiral deſerted by many of his Ships, and preſs'd by a moſt reſolute and knowing Enemy, in full Force, and full Spirit; had not Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, who had ſo well diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in his own Quarter, now tack'd aſtern, and reinforc'd his Admiral.

England has rarely owed more to a Subject than ſhe did to the brave Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, for this Act of gallant Service. The Face of the Action chang'd upon it immediately: The *French* were triumphing. Their Centre held all its Force and Number, while ours was thus diſtreſs'd and weaken'd; and Victory ſeem'd in their Reach: But here a new Enemy appeared, freſh as if that Inſtant entered into the Action, and reſolute to relieve his Admiral, or periſh with him.

Several of the *French* Ships which preſs'd the *Engliſh* Centre, were now call'd off to attack Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*.

His Officers ſhar'd his Spirit. The ſternmoſt of them gave ſuch a Reception to the firſt of the Enemy who came up with them, that they did not think it ſafe to advance along his Broadſide, but ſet their ſprit Sails, and with their Boats a-head, being cleaner Ships, and better Sailors, towed from him.

Theſe were the Vice-Admiral of their White, and the Rear-Admiral of their White and Blue. Sir *Cloudſley* had not an Opportunity of exchanging one Broadſide with them; but the Conſequences of the Relief were great. The Count *de Tholouſe*, who had ſo lately entertained Hopes of certain Victory; and who continued now the Fight with as much Fury as when they were higheſt, was ſo ſhatter'd, that he could hold his Place no longer, and was obliged to be towed out of the Line.

In the Fury of the Action, the *Monk*, a ſixty Gun Ship in the Centre, had long diſtinguiſh'd herſelf, when Monſieur *Champelin*, who commanded the *Serieux*, a Ship of near equal Force in the Admiral's Diviſion, boarded her. Captain *Mills*, after he had loſt many of his Men, when he was ſhort of Ammunition, and ſhatter'd almoſt to Pieces, ſtood three of theſe Attemps, and every Time clear'd his Deck of them.

The *French*, who had been hitherto very reſolute, gave up the Attempt; and the Remnant of this gallant Crew gave them the uſual Huzza as they went off. They found their Hurts, now they were at a Diſtance, and were obliged to leave the Line.

Near the Count fought the Chevalier *de Groney*: He commanded one of the beſt Ships of *France*; and he had ſingled out one of nearly equal Force among ours. Four Hours they maintain'd an unequal'd Conflict. 'Twas not to be ſaid one or the other was the more deſperate. At length both were reduc'd to Wrecks; but the Advantage was on the *Engliſh* Side. Our Veſſel kept its Place, while the *Frenchman* was oblig'd to ſubmit, that his ſhould be towed out of the Line.

All Eyes had been on this great Attack, and the Spirit of the *Engliſh* roſe when they ſaw their Countryman had the Advantage. They preſs'd with a new Fury, and three more of the moſt conſiderable of the Enemy's Ships were obliged to quit the Line.

The Names of their Commanders are Monuments of the Bravery of our Countrymen. They were *Rochelard*, *D'Oſmont*, and *de Paulet*. The laſt was moſt reluctantly taken from his Poſt, and gave a very deſtructive Fire retreating.

We thought the Conflict over, but it was renewed, late as it was in ſo bloody a Day, with a new Fury.

Our Captain *Jumper*, who was in cloſe Fight with a Ship of ſuperior Force, found himſelf attack'd by two others in the ſame Inſtant. He fought them all; and tho' he loſt a great Part of his Men, he made the reſt immortal.

At ſeven in the Evening our Ship, the *St. George*, commanded by Captain *Jennings*, having juſt performed a very noble Piece of Service, one of the *French* Admiral's Seconds advanced out of the Line, and came up to her with a determined Reſolution.

No Shot was fir'd till they were almoſt cloſe. Thus the Fight began between them, and thus it continued. Captain *Jennings* preſs'd nearer when the Enemy grew faint; and it was with Difficulty the *French* Ship recovered its Place in the Line. Both her Captains were kill'd, and more than half of her Men.

The Earl of *Durſley* commanded this Day the *Boyne*, of eighty Guns. He had thrice the Fortune to ſtand a cloſe Fight with as many of the Enemy's ſtouteſt Ships; and every Time had the Advantage. 'Twas Evening now, and he ſtood himſelf unhurt amidſt a Ship almoſt of Dead.

There is a Providence that protects Men deſtin'd to great Services. Evening now ended the deſperate Conflict; the *French* getting away with their beſt Speed to the Leeward, with the Help of their Gallies.

The Glory of the Day was altogether with the *Engliſh*; and there is the more Cauſe to honour them, becauſe they fought againſt great Diſadvantages; againſt an Enemy much better ſupplied than themſelves; and were in Want of that moſt neceſſary of all Articles, Ammunition.

CHAP. XLI.

The French *eſcape.*

THE *French* never behaved at Sea with more Reſolution; and when they had loſt the Victory, and wiſhed to get away, they ſtill kept up a Force of Courage.

Their Gallies could not get them off to any great Diſtance; and all the next Day the two Fleets lay in Sight, repairing their Damages, and braving one another. The *French* were in no Condition to have begun, or to have ſtood a new Engagement; nor were our Ships without great Damage: But 'twas not this ſaved the boaſtful Enemy; it was the Want of Powder and Ball.

The Men were outrageous for another Action; and the *French*, who did not know our Weakneſs in that Reſpect, dreaded it. At Night they filed off, ſtanding to the Northward. The Fleets ſaw one another no more. The *French*, acccording to their Cuſtom, pretended to the Advantage; but at this the Unprejudic'd laugh'd: Indeed there never had been an Action in which the ſucceſsful Party could ſhew ſo little Token of their Advantage.

The *French* had defended themſelves ſo bravely in the ſharpeſt Conflicts, and managed ſo well in their Retreats, that there was not a ſingle Ship taken, ſunk, or abſolutely burnt. The Loſs of Men was terrible on their Side; nor was it much leſs on ours: But the Subject of the Diſpute ſhew'd who had the Advantage.

Theſe *French* were to have aſſiſted the *Spaniards* in retaking of *Gibraltar*. This the *Engliſh* were to prevent; and this they did prevent moſt effectually. This gave the Name of Victory to our Side; and the Event ſhewed we had it in Reality.

They ventur'd their Fleet no more at Sea entire; but contented themſelves with ſending out Squadrons where there might be ſome Show of Service, and moſt Safety. Their Veſſels reach'd *Toulon*; but ſo diſabled, that it was a great While before they could put to Sea again. Their Loſs of Officers was very great. There fell in this Day's Engagement near forty Perſons of Rank in Birth, and in the Service.

The Count *de Chateau Renaud*, and the great *Beliſle*, were of this Number. The Count *de Tholouſe* himſelf was wounded; and *Du Caſſe*, with many more of Name, ſwelled the ſame Liſt. 'Tis plain the Officers did not fear the moſt deſperate Part of their Duty. Ours, with equal Bravery, had better Fortune.

Our principal Loſs was in private Men; of theſe about ſeven hundred were killed, and more than twice that Number wounded. We loſt the Captain of the *Ranelagh*, and Sir *Andrew Leake* of the *Grafton*. Captain *Jumper*, and about four others, were wounded.

Nothing was more ridiculous relating to this Action, than the Account the *Spaniards* gave of it. The Prince of *Heſſe* commanded in *Gibraltar* where the News was highly important; and he received the firſt Relation of it from the Marquis *de Villadarias*, who was on the March with an Army to beſiege

beſiege him. He wrote to him that the *French* had burnt eight of our Ships, taken ſixteen, and ſunk ſeven, with very little Loſs on their own Side.

The Prince of *Heſſe* ſmiled, and only anſwered he knew with how much Caution to receive *Spaniſh* Accounts of *French* Victories.

CHAP. XLII.

The Fleet returns to England.

WHILE the ſhatter'd Veſſels of the *French* were towing into *Toulon*, and *Te Deum* was ſung at *Paris* for their pretended Victory, the *Engliſh* Fleet ſteer'd for *Gibraltar*; where they gave a better Account of the Action; aſſiſted the Garriſon with every Thing in their Power, and left ſome Ships there. The Body of the Fleet returned to *England*. They arrived at *Spithead* toward the latter End of *September*; and a few Days after the Commanders waited on the Queen at *Windſor*, where they were received with the higheſt Honours. *Jennings*, *Dilkes* and *Byng*, were knighted; and every Mark of Diſtinction ſhewn to all who had contributed to the Succeſs.

The Duke of *Marlborough* ſoon after returned covered with the Laurels of *Blenheim*. The Nation entertained a due Senſe of theſe great Services, and Men were inſpir'd with freſh Courage by their Rewards and Honours. With the Duke of *Marlborough* came Marſhal *Tallard*, his Priſoner, with near thirty of high Rank; and *England* ſaw the Trophies, Standards, and other Emblems of that great Victory wave to her immortal Honour.

The two Houſes thank'd the General; and the Commons requeſted her Majeſty to reward her Sailors. Great Appointments were made for the Service of the ſucceeding Year; and every Thing ſpoke the Happineſs and Honour of this Kingdom, and their Merit who had given it.

CHAP. XLIII.

The Spaniards *beſiege* Gibraltar.

SPAIN loſt a Limb in *Gibraltar*. The Pride of that Nation was alarm'd as well as its Intereſts; and they could not bear an *Engliſh* Garriſon in their Country without every Effort to remove them.

France joined with them to uſe every Endeavour for the Recovery of the Place. Sir *John Leake* was left by Sir *George Rooke* at the *Streights Mouth*, when the Fleet ſail'd for *England*, with Ships bound for *Liſbon*, there to be refitted.

While he lay there the Prince of *Heſſe* wrote to him; and the Commander of the *Lark*, Captain *Fotherby*, ſent alſo an Account of the Number and Condition of a Squadron of the Enemy, who had in the Evening of the fourth of *October* put into *Gibraltar* Bay. The Number was nineteen Ships, great and ſmall, and their Purpoſe to attack the Place in Concert with the Land-Forces.

Theſe Letters preſs'd him to come to their Relief, and he was in Haſte preparing for it, when he received a ſecond Letter from the Prince, informing him that the *French* had landed ſix Battalions; and were ſailed Weſtward, having left there only ſix Frigates.

The Land-Forces in a few Days opened their Trenches before the Town: And this News haſtened the *Engliſh* Commander, who taking with him three third Rates, nine Fourths, and two Fifths *Engliſh*, with ſix *Dutch* Ships of the Line, ſailed for the Place.

The Winds favour'd; he arriv'd; he landed ſome Men; and he was preparing to do a great deal, when he received Intelligence of a *French* Fleet much ſuperior in Number, Condition and Strength, preparing to attack him. He retir'd in too much Haſte, and not without ſome hurtful Confuſion. The Men were reimbark'd, and the Squadron ſailed for *Liſbon*.

Here they took in more Strength, and ſailing immediately after, came once again into the Bay of *Gibraltar*. They found the Enemy there, but with a Force incapable of defending themſelves. Four ſmall Men of War, a Fire-ſhip and a Tartan lay there in great Security, with ſome *Engliſh* Prizes. The Fury of the Sailors was let looſe upon them; and they were run on Shore, and immediately deſtroyed. Another Veſſel of Force was taken at the Mouth of the Bay.

It was a greater Succeſs than at firſt imagined; for this Force of the Enemy, ſmall as it was, would have been that Night employed againſt the Place: there were Boats obtained from *Cadiz* for that Purpoſe; and the Attack was determined to have been made at Midnight, in the very Place where the *Engliſh* had been ſo ſucceſsful the preceding Summer.

This Purpoſe defeated, the Commander of the Fleet landed ſome Men to defend the Out-ports, and reinforce the Garriſon in the Town.

That done, he made a Feint of landing a

greater Number in an expoſed Place, and brought the *Spaniſh* Cavalry down upon the Shore, againſt whom he had prepared his ſmaller Veſſels, whoſe Cannon did great Execution among them.

Soon after this, a Reinforcement of about two thouſand Men, with great Quantity of all Stores and Neceſſaries were thrown into the Place, and Sir *John Leake*, leaving them in good Condition, and the Beſiegers almoſt in Deſpair, ſailed for *Lisbon*.

Toward the latter End of *January*, another conſiderable Reinforcement was thrown in; and by this Time, Sir *John Leake* had very well refitted his Squadron.

CHAP. XLIV.

An Engagement with the French, *in the Bay of* Gibraltar.

THE ſole Hope of the Beſiegers had lain in *French* Aſſiſtance, and they had now ſo warmly ſollicited it, that on the fourteenth of *February*, Monſieur *Ponti* came into the Bay with fourteen Men of War, and ſome Fire-ſhips.

The *Spaniards* gloried in this Appearance, and threatened heavily. The Prince of *Heſſe* could only ſend to *Lisbon* Notice of this Force, to Sir *John Leake*.

Fortune, or that better Fortune, the Divine Providence which watches over the Intereſts of Kingdoms, gave the *Engliſh* new Strength.

Sir *Thomas Dilkes*, now joined the Admiral with ſeveral Ships; and when he ſailed, he had under his Command, Twenty-three *Engliſh* Ships of War, four *Dutch*, with eight *Portugueze*; and freſh Troops, a conſiderable Number on board; an *Engliſh* and a *Portugueze* Regiment, and a *Dutch* Batallion.

This was much more than the Prince could hope; or the *French* Admiral fear.

The *Engliſh* ſailed on the Sixth of *March* 1705 and on the Tenth, at early Dawn, they ſaw near Cape *Cabretta*, five *French* Men of War making out of the Bay.

This was what the Admiral could moſt have wiſhed, and every Thing conſpired to favour him, a Gun was fired from *Europa* Point, the Signal that the Garriſon was ſafe, and conſequently, that nothing need prevent his purſuing them.

More pompous Titles never dignified a Squadron, than theſe *French* Veſſels had, they were the *Magnanimous*, the *Ardent*, *Arrogant*, and two others.

Sir *Thomas Dilkes* was foremoſt of thoſe who chaſed, and with four other Veſſels, equal in Number, but not in Force to the Enemy; he came up with them apace.

At nine in the Morning, Sir *Thomas Dilkes* in his own Ship, came up with the *Arrogant*. His Men would have fired as ſoon as within Reach, but he forbad it. He told them, he propoſed to make ſhort Work with the Enemy; and he would have no Gun fired, till every Shot would take Place.

He hoped a ſingle Broadſide, thus levelled, might have done the Buſineſs; but the *French* Commander was deſperate. He returned the Charge with at leaſt equal Fury; he did not ſeek to get off, or to make it a more diſtant Fight, but bore cloſe down at every Opportunity, and fought the *Engliſh* Man his own Way, more than three Quarters of an Hour.

At length he ſaw Oppoſition was vain, his People were decreaſed to a very ſmall Number, himſelf wounded, and his Veſſel ſhattered; he ſtruck.

Another of the *Engliſh* Ships now came up, and the Conqueror ſent her Boat on board; his own having been deſtroyed.

Mean Time, the Conflict was little leſs ſharp in the other Parts. The *Ardent* and the *Marquiſs* were engaged Ship to Ship, by two of the *Dutch*, and both after ſome Reſiſtance ſtruck.

Ponti himſelf was on board the *Magnanimous*, and the *Flower de Luce* attended him; and by good Seamanſhip, and clean Veſſels, they had hitherto kept out of Reach of the *Engliſh*.

Sir *Thomas Dilkes* now bore down upon them at an Advantage, and made Signal for one of the other Ships to follow him.

The *French* Admiral had but this Alternative, to fight, or run his Ship on Shore: he choſe the latter; and after a few diſtant Broadſides, ran himſelf a-ground, to the Weſt of *Marabella*; where he got on Shore, and fired this and the other Ship.

Sir *Thomas* ſtaid for no Congratulations, he ſaw he had taken and deſtroyed the Flower of the Enemy's Fleet, but while any remained, he thought he had done nothing. He found theſe had been driven from their Anchors, out of the Bay of *Gibraltar*, and he underſtood the ſame Fate had happened to the reſt; his Purpoſe was therefore to ſeek them.

Malaga Road, was the moſt likely Place, but he found none of them there; they had heard the Firing between him and their Admiral, and they had ſought in Flight, the only Safety from a like Conflict.

Three more of the *Engliſh* came to Sir *Thomas* off *Malaga*, and after taking and deſtroying ſeveral of the Enemy's Ships of Commerce, they join'd Sir *John Leake*, who ſailed again to *Lisbon*, with the honourable Evidences of his Succeſs.

CHAP. XLV.

The Senſe the Government entertained of theſe Services.

THE Period of which we now write, ſhews to the World more *Engliſh* Heroes than almoſt any that can be ſingled out from our Hiſtory. At Sea and at Land, we were equally ſucceſsful, our Allies idolized us, our Enemy's and theirs trembled before us: The Subjects fought, as if the Cauſe had been their own, and the Sovereign rewarded nobly.

The News of this Action, had warmed every Heart; and all was Applauſe, and promiſed Honours.

The Trophies of *Blenheim* had a little before been hung up in *Weſtminſter*-Hall. The General was honoured by the Magiſtracy of *London*, and the Government granted him *Woodſtock*, in Commemoration of the great Victory.

Sir *George Rooke*, againſt whom many Mouths were open, for Men are ready to decry the Eminent for their Miſconduct, tho' ſlow to allow Praiſe for what is better; was out of Favour.

Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* had drowned all his Errors in his late good Conduct, and he had the People's Voice. The Prince ſaw with their Eyes, and the Queen countenanced the Merit ſhe heard ſo well atteſted: Honours upon Honours were heap'd on him, and he went out Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet.

Leake, *Byng*, *Dilkes*, and *Whetſtone* were all promoted; and Sir *John Jennings* was made a Rear Admiral.

The People applauded; they ſaw with Joy, Honours beſtowed on thoſe who had ſerved well; and they knew every Thing might be expected from Men, whom their former Actions had placed in ſo conſpicuous a Light.

The Earl of *Peterborough* was joined in Commiſſion with Sir *Cloudeſly*; and Sir *George Byng* was appointed to command in the Soundings; Sir *Thomas Dilkes* off *Dunkirk*.

CHAP. XLVI.

The Succeſs of Sir George Byng.

THE firſt Squadron that got out, was that deſtined to the Soundings; and here more Conduct was required than Courage: it was not expected that an Enemy of equal Force would appear; but the Privaters were in this Part, deſperate, and almoſt innumerable.

The great Hope of Succeſs lay in a good Diſpoſition of the Force; this was very well executed, and ſo good Watch kept, that the Squadron at its Return brought in a Man of War of the Enemy, twelve of their largeſt Privateers, and ſeveral Merchant Veſſels. More than two Thouſand Men were taken on board theſe Prizes; and the Enemy diſheartened, and left the Sea there clear.

CHAP. XLVII.

The great Fleet ſails.

IN the Beginning of *April* 1705, the main Fleet was ready. Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* came on board the *Britannia* at the *Nore*; and he ordered Sir *John Jennings* with the three firſt Rates, two Seconds, and two Thirds, to proceed to *Spithead*; where he was joined by the Men of War from the *Downs*, and the Store-ſhips.

On the twenty-ſecond of *May* the Earl of *Peterborough* arrived at *Portſmouth*, and immediately the Troops were imbarked; and the Fleet proceeded to their firſt Rendezvous off the *Lizard*.

It now together conſiſted of twenty-nine Ships of the Line, with a Number of Frigates, and every proper attendant Veſſel, all in Order, all in Spirit, prepared and eager for the Service.

Intelligence arrived that the *French* had in *Breſt* a conſiderable Force. Upon this Sir *George Byng* was left with a ſufficient Strength in the Soundings, and the reſt ſailed for *Liſbon*.

Every Thing continued to promiſe Succeſs. The Ships ordered to join the Fleet from *Ireland*, came in; and at *Liſbon* they found the *Dutch*, whoſe Diligence had brought their whole Force thither, in very good Order, ſome Days before.

The *Portugueze* were rejoiced, and the Cauſe appeared certain of all Succeſs. Sir *John Leake* ſtill lay here full of Glory, but very ill ſupplied with Proviſions.

This had been conſidered in *England*, and their Arrival gave his whole Force four Months of every Kind at full Allowance.

The Admiral now formed his Line of Battle, of two firſt Rates, four Seconds, twenty two Thirds, and ten Fourths: there were alſo twenty *Dutch* of the Line, the whole amounting to eight and fifty Ships of the Line, with Fire-ſhips, Bomb-ketches, Hoſpital-ſhips, and all the needful Attendants on ſuch an Expedition, beſide a great Number of Frigates.

On the Twenty-ſecond they ſailed, to cruiſe off *Cape Spartell*, there to wait the Earl of *Peterborough*, who ſtayed to take in the Forces at *Liſbon*.

The *Portugueze* had more Joy in their Mouths, than earneſt good Wiſhes in their Hearts. The Earl of *Galloway* ſpared for the Service, two Regiments of Dragoons; but it was with Difficulty, the Commander procured Forage and Neceſſaries for them. This was happily ſupplied by a Reinforcement from Sir *George Byng*, according to the ſettled Orders, which brought abundant Neceſſaries; and now all Difficulties and Delays being over, he took on board King *Charles* the Third, and ſailed on the Seventeenth of *July*.

Great Preparations will take Time; but none was loſt in this; the Purpoſe of the Expedition was the moſt important, and the moſt honourable for *England*, that could be conceived; and every Thing was too well prepared for its Succeſs, to leave Room for Fear or Doubt.

There were on board this Fleet, twelve Thouſand Land-Forces, under choſen Officers, Men of Integrity, and Honour; and they carried with them a King.

A few Days brought them to *Gibraltar*, where under the Protection of the Confederate Fleet, his Catholick Majeſty landed; firſt took Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom of *Spain*; and was received the lawful Sovereign.

The Battallion of *Engliſh* Guards, and the three old Regiments which had ſo gallantly defended *Gibraltar*, were embarked, and a freſh Garriſon left there: and every Thing thus ſettled, the Fleet ſail'd on the Fifth of *Auguſt*, and in ſix Days came to an Anchor in *Altea* Bay.

Here they propoſed to water, and a Body of Foot were landed, by Order of the King, to prevent all Irregularities from the Sailors.

The *Spaniards* now indeed joined the Cauſe of their proper Sovereign. News arrived of a Body of a Thouſand, who had aſſembled themſelves in the Mountains, and taken *Denia*.

The King ſent them his Thanks, and appointed a Garriſon there. At the ſame Time, a Manifeſto was publiſh'd among them, declaring that the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* came in his Cauſe only, not in their own: that they would protect all who ſubmitted to him; but that ſuch as ſtood in Rebellion, muſt blame themſelves for the Conſequences.

This was not without its Effect; and it was very neceſſary. The *Spaniards* had been taught to look upon the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* as a Kind of *Banditti*, whoſe Purpoſe was only Plunder; and they were glad to hear a better Account of them under ſuch Authority.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The Taking of Barcelona.

WHEN the Fleet anchored in *Altea*, the Prince of *Darmſtadt* charged himſelf with the Commiſſion of enquiring into the State of *Barcelona*.

He took two Frigates, and putting into *Mataro*, four Leagues from thence, he talked with the People at *Vich*, who were well diſpoſed to their right King.

He learned here, the real Strength and Condition of the Place; he kept up the Spirit of the People, by telling them the Support the Royal Cauſe now had; and promiſed them all Protection, if they would act with Courage.

The Fleet mean Time ſtood into the Bay of *Barcelona*, where the Prince of *Darmſtadt* joined them.

The *Spaniards* fired, but with little Effect; the Prince conducted the Men on Shore, and they landed ſecurely.

The Inhabitants, when they ſaw they could be ſupported, aſſiſted the Troops in landing, and on the Thirteenth, the whole Force was on Shore, and the City was inveſted.

The Viceroy had more than our People knew to combat: he feared his Garriſon. He ſaw ſo many of the People inclined to *Charles*, that he doubted whether if theſe had been ſent out againſt the Confederate Troops in landing, they would not have joined them.

This Day the King landed with all Solemnity, the whole Fleet ſaluted him at his Departure; and on his landing, the Camp with a treble Diſcharge of their ſmall Arms. The People came about him with Acclamations, and he felt himſelf a King.

The Proſpect hitherto was fair, but the Confederates now found they had Difficulties to encounter. Their Force at Land was not ſufficient, and it was well the People offered their free Service; otherwiſe all the Poſts could not have been guarded.

The Place was ſtrong, and it was well provided; and the Earl of *Peterborough* uſed every Method to conceal his Senſe of the Diſadvantage, and to terrify the Enemy.

He ſent a Propoſal by Brigadier *Stanhope*, that a Number of Seamen might be landed, to aſſiſt in the Attempt upon *Barcelona*. Three Thouſand

ſand were put on Shore on this Motion; two Thouſand four Hundred *Engliſh*, and ſix Hundred *Dutch*, all well armed.

This thinn'd the Ships; and it was therefore agreed, that if the Enemy appeared at Sea, theſe ſhould be re-embarked again, as well as the Marines before landed on the ſame Stipulation.

One Propoſal farther was made, which would indeed have had great Effect. It was to bombard and cannonade the Town from Sea; while the Forces acted, as had been agreed by Land.

This would have made ſhort Buſineſs of it, but to this, the King, very much to his Honour, objected; he would not conſent to the Deſtruction of the Inhabitants, becauſe of the Obſtinacy of the Governor. He conſidered them as his Subjects; and he was right in gueſſing many of them conſidered him alſo as their proper King.

All his Behaviour on this Occaſion did him Honour: the Officers were for laying aſide the Attempt, on the King's declining this Propoſal, and that Point was very near being carried.

The King's Eloquence, was the great Source of their better Reſolution. He was preſent at the Council of War, in which this was debated; and he urged every favourable Circumſtance with great Force. He anſwered all Objections, and he treated with particular Civility, thoſe, whoſe Opinions he moſt ſtrenuouſly combated. He urged the good Diſpoſition of the People: he declared at length, that if they refuſed to act, he ſtill ſhould think it his Duty, as a King, not to deſert ſo many faithful Subjects; and would truſt himſelf to the Care of Providence, with them.

His Reaſons, and his manly Reſolution, turn'd the Tide of the Council: and the Earl of *Peterborough* and the Prince gave Hopes of Succeſs.

The Conſequences of this proper Conduct in *Charles* the Third, were greater than at that Time imagined. The *Catalans* and *Miquelets*, who had joined the *Engliſh*, heard their Reſolution of deſerting them; and partly in Revenge, and partly to make their Peace with the other Party, had come to a Reſolution to make a general Maſſacre of the Troops.

All was now brought again to good Underſtanding and Harmony; and tho' the few Troops which lay before the Place, had not half the neceſſary Supplies of Ammunition, the Commander put ſo good a Face upon it, that the Governor never ſuſpected their Diſtreſs.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Caſtle of Mountjoy *attacked.*

THE Prince of *Heſſe*, who had moſt warmly eſpouſed the Cauſe of *Charles*, with his Arguments, prepared now to ſecond them with his Arms.

He conſidered where Advantage was moſt likely to be obtained, and he propoſed to attempt ſurpriſing the Citadel of *Mountjoy*.

Men ſtarted at the Boldneſs of the Thought; but the Earl of *Peterborough* entered into his Reaſons, and perfectly approved the Deſign.

The Prince had a Correſpondence with the Commander, and he told the Troops deſtin'd for the Attack, that it would be a bloodleſs Action: he repeated to them what the King ſo conſtantly inculcated, that theſe were not Enemies, but miſguided Subjects; and commanded them to ſhew no Cruelty.

The Viceroy of *Barcelona* diſcovered the Deſign. He managed in ſecret his Purpoſe: He executed the Governor, who had agreed to deliver up the Citadel and Caſtle; and he doubled the Garriſon.

This was altogether unknown to the Prince, but it ſerved only to increaſe his Glory; and to give him that Period of Action a Soldier wiſhes.

He led up his Troops, and he ſoon ſaw his Error. But turning to them, he made a ſhort Speech: "what ſhould have been given us," ſaid he, "my fellow Soldiers, we will take;" and their Shouts promiſed him the Succeſs he had before aſſured to himſelf.

He led them up againſt the Fire of the Garriſon, and tho' the Service was deſperate, none fainted. Such an Example, gave the meaneſt Courage.

A Muſket Ball, in the laſt Advance, pierced the Prince's Thigh; he found the Bone unhurt, and he concealed the Wound, but the Loſs of Blood was too great for Nature to ſupport. He ſunk, and the Spirit of the Party ſeemed to fall with him; he was conveyed to the neareſt Houſe; but Death anticipated the Viſit of the Surgeon.

The Earl of *Peterborough* ſaw the Troops give Ground, and he took the Prince's Poſt; the ſingle Act that could have kept up their Courage. He led them on after their commanding Officer had given Orders for a Retreat.

He drew his Sword as he placed himſelf before them, and throwing away the Scabbard, ſaid, they were the Orders of a Coward; and he was ſure every brave Man would follow him.

Shame made them valiant; they followed: the Citadel ſurrendered to them, and the Colonel who had firſt followed the Lord *Peterborough* was made Governor.

CHAP.

CHAP. L.

Barcelona *taken.*

THIS was the firſt Succeſs of a deſpairing Soldiery: But animated by this, and inſpired, as it were, by the Courage of their noble Leader, they now preſs'd for more Service. The Siege was puſh'd with great Spirit and Vigour. On the ninth the Trenches were opened, and fifty Cannon and twenty Mortars were planted on well diſpoſed Batteries.

The Viceroy ſtill was obſtinate. He refus'd all Terms, and he inſulted thoſe who offered them. The King now ſaw his Honour intereſted in the Attack; and he was obliged to permit, in ſome Degree, Meaſures againſt which he had before ſhewed himſelf ſo averſe.

The Preparation was made at Sea with the ſame Spirit as at Land; and the Bombketches, placed in due Order, and with good Judgment, threw into the Town four hundred and twelve Shells. At the ſame Time the Batteries all played inceſſantly from the Works on Shore; and Sir *Stafford Fairborn*, with eight *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Men of War, cannonaded it in another Quarter from the Sea.

The Viceroy deſired to capitulate: Theſe were Terms he did not refuſe to hear; and the Confederates found him a true *Spaniard*, fuller of Pride than Courage.

The Terms were dictated by the King; and had they been harder, they would now have been accepted. They were ſign'd with little Reluctance; and the ſame Day the Gate and Baſtion of *St. Angelo* were given up, and ſoon after the whole City.

This was a vaſt Point in the new King's Favour. The Capital of *Catalonia* ſet an Example, which almoſt the whole Kingdom followed.

England had the Glory; and Management of the Soldiery gave the *Spaniards* a much better Opinion of our People than they had been taught to entertain before. The King made his Entry into *Barcelona* in Form; and was ſo well ſatisfied with the good Inclinations of his Subjects, that he propoſed to ſtay among them.

All approved of this, and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* agreed in the proper Meaſures, that the Cauſe thus far carried on ſucceſsfully, ſhould not be now deſerted. They came to a Reſolution that the Earl of *Peterborough*, with a large Force, ſhould ſtay with the King; and that a Winter Squadron ſhould be left there under Sir *John Leake*, and the Rear-Admiral *Waſenaer*.

CHAP. LI.

The Fleet returns.

A Very conſiderable Force was left to ſecure the Succeſſes of the Confederates; and Cannon and Ammunition in Abundance were ſent on Shore. The Priſoners, who were very numerous, had their Choice to enliſt in the Service of *Charles*, or to be landed; and the Governor, and about a thouſand who declin'd that Propoſal, were ſet on Shore at *Malaga* and *Alicant*.

Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* having appointed every Thing in Concert with his Officers, ſailed for *England*, where he arrived in *November*, and was received with all the Honour due to his Conduct and Succeſs.

CHAP. LII.

Some Succeſſes of the French.

THE Attention which was ſhewn to public Service did not prevent all due Regard being had to Commerce. Convoys were appointed; and no Ship ſailed at Hazard, but by the Raſhneſs of its Commander.

It did not however happen that every Convoy was equal to the Taſk. Our Fleet from the *Baltic* this Year gave an unlucky Inſtance. Twelve Merchant-ſhips under the Conduct of three Men of War returning thence, fell in with a *French* Squadron of four Men of War under a very brave Commander Monſieur *St. Paul*, attended by five Privateers under *Du Bart*.

This Squadron way-laid the *Engliſh*, whoſe

Strength, Number and Value they perfectly well knew. Late in the Evening, on the nineteenth of *October*, they came in Sight; and at Day-break the next Morning, began the Attack. The Privateers had Orders to ſecure the Merchant-ſhips; and the four Men of War, all larger and cleaner Ships, attack'd the three *Engliſh*. The Fight was very obſtinate. The *French* had the Victory; but the Commander did not ſee his Succeſs. He fell by a Cannon-ſhot early in the Action.

The *Engliſh* Ships were taken, and Sir *Thomas Dilkes* very unluckily having been juſt before ordered from his Station, they were all carried into *Dunkirk*. The *French* gloried more in this than we in having given a King to *Spain*.

CHAP. LIII.

Condition of the English *Navy in* 1705.

THE Naval Strength of the *Engliſh* at this Period was very conſiderable. The royal Force was ſeven Firſt Rates, fourteen Seconds, forty-five Thirds, and ſixty-three Fourth Rates; in the whole a hundred and twenty nine Ships of the Line. There were alſo in Service forty Fifth Rates, and twenty-four Sixth Rates, Cruiſers; ten Fire-ſhips, nine Bombketches, and the full Complement of Yachts, Store-ſhips, Sloops, Advice-boats, Brigantines, Hoſpital-ſhips, Hulks, Smacks, Ketches and Hoys, to the total Amount of eighty-ſix. The whole Number two hundred and eighty-nine Ships, required ſixty-two thouſand Men. Excellent Regulations were ſet on Foot for their Supply and Management; and *England* at Peace within herſelf, and honoured by her Allies, aſſumed and ſupported the glorious Title of Arbitreſs of *Europe*.

The Year 1706 opened with every Proſpect of Succeſs and Glory. The Duke of *Marlborough* was convoyed early in the Spring to *Holland*; and on the twelfth of *May* obtained that deſperate and celebrated Victory over the *French* at *Ramillies*.

This Year gave the firſt Meeting to the Commiſſioners for treating of an Union between the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. The Enemies of *England* trembled at this: They hoped the ſame Difficulties would occur which had rendered it impracticable in ſo many preceding Reigns; but they err'd: The Queen aſſiſted in Perſon at ſome of the Meetings; and the Commiſſioners were Perſons not of Abilities only, but of Integrity.

Every Point of Importance was weighed; and no leſs than four and forty Meetings were held, in every one of which ſome Difficulty was ſurmounted: At length, on the twenty-ſecond of *July* all the Articles were agreed upon; the Inſtruments were interchangeably ſign'd; and the Queen receiv'd them from the Lords Commiſſioners for the Inſpection of her Parliament.

Theſe are Events not to be paſs'd over ſilently in any Hiſtory; but no more is needed than their Mention here, that Tranſactions at Sea may not be miſunderſtood; or the Condition of the Kingdom at any Reſpect unknown.

CHAP. LIV.

A Deſign againſt the Galleons.

WHEN Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* ſailed at the Cloſe of the laſt Year for *England*, he left on the Coaſt of *Catalonia* Sir *John Leake*; with a conſiderable Squadron, Part *Engliſh* and Part *Dutch*.

Thirteen Weeks after he arrived in the River of *Liſbon*, after a tedious Paſſage, ſtraitened for Proviſions.

The *Portugueſe*, we have obſerved before, were but ſlow in their Aſſiſtance, however freely they had given good Words. He was prevented the Neceſſity of depending upon them in this Inſtance, for three *Engliſh* Ships which he met off *Cape St. Vincent*, afforded him a ſufficient Supply.

He now heard News that gave him and his People Spirit; that the *Spaniſh* Galleons were about to ſail out of the Harbour of *Cadiz*. He call'd a Council of War; and the Reſolution was unanimous to intercept them, or to deſtroy them in the Harbour. The whole Force, it was reſolved, ſhould ſail; and if they found them yet in the Bay of *Cadiz*, they were to go in, and take or deſtroy them.

The Reſolution taken, and the Diſpoſition, made the Admiral get under Sail on the twenty-fifth, and was juſt in Time to have effected his Purpoſe.

As he came near the Bar of the River, *St. Julian's* Caſtle fired at him: The other Forts followed the Example; and he ordered the Ships to come to an Anchor, and demand the Reaſon.

The commanding Officer anſwered, That he had general Orders from the Duke of *Cadaval* to let no Ships paſs. Sir *John Leake* replied angrily, That he could not be ſo dull to underſtand thoſe Orders as extending to the *Engliſh* Fleet, and ſent Complaint to Court.

The Commander was reprimanded; and the beſt Apology of which the Thing was capable, was made to the *Engliſh* Admiral. He was permitted to ſail; but four and twenty Hours were loſt in this Tranſaction, and in that Time the Galleons and Flota, to the Number of ſix and thirty, got out of *Cadiz* Bay, and eſcaped.

The great Care taken to advance the Succeſs of this Deſign, gave the Means of deſtroying it. It was at the Deſire of Mr. *Methuen*, that an Embargo was laid on all Ships; that Intelligence of the *Engliſh* Admiral's Deſign might not reach the Enemy: but there were Veſſels ſuffered to paſs, ſent, as it appeared afterwards, to give the *Spaniards* Intelligence, while the *Engliſh* Fleet was ſtop'd by a pretended Miſtake, in adhering to the Letter of the Order. The *Portugueſe*, who had before been ſlow, were now undoubtedly deceitful.

Sir *John* when he got clear, ſailed with his beſt Speed for overtaking the loſt Time and meeting with them, but without Hope. The next Morning his Cruiſers took two Prizes, *Spaniards*, bound to the *Canaries*. By theſe he learned that Intelligence had been given, and that the Galleons had made the Uſe he thought of his forced Delay.

Contrary Winds detained him ſome Time in the Ocean; but on the thirtieth of *March* he reach'd *Gibraltar*.

The Earl of *Peterborough*, then in *Valencia*, ſent Notice of a *French* Squadron of Men of War, of the Number of twenty, then before *Barcelona*. He deſir'd the Admiral to ſend on Shore the Men, Money and Ammunition, at *Altea*, or *Denia*, and then to fall upon them.

On the third of *April* Sir *John* was reinforced at *Gibraltar* by ſix *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Men of War, and a very conſiderable Number of Troops. At the ſame Time he received a ſecond Letter from the Earl of *Peterborough*; and another from the King of *Spain*, declaring the diſtreſs'd Situation of his Cauſe, and Danger of his Perſon.

Sir *John* paid all the Regard that was due to this Letter; and dividing the Land-Forces among the Fleet, *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, ſailed immediately. This was on the thirteenth; and four Frigates were ſent a-head to learn the Condition of the Enemy.

The Condition of the King of *Spain* was indeed deſperate; not only block'd up by Sea, but threatened from Land: for the Enemy had made ſuch unexpected and ſwift Marches, that they were already in Poſſeſſion of ſome of the Places of Strength almoſt in Sight of the City.

In this deſperate Condition the King ſtill reſolved to remain in the Place: as he knew the leaving it would have been giving up all the Succeſſes of the preceding Year. He depended entirely upon the Integrity, Conduct and Spirit of our Admiral; and happily for him he was one on whom he could rely with Safety.

Five Days Sail from *Gibraltar* brought them to *Altea*; and here Heaven ſtill eſpouſing as at firſt, their Cauſe, they were joined by Sir *George Byng*, with a Squadron from *England*.

Leake would have diſputed the Fate of *Spain* before, but now he could command it: He ſail'd, and three Days after was reinforced by a ſecond Squadron of the *Engliſh* under *Walker*.

The Buſineſs was now only to be expeditious. The Admiral gave Orders for proceeding northward of *Majorca*; and that every Ship ſhould make its own beſt Way in this Courſe, not ſtaying for any of the others.

On the twenty-ſixth the Earl of *Peterborough* came off from *Tarragona*, and joined the Fleet with fourteen hundred more Land-Forces. Every Thing favour'd the Cauſe, and every Incident promis'd Succeſs. Lord *Peterborough* put himſelf on Board the *St. George*, and took Command of the Fleet as Admiral, hoiſting the Union Flag.

Here he received freſh Letters, preſſing as the Occaſion, from the King; and a favourable Gale ſpringing at the ſame Time, he made the beſt Uſe of it; and the next Day the whole Fleet anchored before *Barcelona*.

It was well timed; and the Inhabitants teſtified their Joy in the moſt extravagant Terms. That Night was deſtin'd for a Storm; and the Garriſon, ſcarce fourteen hundred ſtrong, could very ill have ſtood the Aſſault.

All had been Deſpair; now all was Hope and Triumph.

The Land-Forces were immediately ſet on Shore, and the Commanders waited on the King. He receiv'd them with Tranſport. The Fate of the Siege was now evident. The *French* could not pretend to continue it to any Purpoſe againſt this Relief: yet in the Spirit of their Nation, for the Gaſcoon a little runs thro' all, they pretended three Days to puſh it with more Vigour.

The *Engliſh* offended at this Folly, prepared to reſent it; and they waited no longer than the Notice. In the Night of the third Day, after their coming up, their Works all blaz'd at once, fired by their own Hands; and they raiſed the Siege and fled.

The Forces that had been prepar'd to attack, were now employed to haraſs them; and the Peaſants, always ready to fall upon a flying Enemy, came in to their Aſſiſtance. Tho' the *French* broke up their Camp after Dark, they did not eſcape without a great deal of Damage and Loſs.

Their Number was too conſiderable to march in Silence; and where-ever they were diſcover'd, the Troops of the *Engliſh*, the Peaſants and the Garriſon, fell upon them, ſome in one Quarter, ſome in another; and the Havock was terrible. Cannon, Baggage, Waggons, and every Thing they had attempted to carry away with them, were left behind, when the Purſuers came up with thoſe who had guarded them.

The Chace was kept on Foot all the ſucceeding Day; and the Ways, Fields and Rivers, covered with the Slain.

Next Evening the Purſuers returned enrich'd, and what was to them much more, reveng'd. They remembred the Terrors of the preceding Day, and it was Tranſport to have returned them upon the Enemy.

Those who had not followed the Troops fell upon the Remains of the Camp, and found their

Share of Plunder, the old Men, Women, and Children came in there for a Portion; and beſide the private Plunder, the Pillage of Tents, the Implements of the Siege added not a little to the real Gain, as well as Glory.

They brought into the City, more than a Hundred braſs Cannon, a great many Mortars, and five Thouſand Barrels of Gunpowder: Forty Thouſand Cartridges fill'd, two Thouſand Bombs, and more than twenty Thouſand Granadoes, forty Thouſand Cannon Balls. A Day before, the King, the Garriſon, and the Citizens would have looked upon theſe with Terror, but they were now Objects of the moſt conſummate Joy.

The Army was not leſs than Twenty Thouſand ſtrong, when they ſat down before the Place, they had been there more than a Month, and they had loſt a fourth Part of their Number.

They were very unwilling to own that they had been ſo dreadfully harraſs'd in their Retreat: they paid Hiſtorians of the Day, to ſay they beat on every Occaſion the raſh Purſuers: but the other Party had better Teſtimonies of the Truth, than Words and Aſſurance: they ſhewed the Spoils; and the Way they had marched, diſcloſed the moſt terrible of all Proofs, the Number of the ſlain.

CHAP. LV.

The Surrender of Carthagena.

PHILIP, who had been himſelf preſent at the Siege of *Barcelona*, and ſhared the Fatigues and Dangers of the Retreat, now learned with what Terror he ſhould view the *Engliſh* in his Rival's Cauſe: *Charles* looked upon them as his Guardian Angels; and loaded them with every Teſtimony of Gratitude, Reſpect, and Honour.

The Earl of *Peterborough* received his Thanks, and took a haſty Leave for farther Service. He embarked for *Valencia*. At *Altea*, the Commanders were informed, that the Inhabitants of *Carthagena*, were favourably diſpoſed for the Cauſe; and only waited the Protection of the Fleet, and Countenance of *England*, to declare themſelves.

The Officers received the News with Joy; the Fleet ſteer'd its Courſe thither, and arriving on the Firſt of *June*, the Place was ſurrendered the next Day.

Major *Hedges* was ſent in with a Garriſon of ſix Hundred Marines; and Sir *John Jennings* was left to ſettle the Affairs of the City.

A Week after this Expedition, the Fleet ſailed for *Altea* to water, and here the Admiral received Intelligence of two Gallies of *Spain*, which were to go to *Oran* on the *Barbary* Coaſt, with the Pay of the Garriſon.

He ſent two Ships of Force to intercept them; and the *Spaniards*, whether Loyalty or Fear were the Motive, inſtead of diſputing the Point, came off to them, and declared for *Charles*.

CHAP. LVI.

The Attack of Alicant.

THERE are Courſes of continued Glory and Succeſs; and ſuch now was the Caſe with the *Engliſh* Forces. By Sea and Land they were equally victorious; all yielded before them; 'tis known, the Duke of *Marlborough* never met one Check in his great Career; and little leſs Fortune attended the naval Expeditions deſtin'd to ſupport the King we had given to *Spain*.

Sir *John Leake* after his Succeſs at *Barcelona*, when he had watered, ſail'd for *Alicant*.

On the Twenty-ſixth of *June*, he arrived before the Place, and ſent a Meſſage to the Governor. He took all Meaſures at the ſame Time, for Intelligence; and he received at once, a Defiance from the Governor, and Notice of great Strength in the Place.

He was expected, and the *Spaniards* were prepared for him; the Garriſon numerous, in good Condition, and well ſtor'd with every Thing; and the Commander an *Iriſhman*, *Mahoni*, celebrated for a deſperate and brutal Courage.

His Meſſage imported, that he would defend the Place, while he had a Man to ſet upon the Works; and the Preparations made on every Part, ſhewed this was not one of the *French* Meſſages, to which our People had been uſed, and which they knew how to deſpiſe.

The Admiral took his Meaſures accordingly; he did not immediately land his Forces, as on other Occaſions; but waited the Reinforcement, Thirteen Hundred Foot, and a Hundred and Fifty Horſe, who came under the Command of General *Gorges*.

Theſe arrived, he landed altogether, facing and defying an Enemy of much ſuperior Number: Eight Hundred Seamen were added to this too weak Body; and they were no ſooner on Shore, than the Town was bombarded.

The *Spaniards* fired inceſſantly, and *Mahoni* aſſiſted himſelf at the great Battery they had to the Sea, of a Hundred and ſixty Guns.

Againſt this, Sir *George Byng* took the Command: he hoiſted his Flag on board the *Shrewſbury*, a third Rate, and taking with him four more of the ſame Force, led them up in a Line againſt all Oppoſition; and anchored ſo near the Town, that every Shot took Place.

The Diſcharge began at once from all; and was continued with inceſſant Fury. The *Spaniards* ſtood it but a few Minutes; they ſaw their Guns diſmounted; they were terrified at the Rapidity of the Fire; and they fled.

The Day after arrived Sir *John Jennings*, with a conſiderable Reinforcement; and ſuch Spirit had the Councils of War at that Time, that it was determined in one held the Evening he arrived, to attack the City the next Morning, Sword in Hand.

This was the proper Service of the Land-forces and Marines; but the Sailors glowing with the true *Engliſh* Valour, could not bear to hear of Danger or of Glory, propoſed to their Countrymen, from which they were with-held.

They came with one Voice to the Commanders in the Evening, and requeſted to ſhare in the Attack: they were not wanted on board; they knew how to handle a Cutlaſs, and they promiſed to be the firſt in the Aſſault.

The Officers were charmed with the Propoſal, they ſelected forty Men by Lot out of each Ship, and happy he thought himſelf on whom the Choice of Danger fell.

It was a very acceptable Reinforcement, for the Land-men were very ill ſuited in Number to the Service.

All was ſettled during Night, and at Day-break, the Soldiers made themſelves Maſters of the Suburbs. The Boats were mann'd and arm'd, and as the Sun roſe upon them, came along Side the *Shrewſbury*, and received their Orders, in what Manner to aſſiſt and ſupport the Attack.

The Ships deſtin'd to this Service, fir'd all the Time inceſſantly upon the Place, and by Nine in the Morning, there appeared two Breaches, one in the round Tower, the other in the Middle of the Curtain, between the Mole and eaſtern Baſtion.

Lord *Mobun*'s Regiment now diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the moſt eminent Manner: their Officer, Major *Rapin*, when he ſaw the Breach, led up his Grenadiers, and made a ſhort Speech, "let's ſee who is before me in the Town."

The Anſwer was an univerſal Shout: the Boats under the Command of Sir *John Jennings* all came to ſuſtain them, and the deciſive Stroke was expected: but the Breach was not fairly practicable, and the *Spaniards* muſtered all their Force and Courage to reſiſt.

The Struggle was very deſperate, tho' ſhort: the Grenadiers, who made the Attack, had Courage invincible; but on the other Side were Numbers, they fought againſt fifty Times their Strength, and the *Spaniards* had every Advantage.

The Boats had ſome Difficulty in landing, and the Aſſiſtance they ſhould have given, came too late.

Hiſtorians ſay, the Grenadiers were beaten back, but I have ſpoke with one of their Officers, who ſays they were left there. They fought under a Commander unpractis'd in Retreats; and they fell with him.

The Land-forces thus foiled, and in ſome Degree diſheartened; the Service remained for the Sailors, who ſo eagerly requeſted it: they were ſoon landed, and Captain *Evans* of the *Royal Oak*, leading them to the Breach, mounted it firſt, and appeared in an Inſtant in the Town. They followed irreſiſtibly; three of the Boats Crews were about their Captain in an Inſtant, and the Example was obeyed univerſally.

The Captains of the *Royal Ormond*, the *Saint George*, *Paſſenger* and *Walker* followed with their People; and Sir *John Jennings*, with a Crowd of the reſt, was now Maſter of the Suburbs. Shouts were returned to Shouts, and the confounded *Spaniards* attacked in many Places at once, ſtood in a Manner defenceleſs.

Jennings advanced from the Suburbs, into the Town, and ſecured the Poſts: Numbers now followed; and *Maboni* who found the Place no longer tenable, retired into the Caſtle.

Thus were the *Engliſh* Maſters of the Town of *Alicant*; ſolely by the Aſſiſtance of the Sailors. There had been great Loſs of the Grenadiers, who ſtood the Conflict in a more regular Manner; but of the Sailors, who abſolutely took the Place, only fifteen were wanting.

Sir *John Jennings* eſcaped narrowly: his Danger was not in the Action, but afterwards; a Muſket Shot fired at him thro' a Window killed Lieutenant Colonel *Petit*, with whom he was walking Arm in Arm.

CHAP. LVII.

The Attack upon the Caſtle.

THE Buſineſs was but half done, while the Caſtle held out: the Governor's Spirit was more regarded, than its Strength; and thoſe who were offended at his Obſtinacy, yet honoured him.

The next Day, Brigadier *Gorge* ſent a Summons to the Caſtle, and the Governor ſlighted it. The *Engliſh* threatened, and he again anſwered with Coolneſs. Our Cannon and Mortars were now employed, but he regarded them no more than the Meſſages.

The Engineers performed their Service greatly to their Honour, and the Bombs fell thick, where it was known they did Execution. The

Cannon directed againſt the Wall, batter'd inceſſantly; and by Degrees had made ſome Impreſſion.

Notice arrived on the Twenty-ſecond of *Auguſt*, that the Governor was wounded by a Splinter of a Bomb, that burſt juſt at his Foot; and upon this, a ſecond Meſſage was ſent to him: they laid the State of the Place before him, and mentioned his own Condition: he anſwered, "they "know I am not dead; and they ſhall know that "while I am alive, I will do my Duty."

The Spirit of this *Iriſhman*, charmed even his Enemies; the Siege was carried on with all Fury on each Side. The Caſtle, before the End of the Month, followed the Fate of the Town, and was the Conqueſt of the *Engliſh*.

The Diſtreſs of the Garriſon, was the real Occaſion of its being given up; they had no Water. The Commander offered to ſurrender upon honourable Conditions, and his Enemies could not deſire to impoſe upon him any others.

CHAP. LVIII.

Farther Succeſſes of the English *in* Spain.

THE unconquerable Fortune of the Confederate Forces, gave every Thing to the King whom they ſupported, even where they did not act: The *Spaniards* thought with Reaſon, Heaven eſpouſed a Cauſe, they ſaw ſo ſucceſsful; and they every where prepared to ſubmit to their new Sovereign.

The Inland Provinces, out of all Reach from thoſe Fleets, whoſe Terror had been ſpread ſo univerſally along the Coaſt, came in by voluntary Submiſſion to King *Charles*, and all *Spain* was on the Point of declaring for him; when by an equal Folly and Ingratitude, this Sovereign, whom we had placed ſo advantageouſly in his Kingdom; to whom he owed all that he had gained; and on whom, tho' he yet knew it not, he was to depend for all the Good that ſhould follow; treated our Commanders with Coldneſs and Diſtruſt.

He was no longer influenced by *Engliſh*, but *German* Councils; and under their Direction, took that moſt raſh and abſurd Reſolution, of going through *Arragon*, to *Madrid*, and ſtopping by the Way at *Saragoſſa*.

Here ended his Virtue, and with it his preſent Fortune.

The Seaſon of ſending back our Fleets approached, but the buſy Spirit of Lord *Peterborough* determined to do ſomething more. He made the Diſpoſitions: he directed Sir *John Leake* to proceed on a certain Day for *England*, leaving Sir *George Byng* to command the Winter Squadron; but firſt he gave Orders for their proceeding to *Ivica* and *Majorca*.

Ivica was the firſt Scene of Action: but there required little to be done. The *Engliſh* Fleet no ſooner appeared, than the Governor ſent off a Meſſage, that he and the People were perfectly diſpoſed to own *Charles* for their Sovereign, and deſired to know at what Hour they ſhould ſend Deputies on board, to make a regular Submiſſion.

The next Day was appointed; the Ceremony properly form'd, and *Charles* the Third, had *Ivica* added to his acknowledged Dominions.

From thence the Fleet proceeded directly for *Majorca*, with the ſame Orders and Purpoſe. The Count *de Alcudia* commanded here; and upon the Appearance of the *Engliſh* Fleet, he called together the principal People, and prepared for Reſiſtance.

To the Meſſage ſent in by Sir *John Leake*, he returned for Anſwer, that he knew no King of *Spain*, but *Philip*; that he was his Subject, and his Servant, and would not fail in his Duty to his proper Sovereign.

Our Mortars ſpoke a more perſuaſive Language, a few Shells thrown in to the Capital of the Iſland, and the Place of his Reſidence, changed the Face of Things.

The Viceroy indeed maintained his Reſolution, but thoſe who had been moſt earneſt in the ſame Opinion, left him; and the People of the Town, Aſſes of the Fable, did not think it of much Importance, who was Maſter.

They did not judge it worth while to have their Houſes deſtroyed, their Properties and Lives endangered, about the Name of their King; more than whoſe Name, it was not likely they would ever know; and they obliged the Viceroy to retire to his Palace, and deſired a Capitulation.

Majorca was added to the reſt, in the Detail of the Dominions ſubmitted to *Charles* the Third; but little was it yet imagined, that while we were conquering for this weak Man, he was deluding our Expectations.

CHAP. LIX.

Sir Stafford Fairborn's *Service againſt the* French.

SPAIN was the Subject of the War, but *France* and *England* were the Combatants. The *Dutch* who ſaw their Intereſt deeply concerned, acted as they always do when intereſted, with ſome Reſolution; but the Weight lay on us, and in Reward, the Glory.

Early in the Year of which we write, the Command of a Squadron, deſtined for the Soundings, was given to Sir *Stafford Fairborne*.

His Inſtructions were to proceed with Secrecy and Expedition to the River *Charente*, before whoſe Mouth uſually at that Seaſon lay the *French* Ships, fitted out at *Rochfort*, taking in their Proviſion and Guns. Five Weeks were allotted for this, and what other Services he might be able to perform in that Poſt againſt the Enemy; and he was then to go to *Plymouth*.

Sir *Stafford* did not want Reſolution, but the Winds were unfavourable. He combated them a long while, inſtead of the Enemy; and his limited Time expired before he had Opportunity of any ſignal Service.

He returned with ſome rich Prizes; and the Deſtruction he had made among their trading Veſſels very well anſwered the Purpoſe of his going, tho' he had miſs'd the immediate Service.

On his Return to *Plymouth* he received Orders to repair off *Oſtend*; and he blocked up the Harbour effectually.

The Siege of *Oſtend* was now determin'd; but little Service could be expected from the Shipping againſt the Veſſels of the Enemy, becauſe they lay in a Cluſter on the Back of the Town, and could not be come at but by a narrow and crooked Entrance, defended with Platforms.

While all Preparations were carrying on for the Siege, three Frigates were diſpatched for *Furnes*, to prevent the Enemy from paſſing the Gut at *Newport*. The Service was uncertain; for 'twas moſt probable the Sands would not permit them to come within Cannon-ſhot of Land: However, their very Appearance might have ſome Effect; and was at leaſt worth the Trial.

On the ſeventeenth of *June 1706*, the Trenches were opened before *Oſtend*; and the Ships that could be brought to bear were placed in Order, with the Bomb ketches. On the twenty-firſt the Cannonading and Bombardment began; and the Bombs were thrown with ſo much Succeſs, that the Town was in half an Hour on Fire in ſeveral Places.

The *Engliſh* ſaw the Confuſion of the People, and they increaſed it by a fiercer Fire. The Cannon battered inceſſantly: Thoſe of the Works in the Place were ſilenced and diſmounted; and new Flames appeared in different Places.

From Day-break till Evening the Fire of the *Engliſh* continued with an unremitted Fury, from Ships, Batteries and Bomb ketches. The Place was in one Day reduced almoſt to Ruin.

Next Day the Beſieged unable to ſtand any longer ſo terrible a Fire, beat a Parley. The Capitulation was ſign'd the ſame Day; and the next Morning the Allies, in the Name of *Charles* the Third, took Poſſeſſion not properly of *Oſtend*, but of the Ruins, and the Place where *Oſtend* ſtood.

The Veſſels now no longer protected by their Situation, fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. Theſe were not included in the Capitulation; and they amounted to forty-five trading Ships, and two Men of War, one of eighty, and one of fifty Guns.

CHAP. LX.

The English *purpoſe a Deſcent in* France.

THE uninterrupted Succeſſes of our Arms by Sea and Land, now rais'd the Kingdom of *England* in its own Eſteem, as well as that of other Nations, to an unrival'd Height of Glory: Every Thing had proſper'd; and it was thought any Thing might be undertaken. Our Government propos'd to humble *France* indeed, by a Deſcent in their own Country.

Lewis, who had once flattered himſelf with the Ideas of little leſs than the Sovereignty of *Europe*, now trembled in his own Dominions. He had domeſtic Enemies as terrible as the worſt abroad. His Wars had impoveriſh'd his Subjects; and the Word Oppreſſion was heard in every Mouth.

His Perſecution of the Proteſtants had made him ſo many certain Enemies, and none could ſay how far the Diſcontent of the Generality might lead them. It was a common Opinion that the People of *France* were ready for a general Inſurrection.

Of this the *Engliſh* took Advantage: The *Dutch* liſten'd to their Reaſons; and it was concerted between them, that ten thouſand Land-Forces, well ſupported, ſhould be employed on this Service.

The Command was given to the Earl of *Rivers*. The two Lieutenant-Generals were *Erle*, and the Marquis *de Guiſcard*; the Major-Generals the Earl of *Eſſex* and Lord *Mordaunt*.

The Command of the Fleet was given to Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, who hoiſted his Flag in *July*, on board the *Britannia*; and the Expedition was ſo ſingular, and ſo little ſecret, that *Europe* was throughout her whole Bounds attentive to the Execution.

The Tranſports embarked; the Fleet ſailed, and Men were never known in greater Spirit. The Rendezvous appointed for the *Dutch* was at *St. Helen*'s; thither the Fleet came, and there they lay waiting them in vain. Their Delay at firſt had the Excuſe of contrary Winds, but afterwards there was none. The Deſign was obliged to be laid aſide; and the Officers left the Fleet.

Our People in Power were blam'd for not being more ſecret in this Purpoſe: But as the Event was, there was a Merit in its being known. The Coaſts of *Normandy*, *Bretagne*, and *Poictou*, *Xaintonge*, and *Guienne*, were kept in Alarm. They were put in a State of Defence at a very conſiderable Expence, which at that Time *France* could ill ſupport it; and thus it ſerv'd the Cauſe, tho' never brought into Execution.

Autumn arrived, and the Ships put into Harbour.

The Death of the King of *Portugal* threw the Affairs of *Spain* into ſome Confuſion; and the Conduct of *Charles* the Third more. We acted as became the great Character our Arms had acquir'd.

The Duke of *Marlborough* returned for the Winter, as ſucceſsful in Negotiation as in the Field; and the Standards and Colours of *Ramillies* were this Year hung up in *Guildhall*.

The Queen aſſiſted at *St. Paul*'s in a General Thankſgiving; and Preparations were early made to put the Naval Force of the Kingdom in Condition for effectual Service.

CHAP. LXI.

Affairs of the Weſt-Indies.

THE War, as uſual, was hot in the *Weſt-Indies*, and a Squadron had been ſent in good Time thither, under Sir *William Whetſtone*. He was ſucceſsful in private Expeditions, but he did nothing important of a public Nature. He took ſome *French* Ships, and burnt others; but he let more eſcape him, than with his Strength compared to theirs, he needed. He undertook indeed an Expedition that might have been important at *Carthagena*; but it came to nothing; and he ſoon after ſail'd for *England*.

The Command now devolved on Commodore *Ker*; whoſe Deſigns were as proper, but their Events as fruitleſs as his Predeceſſors. One of theſe was an Attack upon *Port Louis*, another on the *Petit Guavas*; but neither was put in Execution.

After this Sir *John Jennings* was diſpatched thither, but his Command ſtands as little dignified by any important Event as theirs.

Commodore *Wager* followed *Jennings* in Command, but with the ſame ſlight Fortune. *Europe*, it ſeem'd, was deſtin'd for the Scene of Action; however, there was not one of theſe but kept up a Superiority at Sea, and made the Enemy tremble. Our Commerce was protected, theirs diſtreſſed; and in particular their Fiſheries in *North America* were almoſt ruined.

CHAP. LXII.

The Deſign upon Toulon.

IN the Year 1707 the Act of Union between *England* and *Scotland* paſs'd, and they became one Kingdom.

The Death of the King of *Portugal* had embroil'd Affairs extremely toward the Cloſe of the laſt Year.

Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* lay then at *Liſbon* with the Earl of *Rivers*. He was about to have ſail'd for *Alicant*, but was ſtop'd by ſudden Orders from *England*. Conditions were offered for landing the Troops in *Portugal*; but theſe not being adjuſted, they ſailed on the ſeventh of *January* for *Alicant*.

They landed the Forces there, but ſoon after brought them back again to *Liſbon*. The Change of Councils in the King, whom we ſupported, was the Cauſe of this; and his ill-manag'd Conduct now brought on Calamities enough. The Battle of *Almanza* fought this Year, was the firſt Check to the *Engliſh* Arms.

The Deſign upon *Toulon* was propoſed to recover our loſt Glory. Prince *Eugene* was at the Head of this: His Troops were early on their March, and Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* had his Orders to aſſiſt with the Fleet.

He ſailed on the firſt Notice for the Coaſt of *Italy*: In the Beginning of *June* he appeared off *Genoa*, and on the fifth came to an Anchor before *Final*, with forty-three Men of War, and fifty-ſeven Tranſports. The ſame Day a Council was held at *Turin*; and ſoon after Sir *Cloudſley* had a Conference with Prince *Eugene*, on the neceſſary Meaſures.

At the latter End of the Month the Fleet anchored between *Nice* and *Antibes*; and the Paſſage of the *Var*, where the Enemy had intrenched themſelves, being reſolved, the Command was ſollicited by Sir *John Norris*.

This gallant *Engliſhman* knew, and all knew, the deſperate Nature of the Service; he receiv'd Commiſſion with the greateſt Marks of Honour; and he had in Command for the Service five Men of War, and Boats to receive ſix hundred Seamen and Marines.

He advanced to the Place, and ſailing into the Mouth of the River, he filled the Boats, and put off in a Body: He aſtoniſh'd and confounded the Enemy, who did not believe that human Courage could have arrived at ſuch a Pitch. Sir *John* led them up againſt their full Fire, till they were within Muſket-ſhot of the Works; and till he was ſecure of Execution, did not permit a Shot to be fired. When in certain Reach, they poured in their firſt Volley; and this was ſucceeded by others, ſo uninterruptedly, that the Cavalry gave Way; the Foot next, and the Intrenchments were deſerted.

Sir *Cloudſley* followed, and ſtood an aſtoniſh'd Spectator of the Courage of the People, and their Succeſs. He gave his Orders, and they were punctually and readily obeyed. The Boats diſcharged their People on the Shore, and the Sailors ſeeing the Confuſion of the Enemy, purſued their Succeſs, and flanked them in their Intrenchments.

They fled; the *Engliſh* followed; Sir *John Norris* took Poſſeſſion of their deſerted Works, and made an eaſy Way for the Duke of *Savoy*. That Leader paſs'd the River an Hour after without Oppoſition, and marched toward *Toulon*.

This was one of thoſe bold Attempts in which the *Engliſh* Sailors diſtinguiſhed themſelves out of their proper Office and Command; and the Event was important in the higheſt Degree: The Conflict muſt have been bloody between the Duke's Troops, and theſe *French*, in their Intrenchments; but in this wild Attack Confuſion did the Work. Of the Enemy many fell; but of our People fewer than could have been ſuppoſed.

This important Service performed, the Fleet ſailed for *Hyeres*; and the Army came to *la Valette*, before *Toulon*.

The *French* now trembled; the Fleet under Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, a Name juſtly dreadful, lay before them; and there was an Army by no Means to be ſlighted. Their Terrors performed us a moſt acceptable Service. They thought more of the Danger than the Means of reſiſting it, and in Deſpair ſunk twenty of their Men of War in the Harbour: the ſole Hope of ſaving the reſt from Deſtruction. They ſent away their Gallies for *Marſeilles*, and even in ſpite of this Precaution trembled for the Fate of the Remainder of their Ships, then in the Harbour, amounting to a much larger Number.

Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* engag'd the Enemy's Diſtraction with that Coolneſs which always diſtinguiſh'd him in Command; he ſtation'd Frigates to keep open a Communication by Sea, and to protect the Duke of *Savoy*'s Boats, as they paſs'd backwards and forwards, and awe the Enemy in *Monaco* and *Villafranca*.

The Cannon were now landed for the Batteries, to the Number of a hundred; each had two hundred Rounds of Ammunition; and the Seamen acted at their own Requeſt as Gunners.

The Preparations were equal on the other Side; and on the ſecond of *Auguſt* the Terror of the Siege began. The Batteries began to play at Day-break; and the Fleet came into the Road of *Toulon*.

Rear-Admiral *Dilkes* had the Command of a Squadron that acted againſt one of their principal Batteries; and he performed the Service nobly. He ſaw whence the Fire was moſt ſevere, and aiming all his Force to that Part, he ſilenced the Cannon, and drove the *French* from the Place. The Sailors took Poſſeſſion: they found the Enemy had ſpiked up their Guns before they fled, and they threw them into the Sea.

Next Day the Cannon from Fort *St. Lewis* were obſerved to act with a redoubled Violence. A Squadron was ſent againſt that Place, and with the ſame Succeſs. The Noiſe was ſilenced by the Broadſides of theſe Veſſels, the Guns diſmounted, and the Engineers driven from their Work.

Three Days the Fortune of the *Engliſh* prevail'd; but the fourth was deſtin'd to a Service in which the *French* were to gain Glory. They ſaw every Thing at Stake, and they determined on one bold Effort for the fourth Morning: This was a general Sally. They knew the Importance of this Action; and they prepared every Thing with a becoming Spirit. At Day-break they pour'd out upon the Beſiegers in unexpected Numbers, and with an unprecedented Fury. The great Attack was to the Right, where, after a bloody Diſpute, they were Conquerors: They drove the Beſiegers from their Works.

The Prince of *Saxe Gotha* made the laſt Stand in Oppoſition to this Torrent; and he fell covered with Wounds. His Death gave the *French* Poſſeſſion; his Example had animated and inſpired the Soldiers; and all their Spirit ſunk with him.

The *French* kept Poſſeſſion all Day, and toward Evening deſtroy'd the Works, and retired into the Town with the Beſiegers Cannon.

The Fleet was thrown into Confuſion alſo this Day by a violent Storm; and one ill Fortune joining with another, the Confederates loſt their accuſtomed Spirit.

The Siege became after this no more than a Bombardment of the Town; and the General deſir'd the Admiral with all convenient Expedition, to take on Board the Sick and wounded, and the Cannon.

On the tenth the Duke decamped, and the Fleet was deſired to accompany the Army as far as the *Var*.

While the Diſpoſitions were making for the March of the Army, the Ships drew as near the Place as poſſible; and five Bomb Veſſels being placed advantageouſly under the Support of the Frigates, and Men of War's Boats, in the Command of Rear-Admiral *Dilkes*, Fort *St.*

Lewis, the Town and Harbour were bombarded that Day, and all the ſucceeding Night.

The *Engliſh*, who could do nothing more, enjoyed the Deſtruction they ſaw before them. The moſt ſtately Buildings were reduc'd to Ruins; the Magazine of Cordage was fired; and eight Men of War were burnt, or rendered irreparably uſeleſs.

The *French*, inſpir'd by their late Succeſs, were not remiſs; they brought a Number of Cannon and Mortars to bear upon the Ships; and for many Hours the Fire was terrible on both Sides. At length the Fleet having performed every Thing, the moſt ſanguine Hope could have preſag'd, retir'd with many glorious Hurts from the Encounter.

The ſame Night the Army decamped, marching in five Columns, by the ſame Rout they had come. The Governor ſaw them preparing to depart; but he made no more Sallies. They were Enemies for whom a Bridge of Gold ſhould have been built, retreating: the Oſtentation of his Country ſhewed itſelf two Days afterwards in a pretended Purſuit; but he took Care to keep at a ſafe Diſtance.

Thus ended the Siege of *Toulon*: an Undertaking of the boldeſt Kind, and which had been ſupported in every Part with proper Firmneſs. Its ill Succeſs could be attributed only to the Number of the Garriſon, and natural and artificial Strength of the Place. 'Twas one of thoſe Actions in which no Credit can be loſt; for 'twas enough to have attempted it.

CHAP. LXIII.

The Death of Sir Cloudſley Shovel.

SIR *Cloudſley* left Admiral *Dilkes* in Command, and bent his Courſe for *England*; which, from a moſt diſaſtrous Accident, he never ſaw again.

On the 23d of *October* he came with the Ships he had ordered home with him, into the Soundings; and as appears by the Accounts of thoſe who could not err, he had in the Morning ninety Fathom Water. In the Afternoon he brought the Fleet too, and lay by with a freſh Gale at South South-Weſt, with hazy Weather. At ſix in the Evening he made Sail again, and ſtood away under his Courſe Eaſt and by North, believing, as it is preſum'd, he had the Channel open, and ſaw the Light at *Scilly*.

Early in the Night himſelf, and ſeveral of the other Ships, made Signals of Danger. Sir *George Byng*, who was not half a Mile a-head of him, ſaw plainly the breaking of Waves, and ſoon after the Rocks of *Scilly*. On one of theſe the Admiral's Ship ſtruck; and in leſs than two Minutes no Part of it was ſeen.

Thus periſh'd the great *Engliſh* Admiral with all his Officers, and about nine hundred Sailors. The *Eagle* Man of War ſunk alſo; and the *Romney* ſtruck, but her People were ſaved. The Body of Sir *Cloudſley* was thrown up on the Sands; and was brought to *London*, and interred at the Queen's Expence.

This Year was fatal to *England* in the Loſs of her naval Commanders. Rear-Admiral *Dilkes*, who had Charge of the Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, died at *Leghorn*, where he was meditating great Enterpriſes.

Sir *Thomas Hardy* at this Time commanded in the Channel. It was not a Poſt of eminent Service: But what fell in his Way he miſs'd. A *French* Squadron, that of *Du Gue Trouin*, came in his Way; but after a ſlight Chace he left the Purſuit, when he might have done himſelf Honour, and his Country Service.

There had been no Inſtance of the *French* being ſo terrified with reſpect to naval Preparations, as the Year of which we now ſpeak. They had literally no Fleet of Importance upon the Sea. The *Engliſh* they had been taught to acknowledge too powerful for them; the *Dutch* join'd made up a Power altogether irreſiſtible; they gave up the Competition. They ſent out Men of War in ſlight Squadrons for protecting their Trade; and they had the Addreſs to place others, where they might too ſucceſsfully annoy ours: but this was all.

The largeſt Armament they equip'd in the Courſe of the Year, was the Squadron of Monſieur *Forbin*, from *Dunkirk*; it conſiſted of eight Frigates, and was reinforced by ſeveral Privateers. Theſe waited the ſailing of a vaſt Fleet of our Merchant-ſhips, no leſs than fourſcore, convoy'd by three Men of War; and attacking them with Courage, they were too ſucceſsful.

Many of the Merchant-veſſels were taken, and two of the Men of War; and one was run aſhore. The *Liſbon* Fleet ſuffered in the ſame Manner. Complaints were frequent, and there was too much Reaſon. The Trade was ill defended, while we had upon the Seas more than forty Times the Strength of our Enemy, who plundered, as it were, at Pleaſure.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIV.

An Invaſion threatened.

THE Tide of Fortune now came to an Ebb; and one Incident after another fell out as croſsly as they had before followed on one another's Courſe ſucceſsfully: the Parliament took into Conſideration the Miſmanagements that occaſioned this, and entered on proper Meaſures for their Redreſs; but in the mean Time the *French* boaſted their Succeſs; and meditated to revenge all our Inſults by an Invaſion.

The Intelligence of this arrived while all was in Confuſion about the Navy, and the *French* who watched then, as now, all Opportunities of Miſchief, ſaw this and other Temptations to the Attempt.

The *Scots* were now diſſatisfied with the Union, to which they had ſo freely agreed; they ſaw no Means of freeing themſelves from it during the preſent Courſe of Things; and it was whiſper'd, that they therefore wiſhed to ſee another Family upon the Throne, from whom their Aſſiſtance in replacing them, might claim any Thing they pleaſed.

Theſe were the Thoughts of Men, however juſt or unjuſt, and theſe the *French* caught eagerly in the preſent Criſis.

Dunkirk was in continual Hurry with the Buſtle of Preparation; and *De Nangis* was ſent privately to *Scotland*, to ſound the Inclinations of the People. He propoſed to them to ſupport the Intereſt of the Pretender, and he found too many ready to catch at the Bait: but he was made to believe more were inclin'd, and thoſe more vehemently than they really were. He came commiſſioned from the Court of *France*, and he talked freely with thoſe who were moſt diſaffected: he propoſed Encouragement, and they engaged for thirty Thouſand Men ready to receive the Pretender when landed.

The *Frenchman* left among them Money, Arms and Ammunition, and returned well ſatisfied with his Negotiation.

On the Twenty-fourth of *February* the Pretender ſet out from *St. Germains*, and 'twas now publick that he intended to truſt himſelf to his Fortune in *Scotland*.

The News reached the Government in Form, and the Two Houſes of Parliament behaved as became them to ſo good a Sovereign: they promiſed to ſtand by the Queen with their Lives and Fortunes; and immediately after a Royal Proclamation was iſſued, declaring the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and all his Abettors and Aſſiſtants, Traitors.

The Navy never had been needed on more important Service: a Squadron of *French* Men of War was ready to convoy the Pretender to *Scotland*, and the Buſineſs was to fight them by the Way: for this Service an Officer was required of moſt untainted Loyalty, and proved Courage: the Choice fell on *Byng*: he knew the Honour that was done him, and he reſolved to act worthily of the Diſtinction.

The Admiralty behaved with the ſame Spirit, and in eight Days from the Notice, the Admiral was on the Sea with twenty-ſix Ships of War ſailing for the Coaſt of *Dunkirk*.

He anchored in *Graveling* Pits the Afternoon of the Twenty-ſeventh of *February*, and not truſting for Intelligence to others, when 'twas impoſſible to know who could be ſafely truſted, he threw himſelf immediately into a Frigate, and ſailed within two Miles of the *Flemiſh* Road.

Here his own Eyes informed him of the Enemy's Strength. He counted twenty-ſeven Veſſels of different Sizes, all lying with their Topſails looſe; beſide what were within the Heads above the Forts.

His next Buſineſs was, to get Intelligence from the Shore: and this he managed with the ſame Zeal and Care. He took a Fiſhing Veſſel, and with Promiſes, and Threats of inſtant Death, obtained from the Maſter this important News, "That ten thouſand Men were ready to embark "on board theſe Veſſels; that more were ex"pected hourly from *Breſt*, and that the Pre"tender was there himſelf at *Graveling*.

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CHAP. LXV.

The French *are alarmed.*

THE boaſtful Spirit of the *French* had led them to talk loudly and publickly of this Expedition: they had flattered themſelves with unoppoſed Succeſs; and had not conceived the Kingdom would have been able to provide againſt them with ſuch Expedition.

The Appearance of a *Britiſh* Fleet off *Mardyke* aſtoniſhed and confounded them. The Count *de Forbin*, who had Command, ſtopped the Embarkation; and repreſented to the King the true Condition of the Enterprize. He told him, that he might indeed inſult *England* by a Deſcent, but that himſelf muſt be the Sufferer: that he believed he might get out of *Dunkirk*

Harbour, and even land the Troops, but that he knew no Way they could get back, nor could inſure the Ships home again.

Lewis had plumed himſelf upon this Expedition; and though he knew no Man held leſs Counſel with Fear than *Forbin*, he would not ſubmit to this Diſappointment. He ordered the Men to be re-embarked with all Expedition, and the Fleet to ſail with the firſt Wind.

Sir *George Byng* had Intelligence of the *Frenchman*'s Backwardneſs; and he took Occaſion from the diſembarking of the Men, to put back himſelf to the *Downs* for Neceſſaries, which his haſty fitting out had provided very ſcantily.

Here was the ſingle Error of the Expedition. The *French* ſailed in his Abſence.

None could have conceived ſuch Orders would have been ſent in Anſwer to ſuch Repreſentation as *de Forbin* made; nor that they could be ſo quickly complied with: but thoſe concerned in Enterprizes of this Importance, ſhould foreſee every thing. Of all human Qualities, the firſt in great Affairs is Caution.

The Wind that had favour'd the *French* in ſailing from *Dunkirk*, changed after about four Hours; and they were obliged to come to an Anchor in *Nieuport* Pits till the Eighth, when they ſailed again with a fair Gale, ſteering for *Scotland*.

Of all this the *Engliſh* Commander knew nothing. He ſailed on the Sixth, refreſhed and reinforced; and 'twas not till three Days after that, between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, he received Intelligence, ſent by Major *Cadogan* from *Oſtend*, of the *French* Fleet having ſailed from the Pits at *Nieuport*.

His Force was now ſo conſiderable, that he could ſpare a Part, and yet remain an Overmatch for ſuch an Enemy. With him in Command were the Lord *Durſley* and Admiral *Baker*; the latter he diſpatched with a ſtrong Squadron to convoy the Troops which were embarked at *Oſtend*, and to keep an Eye upon the Ships yet in *Dunkirk* Road; and himſelf with the reſt purſued the Enemy. Their Courſe was very well known, and anchoring on the Tenth of *March* off the Mouth of the *Frith* at Night, he in the Morning ſaw them.

Fortune and the Addreſs of the *French* Commander were againſt us: the Count *de Forbin* heard the Signal for our Fleet to come to an Anchor, and he made good Uſe of it. He ſent Orders to every Ship to put out their Lights, and one by one to ſail out of the *Frith*, and ſteer a North Eaſt Courſe till off *St. Andrews*.

We have ſaid, and with Juſtice, that *Byng* was brave and loyal, but his Enemy had Addreſs and Cunning. Monſ. *de Forbin* was one of thoſe who never miſs an Advantage, nor ever give one to an Enemy.

The Reception he had met by no Means anſwer'd the Expectations that had been raiſed in *France*; he had an Enemy too ſtrong to encounter, and he lay as it were in the Toil; but by that Sagacity which diſtinguiſhed him in all his publick Actions, and which is perhaps the firſt and higheſt Quality for conducting important Enterpriſes, he concealed his Diſappointment, diſguiſed his Purpoſe, and where it was impoſſible to gain Glory or Advantage, commanded the next Praiſe, by eſcaping with the leaſt poſſible Damage.

On his Arrival in the *Frith* he put out Signals, ordered Fires, and gave Notice to the Friends of the Pretender of his Purpoſe by firing Cannon. He expected the thirty thouſand *Scots* that had been promiſed: but none appeared. The News of an *Engliſh* Fleet, even before it was ſeen, had taken this good Effect; the *Scots* who were diſaffected, had more Diſcretion than to run the Hazard; neither were they ſo many, or ſo zealous, as had been pretended.

Forbin, finding himſelf in this Condition, had nothing to attempt but getting off; and this required all his Cunning. Wind and Tide were againſt him in the firſt Orders, but they were executed as well as could be under ſuch Diſadvantages. In the Morning the *Engliſh* perceived them, and began the Purſuit. Monſ. *de Forbin* on this, as he had a Cape to double, directed his Courſe toward our Fleet, as if he purpoſed to attack them. They were deceived by this Pretence; they lay by, and formed a Line of Battle, by which they loſt a great deal of Time, and the *French* gained a better Height to double the Point.

This was their Purpoſe, and as ſoon as they had done it they altered their Courſe; and ſtood away with all the Sail their Ships would bear.

Sir *George* purſued them, and that Day came up with one of the Sternmoſt of the Fleet, the *Saliſbury*: this he took, and in her were a great Number of Officers, *French*, *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*. The Lord *Clermont*, Lord *Griffin*, *Middleton*, and other Names of Importance, were among them. This was all the Loſs the *French* ſuffered, the reſt of the Fleet got into *Dunkirk*.

The common People were clamorous; they blamed the *Engliſh* Admiral for not taking the whole Fleet, and had promiſed themſelves nothing leſs than to ſee the Pretender brought to *London*. Even the Queen, becauſe ſhe had declared herſelf ſatisfied with the Conduct of the Admiral, did not eſcape their licentious Speeches; they ſaid, he had her Orders to let him eſcape.

The principal Perſons taken on board the *French* Ship were committed to the *Tower*; the reſt of the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* to *Newgate*, as Traitors; and ſome Perſons of Condition were taken up in *Scotland*, but they were ſoon admitted to Bail.

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CHAP. LXVI.

The Taking of Minorca.

THE Conduct of the Fleet for the *Mediterranean* was this Year given to Sir *John Leake*; and he diſtinguiſhed himſelf very honourably in that Service.

He ſaw his Catholick Majeſty at *Barcelona*, and was received with every Mark of Confidence and Diſtinction; from *Barcelona* he made *Vada*; and thence leaving the Fleet in Order, he went to *Milan*. Her Catholick Majeſty there put her ſelf under his Protection, and he carried her to *Barcelona*.

There he now enter'd on the Plans of Operation in earneſt; and for the firſt Expedition undertook the Reduction of *Sardinia*. He embarked ſome Troops under the *Conde de Cifuentes*, and on the Firſt of *Auguſt* arrived before *Cagliari*.

The Viceroy made a Shew of Reſiſtance, but a few Bombs from the *Engliſh* ſoon brought him to Reaſon. The Capital ſubmitted, and the whole Iſland followed its Example.

Hence he ſailed for the Iſland of *Minorca*, ſince the Subject of much Diſquiet. Here he had the Aſſiſtance of Lieutenant General *Stanhope*. 'Twas on the Eighteenth of *Auguſt* he left *Cagliari*; in ſeven Days he arrived before *Port Mahon*, and immediately diſpatched two Third Rates to *Majorca*, to haſten the Embarkation of the Troops, which were to be furniſhed by that Iſland.

On the Firſt of *September* theſe returned with ſome Settees furniſhed with the Neceſſaries for the Service; and two Days after the Lieutenant General arrived with one *Engliſh* and three *Dutch* Men of War; followed by five more, and fifteen Tranſports with the Land Forces. The whole amounted to near three thouſand Men, the greater Part *Engliſh*, the reſt *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards*.

The Men were landed, Preparations were made for vigorous Operations; and the People ſubmitted. The Officers ſtill held out, and they had in their Hands *Ciutadella* to the Weſtward of the Iſland, Fort *Fornelle* to the North, and three Forts which defended the Entrance into *Port Mahon*.

This was the Condition of Affairs when the Time arrived of the Fleet's returning to *England*. The Lieutenant-General and the Admiral ſett'ed every Thing to their mutual Satisfaction. The Admiral agreed to take out of the Ships deſigned for *England* all the Marines above the middle Compliment; and he and the *Dutch* Commander agreed to leave all the Bread they could ſpare, and as much Ammunition as could be with Safety taken out of every Ship.

Every Thing needful for the Siege being landed, the Admiral failed for *England*, leaving a Squadron under Sir *Edward Whitaker* before *Mahon*.

Sir *Edward* began his Service with the true *Engliſh* Spirit, he made immediate Preparations for attacking the Caſtle of *Mahon*; and not to loſe a Moment, he diſpatched a ſufficient Force to batter Fort *Fornelle*, while himſelf was employed in landing the Artillery and Stores, that our Tranſports might ride ſafely in that Harbour.

This was an Operation of Importance: the Harbour of *Fornelle* was a very good one, and the *Engliſh* Tranſports and Bomb Veſſels had all this Time no ſecure Place to ride in.

The Fort was mounted with twelve Guns, and had a Garriſon of fifty Men.

Captain *Butler* of the *Dunkirk*, who was charged with the Execution of this Commiſſion, performed it nobly: he made the Garriſon Priſoners of War, and the Tranſports and the reſt were ſent in there in Security.

Ciutadella was the next Scene of Attack. The Garriſon there conſiſted of about two Hundred, part *French*, and part *Spaniards*, and they had talked of a Reſiſtance that would have become as many Thouſands: but their Words contain'd it all. A Detachment of the Troops, and two Men of War appeared at the ſame Time before it, and the Place was ſurrendered without a Blow.

Thus far every Thing had fallen eaſily; but on the Seventeenth began the great Attack. The Cannon from the Batteries played upon the two middlemoſt Towers, and the Line which they ſupported. The *Spaniards* ſeemed determined to diſpute this in Earneſt; they kept an inceſſant Fire from the three Forts: but when our Batteries had made a ſufficient Breach, the Lieutenant General led up his Men Sword in Hand, and they attack'd and took the Lines by Storm.

Some Lives were loſt: one very valuable, Captain *Stanhope*, the General's Brother: but the Succeſs was eſſential. The Enemy beat a Parley the next Morning; and the General on the Nineteenth took Poſſeſſion of this important Place.

They found in the Caſtle and Forts vaſt Quantities of Ammunition and Arms: a hundred Pieces of Cannon, three thouſand Barrels of Powder, and every Neceſſary in Proportion. The Garriſon were made Priſoners, and the *French* and *Spaniards* ſeparated, the latter were ſent Home with Honour, but the former having detained the *Engliſh* Garriſon of *Xativa*, were informed theſe would be kept as Repriſals.

Thus was *Minorca* conquered by the *Engliſh*; in whoſe Hands it remained long with Glory; and by its Loſs diſhonoured a much nearer Period.

Theſe Succeſſes of the *Engliſh* influenced even *Rome* in the Cauſe. The Pope now declared for *Charles* the Third, acknowledging him King of *Spain*;

Spain; and all *Europe*, *France* excepted, ſeemed taking the ſame Turn.

This Year *George* Prince of *Denmark* died; and Lord *Pembroke* was placed at the Head of the *Britiſh* Admiralty.

CHAP. LXVII.

Wager's *Attack of the Galleons in 1709.*

COmmodore *Wager* at this Time commanded in the *Weſt Indies*, the preceding Year he had been called from off *Hiſpaniola* to the Coaſt of *Jamaica*, upon an Apprehenſion that *Du Caſſe*, of whoſe Squadron every one now talked, had ſome Deſign upon that Iſland.

This was a Commander who had long meditated the raiſing a Name and Fortune upon the true Principles of Courage and of Service: 'twas of little Import to him where it lay, or who was the Enemy: he ſought an Opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, and ſerving his Country; and it was not long before the Occaſion offered.

During the Month of *January* Cruiſers were ſent every Way; and when no Notice appeared of the Reality of the Object for the common Fears, the Commodore determined upon other Service. It was agreed in a Council of War to go over to the *Spaniſh* Coaſt: and on this Reſolution he made the *Keys*, where he was joined by ſome other Veſſels, and received with them Intelligence that the *Spaniſh* Galleons were ſailed from *Carthagena* for *Porto Bello*.

The Commodore ſailed on this Notice with what Ships were ready; and ordered the reſt to follow: at the Iſle of *Pines* he took in Wood and Water; and in *March* received Advice, that the Galleons, with the King's Money, could not ſail before the Firſt of *May*: this Intelligence came from Captain *Pudner*, ſtationed near *Porto Bello*.

After various Diſappointments, and croſs Accidents, the Commodore ſtation'd himſelf where he could not miſs them. On the Twenty-eighth of *May* he ſaw two Ships in *Carthagena* Harbour, and toward Noon ſeventeen between *Barie* and *Friends* Iſlands.

His Squadron was a very unequal Match for the Number and Appearance of this Fleet; but he had long ſought an Occaſion of diſtinguiſhing himſelf; and I have heard from one very near his Councils, that he was really pleaſed with the Enemy's Superiority: he encouraged his People according to his own Principles; and he determined to attack the Enemy.

Toward Three a ſmall Breeze ſprung up, for till then it had been nearly a Calm, and our Commander took the Advantage to bear down toward them. The Fleets were now full in Sight: the *Spaniards* counting the Ships under his Command, thought this a Pretence a mere Feint, and keeping on with an eaſy Sail, ordered themſelves careleſly into ſomething like a Line of Battle.

Commodore *Wager*, as they drew nearer, obſerved the Ships; and as there was no Probability of his taking the whole Number, he ſingled out the three Admirals, whom he ſuppoſed to have on board all the Money.

They now drew near, the *Spaniards* ſtill diſbelieved all Appearance of their making an Attack; but our Commander, who had ſettled his Plan, communicated it to thoſe concerned: he ordered the *Kingſton* to attack the *Spaniſh* Vice-Admiral, and the *Portland* their Rear-Admiral; and led the Way himſelf, bearing down cloſe upon their Admiral.

The *Spaniards* now found it was an Attack an Earneſt.

'Twas near Sun-ſet; and the Commodore running within Piſtol-ſhot of the *Spaniſh* Admiral, gave him his firſt Broadſide. The *Spaniard* return'd it, and did ſome Execution. Thus began, and thus continued the Action; till about an Hour after Sun-ſet, the Commodore being cloſe along ſide, the *Spaniſh* Admiral Ship blew to Pieces, the Flame ſcorched his People: his Ship was covered with Splinters on Fire, and ſuch a Sea was raiſed by the Exploſion, that it run into his Ports.

Theſe Damages were ſoon removed, but the *Spaniard* ſunk, with all his Men; and all his Treaſures.

CHAP. LXVIII.

The Commodore attacks the Rear Admiral.

THE Glory of this Action was reſerved all for the *Engliſh* Commander. He had ſeen early in the Evening that neither the *Portland* nor the *Kingſton* came up as he had ordered; and he had then made Signal for a Line of Battle.

Now all was Horror and Confuſion: the Blaze of the Admiral Ship was momentary; and the Night, dark in itſelf, appeared darker when it was over; but the ſhort Light had ſerv'd to ſhew the Commodore whoſe Eye ran over every Part of the Scene what was the Condition of the Enemy. He ſaw them ſeparating in Confuſion, and he ſingled out the next principal Ship: This he ſuppoſed to be the Rear-Admiral, and he took the engaging her upon himſelf. His Conjecture was right; he came up with her about ten at Night; and in the Dark began his deſperate Attack.

The *Spaniard*, tho' greatly diſabled by the firſt Diſcharge of our Commander, fought him four Hours, and then ſtruck.

The *Spaniſh* Vice-Admiral ſtood cloſe by the Commodore during the Heat of the Fire, and gave his Broadſide. This the *Engliſh* Commodore return'd; and he was rejoic'd to ſee at laſt the *Kingſton* and the *Portland*, whom he had ordered early into Service, now come up. He promiſed himſelf they would follow the Vice-Admiral together; but inſtead of that they made a Merit of coming up to his Aſſiſtance, when the Rear-Admiral had ſtruck to him.

The Commodore ſent his Captain on board the Prize; and kept the Deck himſelf, to ſee, if poſſible, what Courſe the Vice-Admiral and the reſt had taken.

The Moon now roſe, and he could diſtinguiſh them imperfectly. He ran in where they were thickeſt; and before Sun-riſe made Signals to the *Kingſton* and *Portland* to come up. One large Ship of the Enemy being then on his Weather-bow, and three on his Weather-quarter, the Commodore made for the principal; but his Rigging was in a ſhattered Condition, and the Enemy did not chuſe an Engagement. He could not follow with any Hope of Succeſs, and he gave repeated Orders to the Captains of thoſe two principal Ships to take that honourable and eaſy Taſk; and follow an Enemy whom he had ſingly beaten. They were not of his Spirit; they had ſuffered the Vice-Admiral to paſs, when they might have engag'd him; and they were now languid in the Purſuit.

The reſt of the *Spaniſh* Ships eſcaped the Danger. The Spirit and the Glory of the Action were all ſingly the Commodore's: He had alone fought; he had ſunk the Admiral, taken the Rear-Admiral; and he now ſaw none would beſide do any Thing.

The *Kingſton* and *Portland* came in next Day with a very ſorry Account of their Chace: They ſaid 'twas the Vice Admiral's Ship, and that they had fired at her, but at too great Diſtance; and finally, that they had ſeen her put into *Carthagena*.

Commodore *Wager* made them no Anſwer: His Enquiry was after the reſt of the Galleons, and when he heard that one had put in at *Baru*, he ſent a Fire-ſhip with theſe two Veſſels thither, with Orders to take, ſink, or burn her. The *Spaniards* ſaved them the Trouble; they run her aſhore, and fired her themſelves.

The Commodore refitted his Prize, put the Priſoners aſhore at *Great Baru*, and brought in the Veſſel to *Port-Royal* Harbour.

Thus ended an Expedition, which, if others had done their Duty, might have proved of vaſt Conſequence to the Nation; and which, as it was, perfectly anſwered the Expectations of the great Commander, who found in it an Opportunity of combating Danger, and who acted to the utmoſt what he had propoſed and determined.

CHAP. LXIX.

The Commodore returns.

COmmodore *Wager* no ſooner arrived in Port, than a Court Martial was held for the Trial of the two Captains. The Evidence was clear and ſtrong; and they were diſmiſs'd the Service.

The Commander received a Reinforcement a few Days after from *England*; and by the ſame Ships a Commiſſion of Rear-Admiral. His Services had deſerved this nobly; and the Reward came timely, tho' they were not yet known at home. He remained in thoſe Seas ſome Months after, and had then Orders to return for *England*.

CHAP. LXX.

Lord Durſley *ſtation'd in the* Soundings.

DURING theſe Tranſactions in the *American* Seas, the *European* were Scenes of ſome diſtinguiſh'd Actions. Lord *Durſley*, who was appointed to cruiſe in the Soundings with a ſtout Squadron, received before his Departure the Commiſſion of Vice-Admiral of the White. He got his Ships ready; and on the fourteenth of *February* ſailed from *Plymouth*. On the twenty-ſecond his Lordſhip, twelve Leagues from *Scilly*, ſaw eleven Sail. He loſt them in the Night, and ſtretching for *Plymouth*, found that one of his Ships which he had ſent in thither to ſtop a Leak, had been chaced by nine Ships of the Enemy.

Theſe Veſſels had been bold enough to chace a Squadron of the *Engliſh* in their Way from *Ireland*. Captain *Tollard* acted as Commodore. He commanded the *Aſſurance*, an eighty Gun Ship; and he had with him the *Sunderland*, *Hampſhire*, *Angleſea*, and *Aſſiſtance*, ſixty and fifty Gun Ships, with the Trade from *Kinſale*. This was his Strength when he firſt ſet out; but two of the Ships of War, with Part of the Trade, had left him when the Attack was made.

On the ſecond of *March*, at Day-break, four Veſſels were diſcovered ſtanding after him: This was near the *Lizard*. Toward nine in the Morning the Enemy were within random Shot; and Captain *Tollard* ordered his ſmall Force into a Line of Battle, and made Signal for the Merchant-ſhips to bear away: but they did not obſerve it.

The Enemy now formed their Line; and bearing down upon him within Muſket-ſhot, hoiſted *French* Colours, and began the Engagement. The *French* Commodore, in a ſeventy Gun Ship, ſingled out the Commodore of the *Engliſh*, and came ranging along the Larboard Side; he fell aboard her, and with a Spirit more like an *Engliſh* or *Dutch* than a *French* Commander, fought Yard-Arm to Yard-arm, more than half an Hour.

The Fire was equal on both Sides, and the ſmall Shot did terrible Execution. Scarce a Man of the *Engliſh* Marines and Seamen quartered on the Deck eſcaped. All this Time our Commander kept up the Spirit and Fury of the Action by his perſonal Courage, he was every where where there was Danger; and happily in all this Fury of the Conflict he yet remain'd unhurt.

The *Frenchman* ſtung with his Reſiſtance, but determin'd, if poſſible, to carry his Point, put off, and fell aboard again on the Lee-ſide of the *Aſſurance*, firſt ranging on her Bow, and then on her Quarter.

Captain *Tollard* all this Time fir'd his upper Deck Guns inceſſantly; and at Times, when there was beſt Opportunity, his lower. As reſolute as the *Frenchman* was, this Conduct tamed his Fury: He ſheer'd off, and made Sail after the Merchant-ſhips, who now were getting away as faſt as they could.

Captain *Tollard*'s Ship was the great Object of Attack. Now the Commodore had left him the three others come one after another, ranging along his Side; and each fired her Broadſide within ſmall Diſtance. Captain *Tollard* had a ſhattered Ship; and a poor Remnant of his Men; but he ſtill kept up the Face of Oppoſition: He return'd the Fire of theſe ſeveral Ships ſo heartily, that they made off after their Commodore; and giving up the Thought of Advantage againſt the Men of War, chaced the Convoy.

Captain *Tollard*, who had thus far done his Duty nobly; did not ſtop here. He ordered immediate Repairs to ſuch Part of his Damages as moſt requir'd; and beſt would admit of it; and then ſailed after the Enemy, to protect the Trade, and to fight him again, if he choſe it.

The *Frenchman* had promiſed himſelf great Glory in the Beginning, and had fought as one who wiſh'd to gain it by deſerving it; but he was now in no Humour to come to another Conflict. He was ſhatter'd as much as the Enemy, and his Men reduc'd to as ſmall a Number. He ſuppos'd the *Engliſh* had loſt fewer; for he could not conceive that People in a Condition like his own, would ſeek new Hazards.

Captain *Tollard* had in the latter Part of the Action received a Wound in the Body with a Muſket-Ball; but he was on Deck afterwards in a Chair during the whole Engagement, and now purſued the Enemy with a Spirit that deſpis'd Pain, and ſlighted Danger.

The two other Ships had leſs of the Shock of the Attack; but they did not eſcape without Hurt. Each of them loſt ſeveral of the Men, and one her Captain.

Five of the Merchant-ſhips fell into the Hands of the Enemy; and their Commander own'd he purchas'd them very dearly; the reſt part got into *Falmouth* during the Action, and Part were brought by Captain *Tollard* into *Plymouth*, when the *French* declined it.

The Commander of the *French* was Monſieur *de Gue Trouin*, a very gallant and reſpected Officer. We owe this Acknowledgment to an Enemy.

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CHAP. LXXI.

Succeſſes of Lord Durſley.

THE Services of Lord *Durſley* were in every Mouth; when he had a new Occaſion of diſtinguiſhing himſelf. The *Achilles* and *Gloire*, two *French* Men of War of conſiderable Force, had taken a fifty Gun Ship of ours, the *Briſtol*. Lord *Durſley* heard the News, and it was freſh enough for him to profit by it, as Intelligence of the Way they had taken: he bore toward the Part where he imagin'd they were; and he was lucky enough to come up with them.

He knew the *Achilles* when he came in Sight, and knew it to be the Ship of *de Gue Trouin*. The *Briſtol*, his Prize, was behind, and at ſome Diſtance; the *Gloire* the other Ship.

Lord *Durſley* gave Orders to the *Cheſter* to chace the *Gloire*; the Ship of *Trouin*, and her Prize, he deſtin'd for his own Attack. He came up in a few Hours, and he retook the *Briſtol*. This however ſerved little Purpoſe: Her Captain had fought as long as ſhe could be well kept above Water; and ſhe had not been retaken an Hour before ſhe ſunk, in ſpite of all Aſſiſtance.

Lord *Durſley* purſued the *Achilles*; but her Commander knew the Character of his Enemy, and he dreaded the Thought of ſuch another Conflict, as he had held with *Tollard*: neither was his Ship in a Condition. He ſail'd off; and Lord *Durſley*'s could not come up with him: he got into *Breſt*.

CHAP.

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CHAP. LXXII.

Sir John Norris's *Succeſs in the* Mediterranean.

NO great Action diſtinguiſhed the Remainder of this Year, but the *Engliſh* were in all Places ſucceſsful.

Lord *Durſley* took many Prizes, and ſpread the Terror of the *Engliſh* Fleet wherever he came; he received new Honours, and he deſerved them. He was this Year appointed Vice-Admiral of the Red.

Sir *George Byng* this Year carried the Queen of *Portugal* to *Liſbon*, and afterwards viſited our new Conqueſt *Minorca*; where he found every Thing in good Condition.

In the *Mediterranean*, where *Whitaker* commanded, the *Kent*, Captain *Johnſon*, after an Engagement of four Hours, took the *Superbe*, a *French* Ship of War of more than equal Force.

In the Year 1710, Sir *John Norris* took the Command for the *Mediterranean*: and about this Time there were many Inſtances of Courage in the Officers of both Nations in accidental Encounters. Two of our Ships, the *Breda* and *Warſpight*, took the *Moor*, a *French* Man of War; and three of theirs took two of ours, the *Pembroke* and the *Falcon*.

Theſe were not ſlight Conflicts, or eaſy Victories: the Captain of the *Breda* fell in the Action with the *Moor*, and the Captain of the *Pembroke* was killed before that Ship ſtruck.

In *April* Sir *John Norris* arrived at *Barcelona*; whence he carried the Viceroy to *Sardinia*; and on the Firſt of *June* ſailed with ten Ships of Force, and two *Imperial* Regiments, to prevent a Deſcent, intended by the Enemy upon *Sardinia*.

On the Second they arrived before *Baſtia*, and took out a *French* Ship that had run in under the Cannon of that Fort; and on the Seventh they came into the Bay of *Terra nova* in *Sardinia*.

Four *French* Tartans had the Day before landed there four hundred Men and ſixty Officers. Theſe had already taken the Town, and promiſed themſelves great Succeſſes; but Sir *John Norris* waked them from their Dream of Glory. He took the four Veſſels; and immediately landing the Men, the new conquered Town was given up: the Officers with their Soldiers, and the People of the Place, ſurrendered themſelves to the *Engliſh* Priſoners at Diſcretion.

All being quieted here, the *Engliſh* Admiral enquired after the reſt of the Enemy's Troops; and he ſoon received Intelligence that the Duke of *Turſis*, who commanded, had taken them round, to land them in another Bay, on the oppoſite Side of the Iſland.

This had been his Intent; but the Appearance of an *Engliſh* Fleet altered the State of Things, and changed his Purpoſes. He retired and got into the Gulph of *Ajazzo* in *Corſica*, whither they followed him.

The Duke kept good Intelligence; he did not wait their Coming; he left behind a Number of the Tranſport Ships, which fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, but the People belonging to them had firſt got on ſhore.

This Service performed, the Fleet retired again to *Barcelona*, and there received Orders to go to the Coaſt of *Languedoc*, and attempt the Town of *Cette*.

That and *Agde* fell into his Hands: they could not however be kept, and the *Engliſh* prudently gave them up.

From hence Sir *John Norris* appeared before *Toulon* and *Marſeilles*, and ſtood into the Roads of *Hieres*, where he deſtroyed a *French* Man of War, and after this the Enemy did great Damage in their Trade.

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CHAP. LXXIII.

Proceedings in the Weſt-Indies.

CAptain *Martin* received Command this Year of a Squadron for the *American* Seas, where he was very ſucceſsful.

Port-Royal in *Nova Scotia*, ſince called *Annapolis Royal*, was by his Conduct annexed to the *Engliſh* Crown after no ſlight Struggle; and the Trade of the *French* in thoſe Seas was reduced this Year by Captures on the Sea, and Deſcents on Shore, almoſt to nothing.

Du Caſſe was all this Time in thoſe Seas with a Squadron; but he avoided an Engagement: he was driven from Place to Place before the victorious *Engliſh*.

On the Twenty-ſixth of *July* Captain *Hoſier* in the *Saliſbury* engaged and took the Admiral of the Galleons, and another Ship of Conſequence.

An Expedition was plann'd againſt *Quebec*, and the Command was given to Sir *Hovenden Walker*; but this had not the Succeſs of the other Enterprizes of the Year 1711. The River *St. Laurence* ſhould have been entered at a better Seaſon; there required Pilots, and there were none on board to be had, who underſtood the Navigations of that River; and the Ships in general were too large for ſailing up. The Deſign was, if the Expedition againſt *Quebec* failed, to attempt *Placentia*; but for this there were not the due Preparations.

The Expedition againſt *Quebec* failed, indeed as it could not do otherwiſe; and when they came to think of that againſt *Placentia*, they found they had no Proviſion for ſuch Service. Nothing was to be done but to come Home: they arrived at *St. Helens* on the Eleventh of *October*, and there the Admiral Ship blew up; compleating the Miſchief, by the Loſs of a great Number of Men, and a very fine Veſſel.

The People, accuſtomed to other Conſequences of their Naval Expeditions, began to enquire into the Cauſe of theſe. Thoſe who ſhould have examined, and might have done it with Authority, were ſilent; but the Clamour of the Multitude made its Way to the Throne: they found the Miſmanagement to which the Hopes of the Nation had been ſacrificed, and they talked loudly of the Want of neceſſary Articles at the ſetting out of the Expedition.

They ſaw the Cauſe: there had been forced upon the Sovereign a new Miniſtry: Men of noiſy Character, but unuſed to Buſineſs. Theſe the People accuſed; and would not own that Neglect was all the Cenſure they deſerved.

This drew on real and ſerious Enquiries; but thoſe who made them knew how far they might be carried, and where they muſt ſtop. Something however was done: ſome Regulations were made; Proviſion was had for paying the Debt contracted by the Navy; and this Year ſaw the firſt *South Sea* Scheme. *Harley* was the Propoſer of it; and the Purpoſe nothing leſs than paying the National Debt. To what Lengths it was afterwards carried we need not tell.

Sir *Thomas Hardy*, this Year promoted to the Rank of a Rear Admiral, had a Squadron in the *Soundings*, where he inſulted the *French* on every Occaſion, and was very ſucceſsful in taking Prizes. More Service did not offer; but by his Aſſiduity and Spirit in the Execution of this, he ſhewed that he was calculated for the moſt important. Beſide a Number of their Ships of Commerce, which he ſent into our Ports, he drove many on Shore, and deſtroyed ſome of Value.

Toward the Cloſe of the Year there were Whiſpers of an Accommodation; and before the End of it was ſet on foot the memorable Treaty of *Utrecht*: a Biſhop acting as Plenipotentiary; of *Briſtol* then, but afterwards of *London*.

The next Year Sir *Hovenden Walker* ſailed again with a Squadron for the *Weſt Indies*, where he was ſucceſsful in taking Prizes, and kept the *French* in Awe, while he ſupported in Spirits our own Settlements.

CHAP. LXXIV.

The Conduct of the Briſtol *Privateers.*

WE have read in very pompous Language the Names of thoſe who with great Ships and great Preparations encompaſſed the Globe. At this Time came in two Privateers of *Briſtol*, who with no more than the common Strength of ſuch Veſſels, undertook the Voyage, and at the End of three Years and two Months returned.

In the Year 1708 the Merchants of *Briſtol* fitted out two Privateers, the one of thirty, the other of ſix and twenty Guns, and named them the *Duke* and *Dutcheſs*. The Commanders were Captain *Rogers* and Captain *Courtney*; and the firſt carried an hundred and ſeventy, the other an hundred and fifty Men.

Dampier, who had before ſurrounded the Globe, embark'd on board them; and they carried Plenty of Neceſſaries, and a Courage that commanded Succeſs.

They began with great good Fortune in Captures: 'twas on the Firſt of *Auguſt* 1708, they ſailed, and in *April* the ſucceeding Year, they landed on the Iſland of *Puna* in the *South Sea*; made the Governor Priſoner, took the principal Town, and carried off a great Booty.

The Town of *Guaiaquil* on the Coaſt of *Peru* was their next Attempt; and here they had the ſame Succeſs: they took it, and they carried off the Plunder.

Hence they went farther up the River, and plunder'd Villages and Settlements, and made Prizes to a great Amount.

Off *Puerto Seguero* they attacked a rich *Acapulco* Ship; and after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, added her Treaſure to their Booty: a larger *Acapulco* Ship appeared ſoon after, and her they aſſaulted with the ſame Spirit: they fought her three Days; and when they had done, and ſuffered great Damage, found her impracticable by their Force, and gave up the Encounter.

They found themſelves, without this expected Addition, as rich as they could have promiſed themſelves in their moſt ſanguine Expectations, and they returned by the *Eaſt Indies*, bringing their *Acapulco* Ship ſafe to the *Downs* in the Beginning of *October* 1711.

CHAP. LXXV.

A Suſpenſion of Arms.

VICE Admiral *Baker* this Year 1712, did ſome notable Services on the Coaſt of *Portugal.* No great or glorious Opportunity of Action came in his Way; nor was his Squadron of Force to have atchiev'd them; but in his Courſe he took every Opportunity of Service: He protected the *Portugal* Trade, took ſome Prizes, and every where within his Sphere of Action, awed the Enemy.

Sir *John Jennings* was preparing about this Time alſo for important Service; but the Orders for a Suſpenſion of Arms ſtop'd all his Preparations.

The Operations of the ſucceeding Year 1713 were few; the Peace of *Utrecht* intercepted all the Purpoſes thoſe had laid down who thought of the Advantages of our Superiority; and Sir *James Wiſhart* took the chief Command of the *Britiſh* Navy.

The Office of Lord High Admiral was the next Year put into Commiſſion; and on the firſt of *Auguſt* the Queen died; having a little while ſurvived her Glory.

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CHAP. LXXVI.

The Acceſſion of George *the Firſt.*

THE Death of Queen *Anne* gave the Crown to *George* the Firſt, whoſe Acceſſion to the Sovereignty of theſe Kingdoms was celebrated with ſuch Joy and univerſal Satisfaction, as ſpoke the Character of that great Prince, perfectly known in his new Kingdom.

The King was immediately proclaim'd; the Earl of *Dorſet* was appointed to carry the News, and attend him to *England*; and the Earl of *Berkley* was appointed to bring his Majeſty over.

The *Dutch* joined a Squadron for this Purpoſe: on the laſt of *Auguſt* the King, accompanied by the Prince royal, ſet out from *Herenhauſen*; and on the twentieth of *September* arrived at *St. James's*. On the twentieth of *October* his Majeſty was crowned; and on the fifteenth of *January*, the ſucceeding Year, 1715, met the new Parliament.

It was a Time of Peace, and leſs was to be done than for many Years by the *Engliſh* Navy; but the Force was kept up at a very honourable and wiſe Diſtinction; and the Commerce every where ſupported and protected.

Sir *John Norris* this Year commanded in the *Baltic*, whither he convoyed the Trade with a conſiderable Squadron; and Sir *George Byng* had another Squadron in the *Downs*.

It was not without Reaſon the Navy of *Britain* had been kept on this powerful Eſtabliſhment; for the Tranquillity with which the King had entered upon his new Soverignty was not laſting.

A Rebellion broke out this Year in *Scotland*, and the Pretender appeared there in Perſon to ſupport and encourage it. The Example was followed in *England*; but they were raſh who undertook a Cauſe ſo bad and ſo deſperate; and the Event ſhewed them the Folly of the Undertaking. The Pretender landed near *Montroſs*, on *Chriſtmaſs*-Day, with no more Force than a ſingle Ship; and about five Weeks after he was glad to get off with as little Ceremony.

Sir *John Jennings* had been appointed in the middle of *January* to command a Squadron in the Frith of *Edinburgh*; and ſome Imputation fell on him for letting the Pretender eſcape: But he was honourably cleared of the Charge by Authority.

In *July* the King viſited his *German* Dominions, and on the eighth of *January* arrived again at *St. James's*. A Conſpiracy for another Rebellion, and Invaſion of the Kingdom was ſoon after diſcover'd and prevented.

The *Swediſh* Miniſter was found by his Papers to be concerned in this. The Privateers of that Nation were inſolent and miſchievous; and Sir *George Byng* was diſpatch'd to protect the Trade, and to chaſtiſe them.

From this Time to the Year 1718, when War was declared againſt *Spain*, very little was done by the *Engliſh* Navy; for littlecould be done: But the Force was ſtill kept up; and when a Time of Action came on, our Commanders ſhewed they had loſt nothing of their former Spirit by a few Years of Peace.

CHAP. LXXVII.

Sir George Byng *commands in the* Mediterranean.

EARLY in the Year 1718, the War declared with *Spain* called for Commanders in the Navy upon whoſe Courage and Integrity the Nation might depend. Sir *George Byng* was appointed Admiral, and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Fleet. Sir *Charles Wager*, Vice-Admiral of the Red, and the Captain *Delaval* and *Mighells*, were made Rear-Admirals.

Sir *George* took Command of the Squadron for the *Mediterranean*, and on the third of *June* ſailed from *St. Helen*'s.

On the four and twentieth he arrived in the Bay of *Cadiz*. He immediately commiſſioned Colonel *Stanhope*, at that Time Envoy to the Court of *Spain*, with his Inſtructions; and that Gentleman ſignified to the King, that Admiral *Byng* was come, by Order of the King of *Great Britain*, with a Fleet into the *Mediterranean*; that his Inſtructions were to aſſiſt in all Meaſures to accommodate Differences between *Spain* and the Empire; but if his Catholic Majeſty refuſed theſe good Offices, and attack'd the Imperial Territories in *Italy*, that he had Orders to uſe his utmoſt Force to maintain the Neutrality there; and defend the Emperor's Territories againſt all hoſtile Attacks.

On the twenty-firſt Sir *George* anchored in the Port of *Naples*, and was received by the *German* Viceroy with the higheſt Marks of Diſtinction.

Among the Preſents he made him, were a Sword ſet with Diamonds, and a very rich Staff of Command.

After this every ſpirited and honourable Meaſure was purſued by the Admiral; and on the thirtieth ſtanding toward *Meſſina*, he received Intelligence that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was in the Sight of *Reggio*. He determin'd immediately to fight them, and coming up with them the next Day, he very well ſupported his firſt Reſolution.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

Sir George Byng *engages the* Spaniſh *Fleet.*

THE *Engliſh* Admiral, who preſſed with all Sail to the Enemy, came up with them about Noon, on the firſt of *Auguſt*. They had expected him with great Calmneſs; and when he firſt deſcried them, were drawing up in a Line of Battle. Their Fleet conſiſted of twenty-ſix Men of War, with all the neceſſary Attendants.

When they had made their Line, they went from the *Engliſh*, large, but ſtill in Order of Battle.

Sir *George* ordered the four beſt Sailers in the Fleet to make what Speed they could, and the reſt to follow with all their Sail. The *Spaniards* had an Advantage; for there was little Wind; and their Gallies towed them all Night.

Next Morning the *Engliſh* being nearer than they had expected, after a Night of ſo much Labour, and under ſuch Advantages, the Gallies, ſmall Veſſels, Fire-ſhips, and the reſt, ſeparated from the larger, and ſtood in for Shore.

Sir *George* ſaw the firſt Motion toward this, and he ſent ſix Ships after them. The Orders were readily obeyed, and the *Spaniards* fired a Broadſide upon the firſt of theſe which came in Reach.

Mean time the large Ships of the Enemy continued making away; and the *Engliſh* followed. The *Spaniards* at length ſaw they muſt fight: their largeſt Ships ſtaid with the Flag; and the *Kent*, *Superbe*, *Grafton*, and *Orford* coming firſt up with them; the Engagement began, by the *Spaniards* firing their ſtern Chace upon them. This they repeated, and the Action then commenc'd in Earneſt.

The *Orford* attack'd the *Santa Roſa*; and after a Conflict of five Hours, took her. Soon after the *St. Charles* ſtruck to the *Kent*. The Rear-Admiral *Charon* was on Board the Prince of *Aſturias*, the *Grafton* engaged her; and leaving her a ſhatter'd Prey to the *Breda*, and *Captain*, who came up during the Action, ſtretch'd after another large Veſſel of the Enemy, which had kept a diſtant Fire on her during the Engagement.

About one in the Afternoon the *Kent* and the *Superbe* came up with the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and engaged him. Two large Ships took the Part of their Chief, and it was an irregular Engagement among the five for two Hours; but at three in the Afternoon the *Kent* bearing down cloſe under the Admiral's Stern, gave him a Broadſide: The *Superbe* then laid him on Board, falling on the Weather-Quarter. The *Spaniard* ſhifting his Helm, avoided this Shock; but the *Superbe* ranging up under his Lee-quarter, he ſaw his Fate unavoidable, and ſtruck. Beſide this Succeſs, the *Juno* ſtruck to our Ship the *Eſſex*; and the *Volante* to onr Ships the *Montague* and *Rupert*.

The Ships ſent to purſue thoſe of the Enemy that made in for the Shore, had their Share in the Succeſs of this memorable Day. The *Royal*, a Rear-Admiral, of ſixty-four Guns, was taken, and two others met the ſame Fate, a fifty-four and a forty Gun-ſhip: beſide theſe they burnt another conſiderable Ship, and took ſeveral Bomb-ketches; after which they fired three other Men of War, and a Fire-ſhip, a Bomb veſſel, and a Settee.

The Evening of this Day the *Iſabella* fell into the Hands of Rear-Admiral *Delaval*: and upon the whole the Number of Ships of the Enemy taken and burnt was found to amount to five and twenty: more than half their Strength, and by much the moſt conſiderable Veſſels.

The Prizes the Admiral ſent into *Port-Mahon*. The Priſoners of Note were ſet on Shore in *Sicily*; and only as many of the common Men were detain'd as were neceſſary to navigate the Veſſels.

CHAP. LXXIX.

The Spaniards *fall upon the* Engliſh *in their Ports.*

THIS dreadful Blow to *Spain* was not to be recovered in a little Time: but tho' they could not ſend out a Force to oppoſe our victorious Fleet, they had a great deal in their Power in regard to our Commerce. They fell upon all Ships of *England* in the Ports of *Spain*; and took a great many to a conſiderable Value. Letters of Repriſal were granted immediately here upon Notice; and the Sea ſwarm'd with private Ships of War.

Sir *George Byng* mean time took every Opportunity of Service. He convoyed the *Piedmonteſe* Troops from *Meſſina* to *Syracuſa*; and hearing a *Turkey* Ship of *England*, was block'd up in the Harbour of *Malta*, by four *Spaniſh* Men of War; he failed to fight them.

The Terror of his Name ſaved Blows. The *Spaniards* made off at Sight of the *Engliſh* Flag; and their Rear-Admiral *Cummock* forgot in his Fears the Language with which he had threaten'd the *Engliſh*, while there appeared no Strength to oppoſe him.

CHAP. LXXX.

The Succeſs of the Engliſh *in* 1719.

OUR Fleets awed the *Mediterranean*, and cruis'd with Succeſs; but all was not ſo peaceable at Home. The States General this Year acceded to the quadruple Alliance: But the Talk was continual of an Invaſion. *Spain* threaten'd; and the Sound of the Menace had reached us; tho' ſo imperfectly, that it was impoſſible to know what Part of our large Coaſt to guard, or where to expect the Enemy. *Ireland* was moſt generally believed at laſt to be the intended Scene; but in the mean time the King provided for the Security and Defence of every Part of his Dominions.

Sir *George Byng* lay yet in the *Mediterranean* with his Force. Upon this new Alarm, Sir *John Norris* was diſpatched with a Squadron to the Weſtward; and in a few Days more Lord *Berkley* followed him with a very conſiderable Reinforcement, and they ſailed to *Cape Clear*, on the Coaſt of *Ireland*. They returned thence after a ſhort Cruiſe, having found all quiet.

Sir *George Byng* mean time, whoſe Strength and Succeſs gave great Weight to his Arguments, accommodated all the Differences between the Court of *Vienna* and that of *Turin*.

The *Spaniſh* Ships of War, when ever there appear'd in the *Mediterranean*, were attack'd and deſtroy'd: And this Year was diſtinguiſh'd alſo by the Deſtruction of the Shipping in *San Antonio*; in which a great deal of the Succeſs was owing to the Bravery of Colonel *Stanhope*.

Port Paradiſo fell into the Hands of Sir *George Byng* about this Time alſo; given up, as it were, by the *Spaniards* abandoning the *Torra de Faro*; after which the *Engliſh* ſailed for *Genoa*.

Sir *John Norris*, after the firſt Purpoſe of his Commiſſion was executed, was ordered to the *Baltic*, where he offered the King of *England*'s Mediation to the Queen of *Sweden*, for accommodating the Differences of the North.

CHAP. LXXXI.

The taking of Vigo.

WHILE a great deal was expected from the Readineſs with which the Queen of *Sweden* accepted this Propoſal, the Forms and Folly of the *Ruſſians* prevented it. Mr. *Berkley* was diſpatch'd with the ſame Offers to the Czar; but the Plenipotentiaries at *Abland* refuſing him a Paſport; and ſcrupling even to receive his Letters without Orders to that Purpoſe from the Czar, the whole honourable Deſign was fruſtrated, and the Congreſs broke up fruitleſly.

Toward the End of Summer, all knew a private Expedition was on Foot againſt *Spain*, but no more tranſpired of the Particulars, than had been known of the *Spaniards* Purpoſe againſt *England*.

At length Lord *Cobham* took the Command of the Land-Forces, and Vice Admiral *Mighells* of the Squadron to convoy them; and on the Twenty-firſt of *September*, ſailing from Saint *Hellens*, in eight Days they reached *Vigo*; and entered the Harbour.

Nothing could ſurpaſs the Conſternation of the Inhabitants at this unexpected Appearance. The Lord *Cobham* took Advantage of the Confuſion, and preſſed the Action: he immediately landed with the Grenadiers, three Miles from the Town; and the Regiments were put on Shore, as faſt after him as the Boats could perform that Office.

The Enemy ſoon found Reſiſtance fruitleſs, and on the Firſt of *October* the Troops nailed up their Cannon, burnt their Carriages, and after doing all they could, to limit the Succeſs of the *Engliſh*, retired into the Citadel.

The Town ſurrendered.

The whole Force of our Artillery was now brought to bear againſt the Citadel; on the Third, one of the Bomb-ketches was ſo well ſituated, that every Shell went in, and before Night of the ſame Day, the Batteries in the Town were compleated: their Mortars anſwered the Fire of thoſe from Sea, and Bombs fell into the Citadel from various Quarters.

Four Days the Garriſon held out unmoved, and the battering Cannon were then ordered to be landed to the Aſſiſtance of the reſt.

The Garriſon were by this Time reduced to half their Number; and of this Remnant, at leaſt half wounded. They ſaw they could defend themſelves no longer; and they capitulated.

The Place was ſurrendered, and honourable Terms were given to thoſe brave Enemies.

Thus was *Vigo* taken by the *Engliſh*, under the Conduct of Lord *Cobham* in 1719, very much to their Honour, and to his.

CHAP. LXXXII.

Ponte Vedra *attacked.*

VIGO in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, their noble Commander diſpatched immediately General *Wade* with a Thouſand Men on Board four Tranſports, and accompanied with a Bomb-ketch, to *Ponte Vedra*.

The Place was ſtrong by Nature, well fortified, and had then in it thirteen Companies. The General with his Force came up in Order, and the Affair of *Vigo* was too freſh in Memory, to leave any Doubt of the Conſequence.

The Enemy abandoned the Place. Whether they were prepared to have diſputed it, will beſt appear by their Numbers, and by the Stores the *Engliſh* found there.

The Plunder amounted to a vaſt Amount, they were thirteen Braſs, and eighty-four Iron Cannon; three Braſs Mortars, five Thouſand ſmall Arms, and three Hundred Barrels of Powder, with a proportioned Quantity of other Stores.

What could not be removed, was burnt; and the General on the Twenty-fourth, returned to *Vigo*. The next Day the great Ciſtern in the Caſtle was blown up: the Forces were all embarked in two Days more; and on the next put to Sea. They returned with great Honour, with a diſtinguiſhed Booty, and with very little Loſs.

The Arms and Stores had been intended for the Service of the Pretender, in a deſigned Attempt upon *Great-Britain*: they were indeed landed there, but under other Maſters; and they were depoſited in the Tower of *London*, everlaſting Memorials of the Event.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

Peace is eſtabliſhed in many Parts of Europe.

BRITAIN honoured by all *Europe*, and dreaded by thoſe engaged in Oppoſition with her Subjects, or Allies, now took upon herſelf that Character, ſo often and ſo honourably maintained, of Arbitreſs of *Europe*.

Early in the Year 1720, the King of *Spain* acceeded to the Quadruple Alliance. The Conſequence of this was a Ceſſation of Arms by Sea, and a Convention followed in *Sicily*, for the Evacuation of that and the Iſland of *Sardinia*. This Nation gave the Kingdom of *Sicily* to the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

Sir *John Norris* commanded a Fleet in the *Baltick*, and the *Swedes* joined them. The Force of the *Engliſh*, and the Abilities of the Plenipotentiary, Lord *Carteret*, brought about a Peace between *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

Theſe were the honourable Tranſactions of the Year 1720. There is alſo one no Hiſtory can paſs over without Notice, which gives a different Character to the ſame Period; this famous, or ſhall not Virtue ſay the infamous *South Sea* Affair, ruined almoſt half the Nation this fatal Year; enriching with the Spoils of noble Families, Stock-jobbers, Porters, every Denomination of Men who were mean and wicked.

The next Year an *Engliſh* Fleet again appeared in the *Baltick*, under the ſame Commander; and *Sweden* under the ſame Sanction, obtained Peace from *Muſcovy*.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

The Spaniards *behave diſhoneſtly.*

THE Autumn of 1721 had brought in many Accounts of the Depredations by the *Spaniards*; and there were Whiſpers of ſome ſecret Purpoſe againſt *England*, in which the Pretender was to be employed; and *Spain* likewiſe was again to ſerve.

In the Winter of this Year, our Government was not idle, a great naval Force was prepared for a ſecret Expedition; and the Command was given to Sir *Charles Wager* and Admiral *Hoſier*.

The Year 1722 opened with this Preparation: Complaints from the *Weſt-Indies* came innumerably of Pirates: The Trade was almoſt at a Stand; the Merchants handed about Liſts of the Ships taken within a certain Time, amounting to more than two Hundred, and Complaints were loud, that Protection was not given where it was ſo eſſential and ſo needful.

The Coaſt of *Guinea* was no leſs infeſted. There the Arch-pirate *Roberts* reigned as it were Lord of the Seas: his own Ship was of forty Guns, his Conſort of thirty, and there was of their Company, a Third of four and twenty.

Here Captain *Ogle* did great and acceptable Service. He commanded the King's Ship *Swallow*: He was no Match for the three Pirates together, but he found an Opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by a very well choſen Attack; and like the ſole ſurviving Brother on one Part, in the eternally celebrated Conflict of the *Roman Horatii* and *Cuaritii*, he ſeparated the Number, and he conquered.

He watched his Opportunity, when two of them were upon the Heel, ſcrubing: and pretending to be a Merchant Veſſel, appeared off the Place.

Roberts took in the Bait: He ordered the Ship which was beſt in Condition of Sailing, to follow; and he crowded her with Men from the other two.

Captain *Ogle* decoyed them till out of hearing for the expected Conflict, and then tacked about.

The Pirate hung out his black Flag, with a painted Skeleton; the *Engliſh* Captain, in Anſwer to this imaginary Terror, put out his lower Tier of Guns, and running in cloſe, gave them a full Diſcharge.

The Commander was wounded, and a Number of the Men fell. They were diſheartened, but they ſtill maintained the Conflict. Two Hours, or near ſo long, they fought, and the Deſtruction was conſiderable on both Sides; but at length as the *Engliſh* Captain was coming up for a full Broadſide, they ſtruck.

He hoiſted the King's Colours under the Pirate's Flag of Death, and made for *Cape Lopaz*, where the other two Ships lay.

The Pirates underſtood by the black Flag uppermoſt, that their Party had conquered: they ſaw the *Engliſh* Ship was a Man of War; and their Joy was outragious; but their Error ſoon appeared in its full Colouring.

Captain *Ogle* came up cloſe with the largeſt Ship, and at his firſt Diſcharge killed the Commander, and many of her People.

The Conflict was deſperate notwithſtanding, for two Hours; for the Pirates now ſaw their Condition: and fought in Halters.

Nothing could preſerve them: they ſubmitted: the Ships were carried to Saint *Thomas's*, and the Priſoners to *Cape Coaſt* Caſtle, where many of them met their due Fate from the Hands of the Executioner.

In the *Weſt Indies* the *Spaniards* at this Time were treacherous and cruel: the *Greyhound* Man of War, commanded by Captain *Walround*, was ſurprized by them off *Cuba*; the Captain murdered; with a Number of the common Men; the Surgeon killed; the Lieutenant left for dead, and the Ship plundered to the Amount of more than ten Thouſand Pounds.

Eight of our Merchant Ships, were at the ſame Time ſeiz'd in the Bay of *Honduras*; and the Trade from *Jamaica* was ſaved by Captain *Candler*, in the King's Ship *Launceſton*, who took the Pirates that had poſted themſelves to way-lay thoſe Ships.

In *November* this Year, a Veſſel in the Service of the Pretender, and filled with rebel Officers, lay in the Mole of *Genoa*. Captain *Scots*, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship *Dragon*, in Company with the *Leopard*, Captain *Medley*, ſeized on the Ship, whoſe Name was the *Revolution*, and took many of the People: but the Principal were then on Shore.

Theſe upon perfect Intelligence, and Authority of their own Papers, he demanded of the *Doge* and Senate, but the Forms were tedious, and the Men eſcaped.

CHAP. LXXXV.

The Spaniards *continue their Depredations.*

CAptain *Ogle*, who had ſo well diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a juſt Severity in the Executions of thoſe Pirates, clear'd that Coaſt; but there wanted in the *Weſt-Indies* ſuch another.

The Pirates there form'd themſelves into Squadrons, and they were ſucceſsful and cruel. The Guarda Coſta's of *Spain* plundered *Dutch* and *Engliſh*; and too little Force was employed againſt them.

The Treaty *Spain* had made with the Empire gave that Nation Spirit for theſe Depredations; and there was nothing ſo romantic they did not promiſe themſelves in conſequence of it.

Great Britain, *France* and *Pruſſia*, this Year, ſign'd a Treaty at *Herenhauſen*, thence called the Treaty of *Hanover*, which overthrew them all: this ſuperceded, they intrigu'd with *Ruſſia*; and the *Engliſh* Government no ſooner ſaw this, than they concerted Meaſures to prevent the Conſequences.

In the Beginning of the Year 1726, the King was in great Danger in a Storm, and the Nation inconſoleable till the Arrival of his Meſſengers informed the Regency, that he was landed at *Rye* ſafe, after numerous Perils.

The Combinations of the *Spaniſh* with other Courts were the great Object of Attention at his Return, and immediately a Number of additional Seamen was propoſed and granted; and three Fleets early put to Sea; one for the *Baltic*, commanded by Sir *Charles Wager*, another for the *Mediterranean*, under Sir *John Jennings*; and the third for the *Weſt-Indies*, under Admiral *Hoſier*.

Sir *Charles Wager*'s Expedition was attended with no great Event; but in the whole it was manag'd with good Conduct; and ſucceſsfully. There was a Rumour that the *Ruſſians* intended to fall upon the *Britiſh* Fleet there by Surpriſe; but the Increaſe of their Strength by a *Daniſh* Reinforcement, and the Care taken to be always in Readineſs for Action, diſconcerted that Plan, if any ſuch had really been laid; and nothing was attempted.

In the *Mediterranean* Sir *John Jennings* acted with the ſame good Conduct, and had the ſame Succeſs. Nothing of Importance was done on either Side; but the *Spaniards* were as much terrified there as the *Ruſſians* in the other Quarter; and they found their Deſigns impracticable. Sir *John* having ſtaid till it was impoſſible for them to attempt any Thing that Year, returned to *England*.

'Twas otherwiſe with Admiral *Hoſier*; he was imbarked in a more troubled Sea. He acted with a Spirit that became his Character and his Station; but the Event ill anſwered to his Purpoſes. He died unſucceſsful.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

Admiral Hoſier*'s Expedition.*

WE have mention'd the Event of this Preparation; but let us enter into the Circumſtances: They are of Importance; and they are ſuch as future Admirals, and future Miniſters, ſhould remember.

The Squadron committed to the Conduct of Admiral *Hoſier* conſiſted of ſeven Ships of War. He ſailed in *April*; and in the Beginning of *June* arrived off the Baſtimentoes, near *Porto Bello*.

Here he might have done himſelf and the Nation ſignal Services; for here lay the Galleons with Money, to the Amount of ſix and twenty Millions of Pieces of Eight; but he was ſome way betrayed; the Nation was betray'd; and *Spain* had ſo good Notice of the Deſign and Purpoſe of this Squadron, the Character of its Commander, its Strength, and Time of ſailing, that the Money, according to Orders, diſpatched from *Old Spain* in good Time, was removed from on board. This was lodg'd in Security before the *Engliſh* Admiral arrived. The Galleons, which were to have carried it, and the Men of War their appointed Convoy, were unrigging in Security at *Porto Bello*, and the Treaſure lodg'd in the ſtrongeſt Fort of the *Havannah*.

The Admiral ſaw this, and underſtood the Cauſe: He bore the Diſappointment as became a great Mind; and without expreſſing his Thoughts to any Perſon, reſolved to faſhion his Conduct, ſo as to ſerve his Country as far as he yet could.

At this Time there lay at *Porto Bello* a large *Engliſh* Ship, the *Royal George*, belonging to the South-ſea Company diſpoſing of her Cargo.

The Admiral knew if he diſcover'd his general Purpoſe, this Ship would have been ſeiz'd: and he ſaw the ſecuring her his firſt eſſential Buſineſs.

The Governor of *Porto Bello*, on his Appearance, demanded what he wanted; and the Admiral anſwered, the *Royal George*. The *Spaniard* hoped no more would be required; and he ſo far behaved honourably. He finiſhed that Buſineſs, paid the Money; and the Ship joined the Squadron.

The Governor's next Meſſage was, that as he had obtained the Ship he wanted, he deſired he would be gone. To this the *Engliſh* Admiral anſwered, he ſhould ſtay; and ſtay nearer than he was at preſent. He diſpatched a Man of War to lie within Reach of the Guns of *Porto Bello*, and effectually blocked up the Harbour.

He ſuffered no Ship to paſs in or out without the moſt ſtrict Examination; but in all this he obſerved the niceſt Honour. He took no *Spaniſh* Seamen from on board them.

What he would farther have done at this Time was fruſtated by a very dreadful Mortality among his Men: The Air and Elements ſeemed to oppoſe the *Engliſh*. The Hurricane at *Jamaica*, ſo often named with Horror by the Inhabitants, juſt now had depopulated that Iſland. Thither, however, *Hoſier* was obliged to repair; and that Tempeſt, in ſome Meaſure, had proved favourable to his future Deſigns.

The Number of his Men was reduced in ſuch Manner, that he could not navigate his Veſſels; but he found there a Multitude of Seamen, the Crews of Veſſels deſtroyed in that dreadful Storm, whom he engaged in the Service. His Sick were put on Shore: Thoſe new Men were taken into the Ships in their Places, and Neceſſaries laid in with all that Expedition which became the Character of *Hoſier*.

He was not one of thoſe Commanders who ſeek Excuſes; but the Means of Service. He wrote the Admiralty an Account of his Loſs, and his Recruit; and in *February* ſailed again with four Months Proviſion.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

The Death of Admiral Hoſier.

ALL this Time the *Spaniſh* Galleons, with their Convoy, lay at *Carthagena*. Thither the *Engliſh* Admiral haſted: There he placed himſelf with nine Ships of War, and lay determined, to the utmoſt of his Power, to do his Country Service.

In *Auguſt* Orders of Reprizals came from *Spain*; and the *Engliſh* Ships were ſeized. The Letters arrived at *Havannah*, and *La vera Cruz*; and in both theſe Places the Directions were immediately obeyed.

The South-ſea Company's Effects were ſeiz'd, and with them five *Engliſh* Veſſels in thoſe Harbours.

Admiral *Hoſier* went thither with four Ships, and in Terms becoming his Station, and the Honour of his Country, demanded Reſtitution. What could he do more? The *Spaniards* laugh'd at him, and refus'd. He ſaw his Condition, and it broke his Heart.

He died on his Return on the twenty-third of *Auguſt* 1727, honoured and lamented; but in Proportion to his Praiſe, Cenſure fell on others; as well deſerv'd as were his Honours.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

The Siege of Gibraltar.

SPAIN now had ſome Time determined upon that important Attempt, the Siege of *Gibraltar*.

It had been a Torment and Reproach to them from the taking of that Place, that it remained in the Hands of the *Engliſh*; and they were now determin'd no longer to permit the Diſhonour.

Great Preparations were made on their Part, nor leſs on ours. We know, and ſhall, I hope, know always the Nature and Importance of *Gibraltar*, as well as they from whoſe Dominion it was torn; and as their Meaſures were no Secret, no Step was omitted to prevent or obviate their Effect.

With this Purpoſe of recovering *Gibraltar*, *Spain* nurſed alſo deep in her Heart another Purpoſe: that of aſſiſting the Pretender in a Deſcent on *England*. This was at preſent dormant, but the Reſolution perfectly kept up; and thoſe to whom the *Engliſh* Government owed good Intelligence, aſſured them all their Care was now requir'd for the other Expedition.

The Conduct of a Squadron for the Relief of *Gibraltar* was given to Sir *Charles Wager*. He took out with him ſix Men of War, and two Sloops; and he had Orders to take under his Command the Squadron on the Coaſt of *Spain*, wirh Admiral *Hopſon*. Eighteen Companies were imbark'd, and he ſailed, after ſome little Delay by unfavourable Winds.

With the Land forces he took on board large Quantities of Ammunition; and two Regiments of Foot were ordered to imbark at *Cork*, and join him in the Way.

This was a Preparation of ſome Force; and he arrived with it on the ſecond of *February* 1727, in the Bay of *Gibraltar*.

At the Approach of the *Engliſh*, the *Spaniards* redoubled their Diligence. They were fourteen

Thouſand; commanded by the Count *de las Torres*, and encamped within a League of the Place.

Two Batteries were raiſed, one in an Iſland at *Algeziras* on the other Side of the Bay, the other at *Theſſe*, within Gun-ſhot of the Place, but pointing to the Sea.

Colonel *Clayton*, the Lieutenant Governor, came in this Squadron: he was put on Shore immediately on their Arrival, with a Part of the Land-Force; and the reſt were kept on board for Services the Admiral had purpoſed.

Sir *Charles*, at the Governor's Requeſt, furniſhed him alſo with ten Cannon, four and twenty Pounders; a good Quantity of Neceſſaries and military Stores, and Carpenters for the Service.

On the Tenth, the *Spaniards* brought down great Quantities of Gabions and Faſcines with Tools for the intended Service, and in the Night, their Commander began another Battery, within half Gun-ſhot of ſome of the Fortifications. This pointed directly to the Works, upon the King's and Prince's Lines under the Land-Port.

Every Hour the *Engliſh* Admiral expected the Commencement of Hoſtilities; and he gave Orders to all the Ships to be in Readineſs for immediate Service.

On the Eleventh in the Morning, the Governor wrote to the *Spaniſh* Commander. The Purport of his Letter was, that the hoſtile Appearance now could not be miſinterpreted; that the Siege of *Gibraltar*, ſeemed his Excellency's open Purpoſe; and that this concerned and ſurprized him, as the two Kingdoms were not in a State of War.

He concluded, that he hoped his Excellency would deſiſt: and that he deſired an immediate Anſwer whether he would or not; for that otherwiſe he muſt take proper Meaſures.

The Count returned Anſwer, that what he had done, was on their own Ground; that *Gibraltar*, as poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*, had no Diſtrict beyond its Fortifications; and that two Towers having been poſſeſſed by them, not belonging to the Place, if they were not given up immediately, *he* ſhould be obliged to take proper Meaſures.

The Governor's Spirit was rouſed at this: he communicated the Letter to Sir *Charles Wager*; and a Council of War was called, in which all Voices were unanimous, that to trifle longer, was to give the Enemy Advantage; and that it was proper now to fire upon their Works.

The Count aſſiſted at the Works with great Diligence; and perhaps flattered himſelf that his Letter had wrought great Effects.

The Council of War broke up, and their Orders were put in Execution, every Thing was got ready, and a ſingle Cannon with Ball, was fired over their Battery, as a Signal of the Reſolution of the *Engliſh*.

An Hour they waited to ſee whether the Count would deſiſt, but he preſſed the Work more earneſtly; and at the Expiration of the appointed Time, the Ships and the neareſt Batteries, fired upon them, Cannon and ſmall Arms inceſſantly.

Now began the Operations in earneſt: The *Spaniard* ſaw what he had to truſt to; and he determined to continue the preſſing Urgency of the Service. In the Night of this Day, he lodged two Thouſand of his Troops near the Fortreſs, called the *Devil's Tower*.

This he thought a great Atchievement: but he had to deal with Enemies more vigilant than he imagined.

This Diſpoſition could not be effected without the Knowledge of the Governor. He immediately communicated it to Sir *Charles Wager*, who knowing from what Part theſe might be attacked by the Shipping, ſent in three Veſſels round the Back of the Hill; and at Day-break, the *Spaniards* who thought themſelves in perfect Security, received the moſt terrible Fire imaginable, from thoſe Veſſels in their Trenches.

Their Officer performed his Duty greatly to his Honour. He led them to work in the Face of the Diſcharge, and a Sand-Bank was thrown up preſently between them and the Fire of the Ships.

The Firing continued, and ſome Execution was done by the large Cannon, but more from the Tops, where the Guns could be brought to bear upon them over their Bank.

The Ships were brought in cloſe, and theſe Parts of them were crowded with Men; they made their Diſcharges with vaſt Diſpatch, and their ſmall Arms did Execution as well as the Cannon: from the Rock alſo were rolled down upon them Shells in abundance.

The Execution was very conſiderable, and the Confuſion greater: the *Spaniards* here attacked from ſo many Quarters at once, in a Poſt where they had ſuppoſed themſelves ſecure, had no Hope but in blocking themſelves up with more Sand-Banks.

They attempted ſcarce any Thing againſt the *Engliſh*, and while they were thus employed in ſheltering themſelves, a great Number fell.

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CHAP. LXXXIX.

The Batteries opened.

MEAN Time their Commander was earneſt in getting his Batteries in Condition of Service, and the next Morning one of fourteen Guns was opened.

This did not bear upon the Place, but into the Bay; and was calculated to diſtreſs the Shipping. One Ship of ours only was within their Reach; the *Portland*, and her they were not able to hurt; a few of their Shot reached her, but without Damage, and ſhe ſoon removed to more Diſtance.

The Admiral all this Time kept a continual Fire with his Cannon and Mortars; and the Garriſon on their Part, diſcharged a vaſt many Shot on their Batteries and into their Trenches.

They ſuffered extremely this Day; tho' they had been able to do no Damage to us. The *Spaniſh* Commander had taken good Precautions on all Occaſions: Veſſels continually paſſing backwards and forwards to the Weſtward with Proviſion and Ammunition for the Enemy's Camp. Our Admiral ordered off three Ships to intercept them, but he found this impracticable.

The Battery upon the Iſland of *Algeziras* on one Part, and a Ledge of Rocks on the other, protected theſe Boats in their Paſſage.

This Battery was of ſixteen Guns; and bore upon our Ships whereever they could have come in to diſtreſs them. The Communication could not be interrupted by them, and they were called off.

All this Time the *Spaniards* continued their Works. On the Fourteenth, they perfected their firſt Parallel; and threw up an Intrenchment on the *Mediterranean* Side, from the eaſternmoſt Point of the Rock.

This, as well as the other Diſpoſitions and Works, ſpoke the Skill of the Commander. The Men were before open to the Cannon of our Ships, but this perfectly defended them.

Our Ships were thus prevented from doing any ſignal Service; but Sir *Charles* who ſailed with the principal Part to cruiſe near *Cadiz*, and the Streights Mouth, left in the Bay as many as could be uſeful.

From time to time Attempts were made upon the Beſiegers in their Trenches by our Ships Guns, from the *Mediterranean* Shore, but fruitleſs.

Orders were ſent to all the *Spaniſh* Ports, to ſeize the Effects of the *Engliſh* of what ever Kind: but theſe came too late, to do them any eſſential good, or us great Damage. The *Engliſh*, whoſe Effects were in Danger, were early apprized of it, and had ſecured themſelves againſt the expected Blow.

The Siege of *Gibraltar* was all this Time carried on with Spirit by the Commander of their Forces; and reſiſted as bravely by the Garriſon.

The Fleet was not idle: Reinforcements were thrown into the Place from time to time, and the Spirit of the Garriſon was kept up by this, and every other poſſible Method.

Continually Veſſels of Conſequence of the Enemy fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and on the Eleventh of *March*, the *Roſario*, a new Man of War.

The Governor now acquainted Sir *Charles*, that his new Batteries were in Order, but he had no Cannon for them; and the Complaint was no ſooner made, than remedied: The Admiral himſelf came into the Bay, and ſaw a ſufficient Number of four and twenty Pounders, and ſent them to him.

The Garriſon acquired more Spirit, as they found themſelves continually recruited; and the *Spaniards*, to do Juſtice to an Enemy, puſhed the Siege with Diligence.

The Earl of *Portmore*, Governor of *Gibraltar*, with an additional Force, ſoon after this arrived; and Men from *Minorca* were thrown in to the Amount of five Hundred more.

The Fleet ſupplied every Thing in Abundance, and the Governor found the Siege beneath all Thought of Fear.

What would have been the Event is eaſy to ſay. It would have been long, becauſe both Parties were eaſily ſupplied; and it would have come to nothing, becauſe the united Strength of the Place, and Fortitude of the *Engliſh*, were too much for the Beſiegers: but the Preliminaries for a Peace, ſtopped the Operations. A Ceſſation of Arms was agreed between Lord *Portmore* and the Count, as ſoon as this was notified in Form, and all was quiet.

CHAP. XC.

England *interferes again in the Diſputes of the* North.

SWEDEN trembled again before the Threatnings of the *Ruſſians*. Every one knew the Project the late Czar had formed, and nothing was now talked of, but putting it into immediate Execution.

There appeared no Hope for *Sweden*, but in the Interpoſition of the King of *England*; but there it was not diſappointed.

George the Firſt was faithful in his Engagements, and determined in his Purpoſes. He ſent this Year, a Squadron again into the *Baltick* under Sir *John Norris*; and with the ſame Succeſs.

Ruſſia dropped her Deſigns: the Naval Preparations which the *Swedes* had looked upon with ſo much Terror, were laid aſide; and the Deſign, which would have dreadfully embroiled the Peace of the North, ſtifled in its Birth.

The *Ruſſians*, tho' enraged, could not but honour *England* for the Part ſhe had taken in this Diſpute; and far from uſing the little Arts of Reſentment, common among Courts, which call themſelves more civilized, the Czarina protected in the moſt honourable Manner, the *Britiſh* Merchants trading in her Dominions; and gave them new Advantages.

This Year, ſo honourable on theſe and many other Occaſions to the Kingdom, was mark'd with a fatal Event, the Death of that great and excellent Sovereign, *George* the Firſt: whoſe Loſs nothing could have atoned to the *Engliſh*, but the Virtues of his Succeſſor.

The King's Death was occaſion'd by a free Supper of Fruit; and happened in his *German* Dominions. In the Beginning of *June* his Majeſty had ſet out from *St. James's*; and it was at *Delden* this unfortunate Repaſt offered itſelf. A Melon, ſome Peaches, and a large Quantity of Water drank upon them, brought on a Cholic the next Morning; and the King eager to reach the End of his Journey, would not be perſwaded to repoſe himſelf, and give free Cauſe to the Aſſiſtances of Medicine.

At *Linden* his Majeſty had propoſed to dine; but he was not able to eat: He was blooded, and then proceeded on his Journey. After a few Hours he was ſeiz'd with an unconquerable Drowſineſs. He reſted upon the Arm of a Gentleman who attended him in the Coach; and in this Manner was brought about ten at Night to the Palace of *Oſnaburg*, where he died three Hours after, lamented as much as honoured.

CHAP. XCI.

The Acceſſion of King George *the Second.*

NOthing could be more unexpected than the News brought on the fourteenth of *June*, by a Meſſenger, of the King's Death. Tears were in every Eye; for he had been, more than in Name, the Father of his People.

The Prince and Princeſs of *Wales* were at *Richmond*; they came to *Leiceſter* Houſe, where a Proclamation was immediately drawn up, and ſigned by the principal Lords of the Council, aſſembled for that Purpoſe; and the next Morning, the King was proclaimed with the uſual Solemnity.

At the latter End of *June* the Parliament met: in *July*, Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty were appointed from among the moſt experienced Commanders; the Lord *Torrington*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Charles Wager*, and ſome others; and at the ſame Time, an Account was demanded of Ships taken from us by the *Spaniards* during the late War; this was publiſhed; and the Number amounted to Seventy.

A very different Account would have been collected on ſuch an Occaſion from the modern News-Papers.

The *French* had taken a raſh Step alſo, juſt at this Time; a Man of War of theirs had ſeiz'd at St. *Lucia* twelve Sail of *Engliſh* Merchant Ships, and carried them to *Martinico*.

The Pretence was the carrying on a contraband Trade, and they were ſaid then to have *French* Goods on Board. A Search was to juſtify the Seizure, and thoſe which had none were to be diſcharged.

England heard this with Ears of Attention, and Reſentment.

All this Time the Ceſſation of Arms held Things quiet at *Gibraltar*; but the *Spaniſh* Army kept their Ground, and Sir *Charles Wager* remained with his Fleet for the Support of the Garriſon.

On the Thirtieth of *September*, the Admiral perceived the *Spaniards* very buſy in carrying Materials and Neceſſaries to their *Theſſe* Battery, and in repairing the Damages done it by the *Engliſh* Cannon.

He knew how to deſpiſe this, in Point of Service; but he ſaw the Honour of his Country at Stake, and he diſpatched the Lord *Forbes* with a Letter to the Count *de Montemar*, to tell him, if the *Spaniards* did not deſiſt, he ſhould conſider this, as a Breach of the Ceſſation.

The Count was ſtartled at the Terms of this Letter, more than at the Matter; which he might reaſonably have expected: he ſaw it too tender to determine on his own Motion; and he gave Lord *Forbes* an evaſive Anſwer; that he would order the Admiral's Letter to be tranſlated, and when he had conſidered the Contents, would ſend a Reply.

CHAP. XCII.

The Spaniards *puſh their other Deſigns.*

THE *Engliſh* Admiral waited the Ceremony of this promiſed Anſwer. The *Spaniards* we have obſerved, had another Purpoſe in Favour of the Pretender, which they were all this Time puſhing toward Execution, as earneſtly as ſecretly.

Sir *Charles Wager* received Notice of their Preparations at *Cadiz* from Mr. *Holloway*, our Conſul at *Malaga*; he ſailed immediately, and kept a ſtrict Watch upon the *Spaniards* in that Port.

The *Prince Frederick* was diſpatched to enquire there, and returned with a Meſſage of Civility from the Governor; and with an Account, that whatever Preparations were making, they were not in any Forwardneſs; for the *Spaniſh* Fleet continued in the Poſture it was before; above the Puntals.

The *Engliſh* Admiral, whom the Ceſſation of Arms tyed down to Terms of Peace; uſed it as his Pretence of frequent Enquiry.

The *Prince Frederick* was again ſent into *Cadiz* on the Fourth of *October*, with a Meſſage of Compliment to the Governor, but with the real Purpoſe of obſerving the Condition of the Fleet. At the ſame Time he ſent another Ship, the *Aſſiſtance*, to *Tangier*, to obſerve the Motions of the Moors.

This ſtrict Obſervance kept all quiet. The *Spaniards* depended upon the Secrecy as much as on the Strength of their Preparations, and they ſaw nothing was practical: They found the Admiral ſo perfect a Maſter of Civility, that nothing could be done which would not be diſcovered by one or other of his Meſſages.

Their Ships were kept in the former quiet Station; and the Captain of the Prince *Frederic* returned, as before, with Notice of full Security. It was whiſper'd that their Ships had three Months *Iriſh* Proviſions on board; but this could not be known with Certainty; nor did there appear any Step toward the putting them to Sea.

All this Time the *Spaniards* were ſlow in the Affair of the Preliminaries. They not only ſtuck obſtinately to their former Articles, but made new Objections. They would not hear of giving up their Pretenſions to *Gibraltar*; and they made Complaints of our Uſurpation of the Iſland of *Providence*, ſo they termed it: and our Building us Forts on the Coaſt of *Florida*, and poſſeſſing ourſelves of a Settlement in the Bay of *Campeachy*, they looked upon as great Outrages. They continued indefatigable in increaſing their Marine; they fitted out more Ships; and they had ſince the ſettling the Preliminaries been too free in regard to the *Engliſh* Property.

It appear'd they were upon the Point of a Reconciliation with *France*. This gave a Key to all their Tranſactions; but our Government ſhewed ſo determined a Spirit, that in the End all was adjuſted better than they had imagin'd. On the third of *December* every Thing was ſettled at *Madrid*, the *Spaniſh* Troops were to break up immediately before *Gibraltar*; and every Thing was to be adjuſted according to the tenth Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

The *Spaniards* who had come ſlowly into this Agreement, were more ſlow in the fulfilling it: *Gibraltar* was ſtill the ſame dear Object of their Attention: their Honour was hurt by another Nation poſſeſſing it, and they ſaw its Importance.

They were too backward in withdrawing their Troops: Lord *Portmore* the Governor found it neceſſary to complain to the Court of *Madrid*; and he did it freely.

This Remonſtrance, which was carried by Major *Sowle*, took at length Effect: the Count withdrew his Troops; and *Gibraltar* remained in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*.

Sir *George Walton* who had joined Sir *Charles Wager* with a Squadron, returned to *England*, when Things were agreed upon in this Manner: and when all was perfectly ſettled, Sir *Charles Wager* brought back his Fleet.

His Conduct in this Service did him great Honour.

CHAP. XCIII.

Affairs of the West-Indies.

THE Squadron which the brave and unfortunate Admiral *Hoſier* had commanded in the *Weſt-Indies*, remain'd there under the Command of Captain *St. Loe*; on whom the Charge devolved by the Death of that great Man. He wrote over that the Galleons had lain at *Carthagena* a long Time unrigged, and in Want of Men, and all kinds of Neceſſaries; and that himſelf would, after he had laid in Refreſhments at *Jamaica*, proceed thither with the Squadron.

Admiral *Hopſon* was ſent over to take this Command. He ſailed for the Coaſt of *New Spain*; and there died, after a few Days Illneſs, off the *Grand Bru*.

All that Time the Galleons lay at *Carthagena* with no Preparations for ſailing. The Orders for executing the Preliminaries then were not arrived: on the third of *June* they came thither; and the *Engliſh* Ships returned to *Jamaica*.

Thus ended this *Weſt-India* Expedition, from which great Things were promiſ'd and expected; but in which the Nation experienced only Loſs. The great, the brave, and good *Hoſier* was ſacrificed there: Admiral *Hopſon* fell, the ſecond in that Rank; and to their Loſs we are to add eight Captains, fifty Lieutenants, and about four thouſand Men, who periſh'd without a Blow from the Enemy, by Sickneſs.

The *Spaniards* in this Part of the World ill kept the Terms of Peace. Wherever they had Power they were inſolent and cruel. Their Depredations aſtoniſh'd every Body; and the repeated Advices of them rous'd the Nation in Earneſt, to conſider Meaſures for the Redreſs.

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CHAP. XCIV.

The Houſe of Commons examine the Accounts of the Spaniſh *Depredations.*

TOward the End of the Year 1728, Mr. *Balchen*, Mr. *Cavendiſh*, and Mr. *Hughes*, were appointed Rear-Admirals; and Mr. *Morrice*, and Sir *George Walton*, Vice-Admirals.

Early in 1729 the Parliament met, and the Commons ſhewed that the Intereſts and Honour of this Kingdom, the Security of its Commerce, and the Inſults it had of late ſuffered, would be made one great Article of their Conſideration.

They began with granting a Supply for the Service of the current Year, in which the Navy was eſtabliſh'd on a happy Footing; and they immediately after examin'd the Accounts of the *Spaniſh* Depredations, ordered before them the Papers relating to that Subject; and upon a full and fair Enquiry came to the following Reſolution: That from the Peace of *Utrecht* in 1713, the Trade and Navigation of *Great-Britain* to and from her Colonies in *America* had been greatly interrupted by the Depredation of the *Spaniards*, who had in a continued Courſe of theſe Inſults ſeized very valuable Effects; and made Prize of a great Number of *Britiſh* Ships, to the Damage of the Kingdom, and in manifeſt Violation of Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns. In conſequence of this Reſolution, the King was addreſſed to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to prevent theſe Depredations, to procure juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction for the Loſſes they ſuſtained, and to ſecure to his Subjects the free Exerciſe of Commerce and Navigation to and from the *Britiſh* Colonies in *America*.

The King received the Addreſs with great Favour, and promiſed to uſe his beſt Endeavours for that Purpoſe. More Papers were examined afterwards, to the ſame End; and his Majeſty was a ſecond Time addreſſed upon the ſame Subject.

In the Beginning of *April* three and thirty Ships were put into Commiſſion; and all Diligence us'd to man them. On the ninth of *May* Sir *Charles Wager* came to *Portſmouth*, and the next Day hoiſted his Flag on board the *Cornwal*, an eighty Gun Ship. Twelve *Dutch* Men of War joined this Force to act in conjunction with the *Engliſh*, and under Command of Sir *Charles Wager*. They continued in Service till *October*, when the *Dutch* went home; and the larger of the *Engliſh* Ships were ordered into Port.

This Year his Majeſty viſited his *German* Dominions. It is marked alſo with the Loſs of another brave and experienced Commander in the *Weſt-Indies*, Rear-Admiral *St. Loe*.

The Command on his Death devolved to Captain *Smith*, who maintained the Character he had always bore in a more private Station, that of Conduct and Spirit: till Admiral *Stewart* arrived from *England*, appointed for that Office.

Spain had Notice of the Reſolves of the *Engliſh* Parliament; and they ſaw the naval Preparations of the Beginning of the Year.

They could not be certain that the united Fleet of more than forty Ships would lie at *Spithead* all the Seaſon. They expected the Worſt, and they prepared againſt it; not Oppoſition, but a pretended Redreſs of Grievances.

Into this State of Submiſſion, was the powerful Monarchy of *Spain*, awed by the *Engliſh* Preparation only: So far can the Name of a *Britiſh* Fleet extend its Influence.

The Commerce of the *Weſt Indies* was many Months unmoleſted, and a new Governor ſent by the King of *Spain* to Saint *Jago de la Cuba*. He informed the *Engliſh*, that he had laid his Predeceſſor in Irons, and would ſee him brought to a ſtrict Account for his Conduct: he added, that his Inclination to live in Friendſhip with them, was ſupported by the Orders of his King; and that they might depend upon Security and Juſtice.

The Court of *Spain* ſpoke the ſame Sentiments; they abjur'd the Conduct of thoſe who had been guilty of theſe Depredations; and ſent out repeated Orders againſt any Thing of that Kind for the future.

Theſe were well obeyed, while the *Britiſh* Fleet kept the Sea: but no ſooner was the Seaſon of Service over, no ſooner had the *Dutch* Orders to return, and our own Veſſels put into Port, than their Depredations were repeated.

The Farce of an impriſon'd Governor was at an End, and the Confidence which the *Engliſh*, judging of the Faith of others, by their own, had repoſed in the Declarations of the new Governor, and the abſolute Orders of his Court, drew them into greater Loſſes than ever.

Nothing was ſpar'd, that was not ſtrong enough for its Defence; and all the Redreſs of ruined Merchants and diſtreſs'd Families, was a Remonſtrance to the Government of the Perfidy of *Spain*.

CHAP. XCV.

The Naval Force increas'd, and Meaſures taken for Revenge.

THE King, who knowing his own Word ſacred, thought that of other Kings as inviolable, was ſcarce more ſurpriſed than concern'd at this ſtrange Conduct. He immediately gave Orders for the Navy to be put upon a reſpectable, and to our Enemies a terrible Footing; and the Parliament heartily concurring, the whole Force amounted to two hundred and thirty-eight Veſſels, carrying at their higheſt Compliment, more than ſixty-four thouſand Men.

Sir *Thomas Frankland*, and Mr. *Winnington*, were appointed Admirals: and all *Europe* ſaw with due Regard the vaſt Force of this Nation on the Sea.

Spain in 1731 ſign'd the Act of Approbation prepar'd by the Courts of *Vienna* and *Great-Britain*, and agreed to be accepted in the Place of a formal Acceſſion to the Treaty of *Vienna*. *England*, who had conſulted Meaſures of Reſentment and Revenge for the infamous Depredations in the *Weſt-Indies*, now drop'd the Thought; and in conſequence of this new Agreement, ſent into the *Mediterranean* a very noble Fleet; the great Purpoſe of which was to conduct *Don Carlos* into *Italy*.

In the mean time a new Alarm reach'd our Kingdom: The Troops of *France* were in Motion; and their univerſal March toward *Dunkirk*, and the Coaſts neareſt *England*. A Squadron was ordered out. Sir *Charles Wager*, in whoſe Prudence and Reſolution the King well knew he could confide, had the Command; and in the Beginning of *June* he diſpatch'd from the *Downs* two Ships to cruiſe ſix Days off the Coaſt of *France*, about *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, to watch the Motions of the *French*, and ſee whether there were any Preparations making for the Embarkation of thoſe Troops, whoſe March had alarm'd the Government.

Captain *Haddock*, before Sir *Charles Wager* arrived, had ſent in a *Deal* Boat to *Dunkirk*, who return'd that Night. The News he brought was important: Eight thouſand Men were then at *Dunkirk*, and more were on ſpeedy March thither, and expected hourly.

The Alarm gathered Strength in *England* from repeated Information: Rear-Admiral *Balchen*, with a conſiderable Squadron, was ſent to reinforce Sir *Charles*, who was directed to get under Sail with as many Ships as were ready at *Spithead* and the *Downs*, and to order the reſt to follow under the Conduct of the ſenior Captains; to whom he communicated his Majeſty's farther Inſtructions.

Early next Morning Sir *Charles* ſailed from the *Downs* for *Spithead*; and Captain *Rowzier* receiv'd as ſenior the Inſtructions. The next Day the Admiral receiv'd at *Spithead* the King's farther Inſtructions, and full Powers.

The Alarm by this Time was over: On the twelfth Sir *George Walton* arrived, and Sir *Charles Wager*, according to his Orders, took him under his Command, and communicated to him his Majeſty's ſecret Inſtructions. On the fourteenth the Admiral ſet ſail with a Squadron of five and twenty Ships of Force, and made for the Coaſt of *Spain*.

He ſettled the Ceremonial of Salutes before he came into the Bay of *Cadiz*, and was received there with all Marks of Reſpect and Candour. He read his Commiſſion to the King, to whom he was introduc'd, in due Form, and the whole Buſineſs was adjuſted. He ſailed thence for *Gibraltar*; and having taken ſome Troops on board for *Barcelona*, arrived there in *September*. In *October* the Fleet got under Sail; and the *Spaniards* joining the *Spaniſh* Troops, were landed at *Leghorn*.

Sir *Charles Wager* then ſeparated from them, and returned to *England*.

All this Time the *Engliſh* were amus'd with Hopes that there was a final Stop put to the Depredations in the *Weſt Indies*; but it prov'd otherwiſe. The utmoſt Advantage gained by this was a Suſpenſion of them for a certain Time. The Approach of Winter brought on freſh Outrages and Inſults; and the Spirit and Reſentment that had been ſuſpended for ſome Time, now glow'd again in all its Strength.

Our Government ſaw there was nothing to be done but by Force; and the Admiral ordered a Squadron of Ships of War, all ſixth Rates, to cruiſe upon the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's*.

On the repeated Inſtances of new Depredations, he ordered two more Ships on the ſame Service, and took farther Reſolutions, which were ſoon known to the Court of *Spain*.

Mr. *Keene* was inſtructed to ſpeak freely on the Subject; and his Remonſtrances ſupported by the active Meaſures our People now took, produced ſomething that had the Appearance, at leaſt, of an abſolute Termination of the Grievance.

The King of *Spain* deliver'd to Mr. *Keene* an Order directed to his Governors in the *Weſt-Indies*, in very peremptory Terms forbidding theſe Proceedings.

This was ſent to our Commander there, Admiral *Stewart*, and by him tranſmitted to the *Spaniſh* Governors.

People thought all was now adjuſted; but *Spain* had been been too artful: Abſolute as the Terms of the Order ſeem'd; there was an Exception againſt thoſe who carried an illicit Commerce.

Theſe Words were not explained; there was no Authority on which to ſay what was, and what was not illicit; and thus a Way was opened to all Outrages we had before complained of. *Spaniards* judg'd for themſelves what Commerce was illicit for the *Engliſh*, and what not; and they ſeized our Ships as uſual.

The next Year the States General acceded to the Treaty between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Great-Britain*; and the King ſuppoſing every Thing adjuſted in Time, ſet out for his *German* Dominions.

Soon after his Departure, the Government had Notice of the *Spaniards* putting out a very conſiderable Fleet. We had too much Knowledge of that People to repoſe any great Conſidence in them; and Orders were immediately ſent from the Admiralty to fill up the Guard Ships to their full Compliment. In the mean time the Courſe and Deſtination of the *Spaniſh* Fleet were watched with all Attention. They were employed on the Coaſt of *Barbary*; and our Apprehenſions ſubſided.

In the *Weſt-Indies* they continued their Depredations; and Captain *Aubin* of the *Deal Caſtle* began Repriſals: he took near *Campeachy* a Merchantſhip of *Spain* of conſiderable Value, and declaring his Purpoſe, carried her into one of our Ports.

CHAP. XCVI.

The Colony of Georgia *eſtabliſh'd.*

THIS Year 1732 is diſtinguiſh'd by the Eſtabliſhment of the Colony of *Georgia*. The Truſtees had their firſt Meeting on the twentieth of *July*; and among theſe Mr. *Oglethorpe* diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in a very eminent and honourable Manner.

This Gentleman embarked at *Graveſend* with about a hundred and twenty Perſons, to make the firſt Settlement at his own Expence. The Colony carried with them Tools of all Kinds; Arms and Ammunition; and Neceſſaries for many Months.

They arrived in great Spirit; and their Conductor lodging them in ſecure Barracks, built for the Soldiers, went himſelf to view the *Savannah* River; and after careful Examination, fix'd upon a pleaſant, healthy and convenient Spot ten Miles from the Sea.

Here he deſign'd a Plan of a Town; and calling the People together on the firſt of *February*, their Tents were got up before Night, and they took Poſſeſſion of the alloted Spot. They began immediately the neceſſary Operations under the Eye of their Conductor; and on the tenth of *February* the Foundation of the firſt Houſe was laid.

An *Indian* Nation occupied a Part of the neighbouring Country; and with theſe Mr. *Oglethorpe* made it his firſt Buſineſs to cultivate a Friendſhip. This he did in the Name of the King of *England*, whom he taught them to regard with a proper Reſpect; and they declared themſelves deſirous of obtaining his Majeſty's Protection, and calling themſelves his Subjects.

The Province they found larger than they had at firſt imagin'd, and the River navigable for a vaſt Courſe. The *Indian* Nations on the ſame Side the Mountains, they found to be three; and all of them very conſiderable; the upper and lower *Creeks*, and the *Twitees*; the People were inclined to Civility, but vers'd alſo in War; and the River was the great Convenience of their Trade; Boats loaded in their Way paſſing by frequently.

It was happy Mr. *Oglethorpe* began his Intercourſe with theſe People upon friendly Terms. We have ſeen in the Hiſtory of earlier Colonies, when the firſt Management of them was given to leſs proper Perſons, how often Diſputes with the Natives were fatal.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* was a Gentleman, and a Scholar. He had a great deal of natural and acquired Knowledge, and he employed it all to cultivate a good Underſtanding with theſe *Indians*. Thoſe to whom he had firſt applied, communicated their good Opinion of the *Engliſh* to the others; and all became deſirous of uniting in the firmeſt Union with a People whom they found ſo capable of inſtructing and aſſiſting them in uſeful Things; and ſo willing.

They immediately cultivated his friendly Offers, gave Land to the *Engliſh*, which their Leader mark'd out in their Preſence, ſettling the determined Bounds to what they thus beſtowed on our People, and what they reſerved to themſelves.

Their Chiefs were deſirous to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion; and they conſtantly appealed to Mr. *Oglethorpe* as Umpire in their Differences.

If the *Indians* reſpected this Gentleman, the People of the Colony adored him. They ſaw his Conduct diſintereſted and virtuous: his Love to his Country and to his fellow Creatures, were the real Motives to his Actions; nor could they be attributed to any other.

He had ſhared the common Hardſhips and Inconveniences of their Paſſage, and he now took his Part in all the Difficulties of an Infant Colony.

He lay with them upon the Ground, and he eat of the ſame Proviſions; he was the firſt up in a Morning, the laſt that took Repoſe at Night; and where there appeared Hazard, he was the Perſon who firſt expoſed himſelf to it.

This they ſaw with Eyes of Gratitude and Wonder: they conſidered him as a Perſon of Fortune and Faſhion, in the Bloom of Life, and cut out by Nature for all its Enjoyments: they ſaw him ſacrifice them all for their Good, and 'tis no Wonder they regarded him as a true Patriot and a Heroe.

This Juſtice it becomes me as an impartial Hiſtorian, to do a Man, yet living, whoſe Virtues I know; and they know alſo, who ſhould bluſh to think how poorly they have been rewarded.

In his new Colony, the People looked upon him as a common Parent, and they called him Father. If any were ſick, he viſited them, and performed the Office of Friend, Phyſician, and Prieſt.

If any Diſpute happened among them, to whom ſhould they appeal, but to him, whoſe Virtues had eſtabliſhed him a Decider of Controverſies even among a Nation of Savages.

The Regard himſelf always paid to Religion, enforced the ſame Principle early and univerſally in them all.

Drunkenneſs was unknown among them, and tho' they were not a People ſelected for their moral Characters, but taken promiſcuouſly as they offered; an Oath was never heard among them.

All were accuſtomed to work, the Children not excepted, but the Taſk was laid ſo equally, that none complained of Hardſhip.

In a little Time this infant Settlement roſe under the Eye, and as it were by the Hand of this Conductor of the Work. The Town was palliſadoed round, the Houſes mark'd out, and many of them built; Gardens were planted with Kitchen-Herbs, and Fields ſown with Corn, all which roſe in a promiſing Manner.

The Conduct of that great Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, whom we have before celebrated, prepared the Way for all the Civilities the *Indians* now ſhewed the *Engliſh*.

'Twas on the Place where the new Town now ſtood, that great Man ſet his Foot on Land in this new World; the firſt *Engliſhman* the Natives ever ſaw. Here he converſed with their Chiefs; and "on this Spot" would the King of their principal Nation ſay to Mr. *Oglethorpe*, "did your great "Countryman and I converſe together." So great was the Reverence they paid him, that they thought all the *Engliſh* muſt be like him; and this King of theirs, who was yet a hearty Man, deſired as the greateſt Honour, and engaged by ſolemn Proteſtations, that he might be buried on the very Spot where they had talked together.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* improved all theſe favourable Sentiments in the People; and was univerſally received among them as another *Rawleigh*.

CHAP. XCVII.

The farther Conduct of Mr. Oglethorpe.

THE *Indians* thus ſettled in Friendſhip, the Town marked out and encloſed, the Houſes began, the Gardens planted, and the Fields ſow'd, Mr. *Oglethorpe* left his new Colony for a ſhort Time. He went to *South Carolina*, to ſollicit the Protection, Countenance, and Aſſiſtance of that flouriſhing Settlement for his new People: he obtained from them two Thouſand Pounds of their Currency, for the Service of the firſt Year; and ſettled Matters with them upon ſo favourable a Foundation, that ſoon after, their Committee of Supply, voted twelve Thouſand Pounds to be raiſed for the Service of the *Georgia* Colony for the ſucceeding Year.

The Inhabitants of *Charles Town* ſubſcribed a Thouſand Pounds among themſelves, for the ſame Purpoſe, and five Hundred of it were paid down to Mr. *Oglethorpe*.

This ſhewed the univerſal Reſpect, with which that Gentleman was treated by all Parties: the People of the earlier Eſtabliſhment, of his own Colony, and the *Indians* equally honoured him.

The immediate Sum from the *Charles Town* People, he laid out in Cattle, and having finiſhed this important Buſineſs, ſet out again for his new Town *Savanna*.

On the Eighteenth he arrived, loaded with good Fortune, and found every Thing in as promiſing a Condition as he could have wiſhed.

While he had been ſucceſsful in his Negotiations, good Fortune had come up to the People at their Doors. The ſeveral Perſons, at whoſe Plantations he had reſted in his Journey, had all contributed to the Succeſs of the new Colony; and the Clergy ſet on Foot Collections very happily for that Purpoſe.

With his People he found the Chiefs of the lower Creeks, with the Interpreter Mr. *Wigan*: they were come to offer to an Alliance with the Colony; and he had the Satisfaction to ſee an *Engliſh* Veſſel of an hundred Tuns, riding cloſe to the Town, in two Fathom and a half Water, at low Water-mark.

This was the Ship *James*, the Commander Captain *Yoakby*, who had unloaded at the Town, and declared he found the River deep enough for Ships of larger Burthen.

The Alliance was concluded with the *Indians*; the Care of carrying on the Works left to Mr. *St. Julian* and Mr. *Scot*; and every Thing being eſtabliſhed on a wiſe and proſperous Footing, Mr. *Oglethorpe* embarked for *England*.

Beſide the Care of the immediate Spot, he had examined the adjacent Country; and he left Directions for building a Fortreſs, and ſettling ſome Families in a Place, which happily command thoſe Paſſages, by which the *Indians* could moſt eaſily have come down upon the People in a hoſtile Manner.

In the midſt of theſe Acts of Peace, he had prepared effectually for Defence in Caſe of War: he had ſhared all the Dangers of the Infant Colony, and he did not leave them, till he had ſettled them in happy Correſpondence with *South Carolina*, at Peace with the Natives, and in a Condition to provide for their Subſiſtance, and to defend themſelves againſt any Enemy that might probably attack them.

With Mr. *Oglethorpe* came to *England*, a King and Queen of the *Indians*, with their Nephew, and ſeveral other of the Chiefs, who were introduced to the King, and treated with great Reſpect.

They were with the greateſt Care made acquainted with the Riches and Strength of this Kingdom;

dom; and this Idea they entertained in the moſt exalted Light; and properly communicated to their People at their Return.

CHAP. XCVIII.

The Saltzburghers *ſettle in* Georgia.

IN the Year 1734, the Fame of the new Colony, and the good Account of the Country, occaſioned a freſh Settlement.

Mr. *Van Roeck* conducted a Number of *Saltzburghers* thither, under the Auſpices of Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and the Dominion of *Britain*; and fixing upon a Spot, Twenty Miles from the new Town *Savanna*, ſettled them there.

This Tranſaction was juſt before the Departure of Mr. *Oglethorpe*. He deferred his going for ſome Time, to ſee the new People ſettled; and aſſiſted them with every Thing they wanted, and his Stores afforded.

He had the Satisfaction to ſee them received with the moſt perfect Friendſhip and good Will by his People, and he left them happy in the Place they had choſen, and in the friendly Offices of the firſt *European* Inhabitants.

CHAP. XCIX.

The Spaniards *continue their Inſults.*

GEORGIA thus ſettled, and that Honour done to the Father of the Colony, which tho' preſent Envy may diſlike, Poſterity will find well merited; we are to look back to the Affairs of our Country, in the Year 1733.

All Expectations of Juſtice and Moderation from the *Spaniards* were fruitleſs: where ever they had Power they abuſed it ſhamefully.

The Term illicit Commerce, which exempted *Engliſh* Ships from the King of *Spain*'s protective Orders, was ſtrained to ſignify what the Captains of their Ships pleaſed; and where-ever ours were weakeſt, they were plundered.

In the Beginning of *July* this Year Advice was received from *New England*, that the Fleet of Merchant Veſſels upon the Fiſhing Buſineſs, convoy'd by a twenty Gun-ſhip, the *Scarborough*, had been attack'd by two *Spaniſh* Men of War of very conſiderable Force.

They had not expected Reſiſtance from this ſingle Ship; and had fallen at once upon the trading Veſſels. Four they had taken, by that Time Captain *Durell*, who commanded the Ship of War could come up with them. He told his Purpoſe to the Convoy, and bad them make all the Sail away they could. He promis'd to attack this Force, ſo much ſuperior to his own, but he told them it was without all Hope of Succeſs: What he intended was only to engage the Enemy while they eſcaped.

This underſtood, he boldly ran between the two Ships of the *Spaniards*; and fought them more than five Hours. Night came on, the Merchant-ſhips had obſerved his Inſtructions; and the Eſcape they had happily began, the Darkneſs favoured them to compleat. Theſe were thirty-two in Number, and not one of them fell into the Hands of the Enemy: the firſt four was their whole Capture.

The Government honoured this brave Officer, and felt deeply the Inſolence of *Spain*. Freſh Accounts arrived from Time to Time of the like Outrages; and it was reſolved to ſhew a proper Reſentment. The Number of Ships was increas'd; a great Fleet put into Commiſſion; and it was ſeen that the *Engliſh* were determined not to ſuffer Inſults from any foreign Power.

On all Emergencies the Recourſe had been to preſſing: for this Purpoſe Warrants had been iſſued on Notice of the *Spaniſh* Armaments; and whenever elſe there appeared ſudden Occaſions for Service.

The King now propoſed to thoſe, who were able and willing to do their Country this acceptable and needful Service, Rewards inſtead of Compulſion.

There required no moderate Number of Men to fit out ſuch a Fleet as that of the preſent Year, but Meaſures were taken to do it without Force.

A Proclamation was publiſhed, requiring all *Britiſh* Sailors in any foreign Service, to return to their Country immediately, under the higheſt Penalties; and at the ſame Time another, offering his Majeſty's Bounty for Seamen, and able bodied Landmen, who ſhould voluntarily enter before the Eleventh of the following *March*.

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CHAP. C.

The Sallee Rovers *become formidable to our Merchants.*

THE *Spaniſh* Depredations had hitherto been the great Complaint and Terror of the *Britiſh* Merchants: But this Year a new Diſtreſs was added. Four of our Merchant-veſſels were taken by the *Sallee Rovers*; and their Crews reduc'd to the miſerable Condition of Slavery in *Barbary*.

This was ſtrongly repreſented, and Meaſures were taken for its Redreſs. Sir *Charles Wager* was appointed Admiral of the White, and every Thing was expected there and elſewhere from ſo diſtinguiſh'd a Commander with ſo conſiderable a Force.

Mean time *England* was a Scene of Joy and Feſtivity. A Marriage had been concerted between the Prince of *Orange* and the Princeſs Royal. On the ſeventh of *November* 1733, his Highneſs landed at the Tower-Wharf, brought from *Helvoetſluys* in the *Thebes* Yacht. The King's Barges with the *Dutch* Ambaſſador and the *Engliſh* Maſter of the Ceremonies attended, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Tower received him with the due Marks of Honour; and on the fourteenth the Marriage was ſolemnized. On the twenty-ſecond of *April* the Prince of *Orange* with his Princeſs embark'd for *Holland* under Convoy of two Men of War.

This Year Mr. *Haddock* and Lord *Forbes* were appointed Rear-Admirals. The ill News from the *Barbary* Coaſt came now more frequent: in *June*, this Year 1734, ſix more *Engliſh* Merchant-ſhips were taken by thoſe Rovers.

This was more terrible in its Conſequences than all other Captures; for not only the Ships and Cargoes were irrecoverably loſt, but every Man on board reduc'd to the moſt miſerable State of Slavery.

This was the Cauſe of all *European* Nations; and they ſeem'd to make it ſuch. Our own Ships were employed in chaſing theſe Rovers; and thoſe of the *Portugueſe*, entered as Chriſtians, into the Cauſe, as heartily as if it had been their own.

Two of our Ships were retaken by two Men of War of theirs, and one by a Ship of Force of our own; but this afforded little Conſolation: The Cargoes and the Crews had been firſt ſent on Shore, and only a few Moors were found on board left to navigate the Veſſels. Two of the others were loſt by their Careleſſneſs, in the Way to *Santa Cruz*; and another they left floating at Random, after they had taken out what they lik'd: but however little they enjoy'd of the Veſſels, they had the Crews of all.

We had ſome Men of War there, and the Government alarmed extremely at theſe Proceedings, ordered their Commanders to take all Methods of Reſentment. Captain *Windham* of the *Roſe*, and Captain *Towry* of the *Shoreham*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this Occaſion. They ſaw theſe Rovers cunning as they were cruel; ſwift to eſcape, and artful in the Means; and they fell upon the only certain Method of Service, which was watching ſome Occaſion when they would be off their Guard, or out of a Condition of Defence.

Fifty Leagues to the Southward of *Sallee*, there lies a ſmall Bay, into which the Rovers frequently put when they want cleaning. Off this Place the two *Engliſh* Ships cruiſed; and by keeping a ſtrict and vary Watch, they ſaw two of their ſtouteſt Veſſels now put in for that Purpoſe.

They lay off till they thought they would be in the Midſt of their Buſineſs, and then put in upon them. They were ſix and twenty Gun-ſhips, and each carried a hundred and ſixty Men. The *Engliſh* Captains expected a deſperate Conflict, and animated their People to their Duty, by repreſenting the Moors, as they were, ſavage, and the moſt determined Combatants; who fought for Slaves.

The Men had been enough exaſperated by what they had heard of their Countrymen carried by them to Slavery, and would have fought to the utmoſt: but there was no Cauſe. The Enemy deſerted their Ships, and only a few of them were taken Priſoners; the Veſſels were burnt, and thoſe of the Men who had fallen into the Hand of our Captains were carried Priſoners to *Gibraltar*.

One Act of this kind is uſually the Parent of more. The Moors were underſtood by this to be Cowards; and our very Merchant-ſhips began to defend themſelves againſt them. They fought againſt great odds in theſe Engagements; but they fought for every Thing; for Liberty. Their ſole Chance was by ſuch a deſperate Valour to ſave themſelves from the moſt abject Slavery.

An Inſtance of this Courage, and of the Succeſs attending it, was this Year 1734, ſeen in Captain *Fullerton*, Commander of a ſmall Ship, with only fourteen Men, who had in his Return from the *Streights* fell into the Way of one of theſe Plunderers. The Rover ordered him to bring to; and there was no Thought of Reſiſtance from ſo inferior a Force. The *Engliſhman* obeyed; and the Moor ſent off his Boat with twenty Men to take Poſſeſſion of the Prize.

As they came up, the Captain took his Muſket and his Cutlaſs, and told his ſmall Company, if they would do the ſame, they had a Chance for Liberty. They obeyed; they receiv'd the Moors on their boarding with a determin'd Fury. The Moors, as errant Cowards as they had been repreſented, threw down their Ams when they ſaw Oppoſition. The coming on of Night, and a favourable Gale, compleated the Succeſs. Captain *Fullerton* got off, and brought his Priſoners to *Middleburgh*.

The Period of this Miſchief now drew towards its Concluſion. The King had been grieved in the deepeſt Manner at the Fate of ſo many of his Subjects; and on the twenty-ninth of *Auguſt* ſent Mr. *Zolliscoffre* Ambaſſador to the Emperor of *Morocco*, to negociate Terms; and to demand as a firſt Article the Diſcharge of all the Priſoners. His

Excellency embark'd at *Gibraltar*, on board the *Saliſbury* Man of War, accompanied by five others; and at five the ſame Afternoon anchored at *Tetuan*.

The Negotiations ſucceeded, and the Priſoners were releas'd from their miſerable Slavery.

CHAP. CI.

The Pirate Angria *defeated.*

ON the ſixth of *Auguſt* Sir *John Norris* ſailed from the *Downs* to *Spithead*; where, when his whole Force was together, he commanded a Fleet of ſix and thirty Ships, thirty of them of the Line.

On the tenth of *September* this Year, two Perſons were taken up alive in a ſmall Boat, a hundred Leagues from Land, by Captain *Dickinſon*, of the *Hannah* Merchant-ſhip. They were the ſole Survivors of the Crew of the *Ratcliff*, Captain *Adair*, another Merchant-veſſel, which nine Days before founder'd at Sea. The Commander, with ſeven Perſons, took to the Boat without ſo much as Water.

Nine Days theſe had been upon the Sea deſtitute of every Thing; in which Time the Commander and the four others died: The Surgeon and one Sailor were the two ſurviving Perſons thus reſcued from Deſtruction.

In the *Eaſt-Indies* the arch Pirate *Angria* reign'd triumphant. He commanded a conſiderable Fleet of Grabs and Galleots, and at leaſt two thouſand Men. One Ship of ours attack'd and beat them: The Ship was the King *George* Galley, in the Service of the *Eaſt-India* Company; the Captain's Name *Stoneham*.

The Pirate was going home with a rich *Portugueſe* Prize, when the *Engliſh* Veſſel came up.

The Engagement was very bloody, but *Angria* himſelf being wounded, his firſt Captain killed, and great many of his Men, he ſubmitted.

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CHAP. CII.

The Britiſh *Navy ſuffers by a Storm.*

THE Year 1735 opened unfavourably on our naval Strength. On the eighth of *January* a Storm began, about eleven in the Morning; which increas'd in Violence from Moment to Moment till three, and continued with this unabated Force to within a Quarter of ſix in the Evening. Its Fury was very terrible, and the Effect in a Manner univerſal throughout the Kingdom.

The Wind was at Weſt, and Weſt-South-Weſt all the Time; and beſide the Devaſtation in which the ſeven Hours Continuance of it made at Land, ſtripping Houſes of their Tiles, blowing down Chimnies and Steeples, and covering Parks with Trees torn up by the Roots; it covered the Coaſts with Wrecks of Merchant-veſſels, and Carcaſſes of their unhappy Crews; and at *Portſmouth* and *Plymouth* ſhatter'd ſeveral of our Ships of War, driving ſome on Shore, and others upon one another.

The Misfortune was not peculiar to ourſelves; our Allies ſuffered in a greater Degree. Of a hundred Ships at that Time in the *Texel*, only ſeventeen rode out the Storm; and the Deſtruction of Maſts and Rigging not only in thoſe which eſcaped, but of all ſuch as were ſubjected to it, was ſuch, that we might account ourſelves happy no immediate Service called either here or there for ſpeedy Reparation.

The Admiralty did not neglect the proper Meaſures for putting the Navy on its proper Footing, tho' no particular Service called for it. A great Number of additional Workmen were ſent into the Yards, the uſual Complement not being ſufficient to anſwer this unexpected Neceſſity. Two Firſt-Rates, and a Third, the *Royal Sovereign*, and the *London*, were ordered into Commiſſion with the *Northumberland*.

Very much to their Honour alſo, their Lordſhips ordered ſtrict Diſcipline on board; and public as well as private Offences were examin'd before Courts Martial. What was the Character of thoſe Courts at that Time, may be conceived from the Judgment paſs'd at one held on board the Princeſs *Caroline* this Year. Two Perſons were tried, the one for treaſonable Words, the other for a Robbery; and ſuch was the Impartiality of the Court, that he accus'd of Treaſon was acquitted, Drunkenneſs, and the Malice of his Proſecutors, being the principal Cauſe; and the petty Thief whip'd, diſhonour'd and diſcharg'd.

Theſe Orders of ſtrict Juſtice had, as all good Inſtitutions will, their bad Effects, with the better. The Sailors form'd unreaſonable Accuſations againſt their Officers: but it was ſoon check'd. Captain *Penkethman*, accus'd of the Murther of a Sailor, who died by an Accident, was acquitted with Honour; and ſuch Steps taken as prevented farther malicious Proſecutions.

CHAP.

CHAP. CIII.

An Expedition intended to the Mediterranean.

THE Parliament did not meet till late after the Holy-Days; and a Motion was made then in the Beginning of *February* for an Encreaſe of Seamen. The Number to be added was ten thouſand.

There were Wranglers in the Houſe then as there are now; and this Meaſure, ſo much to the Honour and Safety of the Kingdom, was oppos'd; becauſe no Notice of Danger to the Kingdom had come to them from the Throne. The Expediency of the Increaſe got the better of this ſlight Oppoſition, for which no more than idle Form was pretended. The Number was increas'd as propos'd; and a few Days after the *Britannia*, with twenty Sail of Men of War at *Portſmouth* and *Chatham*, were ordered to be ſheath'd, to go with all Expedition under Sir *John Norris*, in the *Mediterranean*.

The Statue of the King at *Greenwich* was this Year ſet up. The Expence was Sir *John Jennings*'s, then Governor; and the Work declares without a Name that *Ryſbrack* cut it.

The Affairs of *Europe* wore a troubleſome Face. The *French* were, according to the national Character, inſolent where they dar'd, and inſincere where they had no Hope but in Submiſſion.

The Affair of *Staniſlaus* had embroil'd a great Part of *Europe*; and when the Miniſtry of *France* had agreed to his abdicating the Crown, the People were ſo averſe, and grew ſo mutinous, that thoſe in Power were obliged to deny the Terms made public were authentic.

The Emperor mean time declared he had accepted the Terms of Accommodation merely in Compliance with the Deſire of the Maritime Powers; and it was expected if *France* refus'd, we ſhould act with Vigour. *Meſſina*, and *Trepani*, had now ſurrendered to the *Spaniards*, and *Don Carlos* was poſſeſſed nearly of that whole Kingdom.

Our *American* Affairs went on proſperouſly. The *Saltſburghers* were ſettled as firmly in *Georgia* as the firſt Colony of the *Engliſh*. The one had built *Savannah*, the other *Ebenezer*; and the People encouraging one another in Induſtry, had been able to load at this Time a Ship of Captain *Dunbar* with Pitch, Tar, and Pot-aſhes.

This laſt appeared to the Government an Article of great Importance; and there was a Proſpect of their furniſhing it in Abundance.

Our Iſland of *Jamaica* was in the latter End of the laſt and Beginning of this Year, thrown into the greateſt Terror, not by a foreign Enemy, but by the Negro Slaves.

They had for ſome Time formed Cabals, and looked threatningly, but it was now come to an open Declaration of War between them and their Maſters.

They had threatened every Kind of Miſchief, but the Government ſent in Troops from *Gibraltar*. This made all quiet: the Slaves retired to the Woods, and nothing was thought of, but the Means of bringing them back with leaſt Loſs to their Duty.

The Ships intended for the *Mediterranean* were now nearly in Readineſs, and Additions had from Time to Time been made to them, ſo that the Number, by the End of *March*, amounted to eight and forty.

Seamen were preſſed for the Service, and Sir *John Norris* had the Offer of many of the young Nobility, to go with him as Volunteers.

Sicily, which was ſuppoſed to be now in the Hands of Don *Carlos*, produced one troubleſome Genius: This was General *Roma*, Governor of *Syracuſa*, who not regarding the Conduct of the reſt of the People, declared his Reſolution of defending that Place to the laſt Extremity.

In *France*, the famous Bull *unigenitus*, made ſome Commotions. The Biſhop of *Papoul*, who had accepted that Bull, ſigned a publick Recantation, and gave up his Biſhoprick. Many honoured, who had not Spirit to follow him.

Toward the End of *April*, the King declared his Intention of going into *Germany*, and Sir *Charles Wager* was appointed to command a Squadron to convoy his Majeſty to *Holland*.

The *French* were all this Time preparing for offenſive Actions, and were in themſelves inſolent to our People on all Occaſions.

The Admiralty, in the Summer of this Year, received an Information from *Dunkirk*, of the inſolent and diſhoneſt Treatment of an *Engliſh* Commander of a Veſſel, Captain *Steward*.

He had Goods to deliver, and while he lay there, one of his Men was decoyed by Drink and Rewards into the *French* Service. Mr. *Stewart* applied to the Commandant, in Terms that became a *Briton*. He repreſented the Artifices uſed to decoy his Man; he reclaimed him; and added, that if refuſed, he muſt write to the Court of *England*.

The Sailor was detained in his Place, and the Captain laid in Irons.

The *French*, while they threw theſe Indignities upon us, laughed at us for bearing them.

This Impriſonment and Ignominy of Captain *Stewart*, was meant only as an Inſult on the Nation: It was the Spirit of the People at that Time; for they had forgot the old Succeſſes of the *Engliſh*, and were yet to be taught our People could repeat them.

The Captain who had been laid in Irons, at the Caprice of the Commandant, was releaſed with as little Ceremony.

The Officer who had done this, knew his Sovereign's Sentiments very well; and meant to ſhew at once, Inſolence and Neglect, to our Nation.

Our *South-Sea* Company were at this Time indebted and embroiled: they ſought how to ſell their Trade: the Embaſſador from *Spain* offered them an Equivalent; and they addreſſed the King, that ſome Perſons might be appointed to negotiate this Affair on their Behalf.

The King ſaw with Pleaſure, the Progreſs the new Colony in *Georgia* was making; and encouraged their Manufactures and Produce by publick Acts.

The Rice Bill was extended this Year to *Georgia*; and Encouragement was given the People there in the Pot-Aſh Manufacture, a Thing little underſtood in our Part of *Europe*, but of vaſt Importance.

By the latter End of *May*, the Squadron intended for the Command of Sir *John Norris* was fully ready, and on the Twenty-ſixth he ſailed for *Liſbon*, to protect the *Portugueze* againſt the *Spaniards*. His Squadron conſiſted of the following Ships, which had 12840 choſen Men on board, armed for Land or Sea Service.

Rates	Ships	Tons	Guns	Commanders
1	Britannia	1894	100	Sir J. Norris, *Adm.*
2	Princeſs Amelia	1570	90	Vi. Ad. Balchen
2	Namure	1576	90	Rr. Ad. Haddock
3	Princeſs Caroline	1350	80	Capt. Gerlington
3	Torbay	1296	80	Piercey
3	Norfolk	1350	80	Charton
3	Grafton	1133	70	Davers
3	Captain	1131	70	Gaddis
3	Berwick	1147	70	Clinton
3	Kent	1137	70	Davis
3	Royal Oak	1106	70	Solgard
3	Hampton Court	1137	70	Mighells
3	Buckingham	1150	70	Browne
3	Burford	1147	70	Vanbrugh
3	Orford	1098	70	Man
4	Dreadnought	931	60	Medley
4	York	987	60	Williams
4	Sunderland	951	60	Martin
4	Defiance	949	60	Trevor
4	Leopard	762	50	Warren
4	Swallow	711	50	Graves
4	Warwick	756	50	Brooke
4	Deptford	756	50	Cornwall
4	Pembroke	756	50	Hervey
4	Litchfield	756	50	Sir Y. Peyton
6	Greyhound	371	20	Ambroſe
	Pool Fire-ſhip			Wallis
	Griffin Fire-ſhip			Faulkner

The following Ships of War were to remain in the *Engliſh* Harbours under the Command of the Admirals, *Walton*, *Stewart*, and *Cavendiſh*.

	Guns.	Men.		Guns.	Men.
Blenheim	90	750	Sterling Caſtle	70	480
Newark	80	700	Montague	60	400
Lancaſter	80	600	Canterbury	60	400
Dorſetſhire	80	600	Plymouth	60	400
Somerſet	80	600	Centurion	60	400
Devonſhire	80	600	Exeter	60	400
Cornwall	80	600	Nottingham	60	400
Edinburgh	70	480	Tilbury	60	400
Monmouth	70	480	Windſor	60	400
Ipſwich	70	480	Rippon	60	400
Lenox	70	480	Preſton	50	300
Yarmouth	70	480	Portland	50	300
Northumb.	70	480			

And 13 others, *viz.*

The Torrington, Medway, Falkland, Shoreham, Kinſale, Blandford, Seaford, Gibraltar, Roebuck, Prince, Lyme, Lively, Portmahon, and Sloops.

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CHAP. CIV.

The Engliſh *Fleet arrives at* Liſbon.

ABOUT the Middle of this Year 1735 the Army of the Allies blockaded *Mantua*; and Count *Koningſeg* abandoned all *Italy* to them, removing the Imperial Army.

Auguſtus was in *June* acknowledged King of *Poland* by the Primate of that Kingdom; and the *French*, who were in ſome Confuſion on that Account, were thrown into much greater Terror by a Viſitation, as they underſtood it, from Heaven. A contagious Diſtemper broke out there in the Month of *June*, which carried off great Numbers.

They continued their Preparations however in the Midſt of this Deſtruction; and in *July* were very forward with a Squadron of thirty Men of War. It was ſuppoſed *England* muſt at Length take Part in a War which ſhe had hitherto carefully avoided.

The King was in *Hanover*: but all Meaſures for the Safety of the Dominions were taken with as much Vigilance and Vigour as if his Majeſty had in Perſon preſided at the Head of Affairs. The Garriſon of *Gibraltar* was reinforc'd, and more Ships were put into Commiſſion.

Sir *John Norris* in *June* arrived with his Squadron at *Liſbon*; and another Squadron of Force was at this Time ordered out under the Command of Admiral *Stewart*. This was to join Sir *John Norris*; and *France* ſaw her naval Armament make a poor Figure in the Compariſon.

The *Ruſſians* this Year ſent large Succours to the Emperor. *France* on the other Hand entered into a Subſidy with *Sweden*. Four hundred thouſand Crowns was the Price; and the Number to be furniſhed ſixteen thouſand Men.

The Importance of the Fleet under Sir *John Norris* now appear'd very plainly; and this Armament gave one of thoſe great Inſtances how much may be done by a proper Force, even tho' it ſhould not ſtrike a Blow.

The King of *Spain*, who had behaved with Inſincerity, and a cover'd Inſolence, grew uneaſy at this Incident. He requeſted the States General to intercede with his *Britannic* Majeſty, that it might be recalled from *Liſbon*, and the States promiſed they would uſe their Intereſt.

The Blockade of *Mantua* was now propoſed to be converted to a Siege; and the Strength of the Place appeared to all *Europe* by the unprecedented Preparations made for attacking it.

Artillery was collected from *Legborn*, *Parma*, *Naples*, and *Sicily* for this Purpoſe, and Men were ſent to reinforce the Army from all Quarters.

The *Spaniards* while in Terror at our Fleets in *Europe*, behaved with their accuſtomed Inſolence and Cruelty in *America*, whenever they had Power.

An *Engliſh* Sloop commanded by Captain *Turpin* fell in the Way of one of their Ships of great Force, bound to *Puerto Rico*, who boarded the *Engliſh*, wounded the Commander and ſeveral of his Men after they had ſubmitted; and faſtened them down in the Hold.

It was not againſt the *Engliſh* alone, the *Spaniards* in theſe Seas executed their unjuſt and inhuman Purpoſes: their Ships diſhonoured the Commiſſions of their King by Piracy; and every Thing that was weaker than themſelves, fell into their Hands.

The Captain of this very Ship, had half a Year before, behaved as ill to the Commander of a *French* Veſſel, and he was now called to a juſt Account. He was obliged by Want of Water and Proviſions, to put into a Port in *Hiſpaniola*, inhabited by the *French*.

Here was at that Time, the Captain of the *French* Ship he had ſeized: he knew him, accuſed him publickly; and releaſing Captain *Turpin* and his Men, they joined in Charge of Piracy againſt the *Spaniard*, who in vain offered a vaſt Sum to make up the Matter.

CHAP. CV.

The Operations againſt Mantua *continued.*

WE have obſerved that the Strength of this Place appeared very evidently in the Preparations made for the Siege: and the Beſiegers ſoon found they had more than its Srength to combat: the Cunning of the People.

They ſaw the Preparations, and knew what muſt be the Conſequences. They tampered with the Train; and at length found a Man for their Purpoſe, who for a conſiderable Reward undertook to deſtroy the moſt important Part of the Preparation.

His Office gave him an Opportunity without Suſpicion, to examine the State of the Cannon and Mortars. He prepared a ſufficient Number of Spikes and Nails, and going out one Evening with his Apron full of theſe, and a Hammer all of Iron, he began the Work of nailing and ſpiking them up.

One Blow did the Buſineſs of each: his was an experienced Hand, and there was very little Noiſe. He had done a vaſt deal of Miſchief, before the Centinels diſcovered what he was about: but ſeizing him with the Tools and Implements upon him, they took him to the head Quarters.

The Wretch when he ſaw he could not eſcape, attempted to deſtroy himſelf, by thruſting one of the Spikes into his Breaſt, but he was prevented.

Next Day every Thing appeared: the Stipulation of the Service, and the Reward. His Wife and Daughters were found privy to the Treachery; and at length confeſſed it.

The Commander ordered him to be quartered alive in Sight of the Troops; but he puniſhed the Wife and Daughter no farther, than by compelling them to be preſent at the Execution.

The *Dutch* according to their Promiſe to the King of *Spain*, ſollicited the Departure of the *Engliſh* Fleet from *Liſbon*, but they did this ſo coldly, that it was plain, they only ſpoke, becauſe they had promiſed; and the *Engliſh* gave ſuch Anſwers, as ſuited ſuch Sollicitation; very civil, but frivolous.

The Fleet continued there; the King of *Portugal* viſited Sir *John Norris* on board, and honoured him with many Preſents.

The *Engliſh* Admiral entertained his Majeſty, as became the Dignity of his Command, and of the King he ſerved; and on one of his Viſits entertained him with a general Exerciſe of his Men, as when in an Engagement.

The King expreſſed his Aſtoniſhment, in very ſtrong and very ſenſible Terms: he ſaid, none who ſaw this, would wonder the *Engliſh* were Sovereigns of the Sea.

The *Spaniards* ſaw they were amuſed, by the pretended Interceſſion of their good Friends the *Dutch*, and began to think of acting for themſelves.

They ſtopped the Freedom of the Port of *Legborn*, by refuſing a Bill of Clearing to an *Engliſh* Ship freighted with Gunpowder for *Liſbon*. They could not have taken a more rational Occaſion; or one that more ſhewed their Fears.

The new Colony of *Georgia* did Honour to the Founders, to the great Conductor, Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and to the Encouragements the Government had given it.

On the Fourteenth of *Auguſt* 1735, the Truſtees of that Infant Colony, waited on her Majeſty, with Sir *Thomas Lombe*, Proprietor of the Silk-Mills at *Derby*. They produced to the great Satisfaction of her Majeſty, a Quantity of *Georgia* Silk.

Every Eye could perceive that it was extremely fine; but the Truſtees had put it to the ſtricteſt Tryal, under the Hands of this Gentleman; who declared, that it had all the Qualities and Properties of the fineſt Silk; that it had gone through all the Operations of his Organzine Silk-Mills at that Place, and had proved exceeding good by its own Fabrick; and by the Teſtimony of all his Workmen.

The Queen expreſſed great Satisfaction at the Account; and honoured the Truſtees and Sir *Thomas* with many Teſtimonies of her Regard. The Silk was ordered to be wove for her Majeſty's wearing.

Thus promiſing was the Face of Affairs in the new Colony. The firſt Foundation of its Succeſs, was laid by the good Conduct of Mr. *Oglethorpe*; and now the Attention of the Truſtees; and the royal Encouragement promiſed it all Proſperity.

On the Twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, Captain *Thompſon*, in the Ship *Two Brothers*, arrived thence; and brought with them the Copy of a ſolemn Speech made a few Months before at *Savanna*, by the King and Chiefs of the *Cherokee* Indians.

Tomo Cachi and the reſt, whom Mr. *Oglethorpe* had brought to *England*, had been ſent back with Preſents. They had been now ſome Time in their own Dominions; and to their Repreſentations of the Grandeur of the *Britiſh* Court, and Power and Riches of the Nation, was owing this Viſit.

The Kings and Chiefs came to *Savanna*, attended by *Tomo Cachi*: they were introduced in great Form, with Interpreters, to the principal People.

The Speech contained their great Reſpect for the *Britiſh* Nation; their Deſire of living in Friendſhip with them; and their high Senſe of the Happineſs of General *Oglethorpe*'s coming.

The Speech was interpreted in their Preſence; and ordered to be written in red and black upon the Skin of a young Buffalo.

This was brought to *England*, and directed to be hung up framed in the Office.

Storms had continued at ſhort Intervals, and been very deſtructive throughout the Kingdom: ſome partial; others of more Extent; ſome univerſal.

One, on *Sunday* the Twenty ſeventh of *Auguſt*, was very deſtructive in *Kent* and the neighbouring Counties. Several Ships were deſtroyed in *Sandwich* Bay, and other Ports; and the Coaſt again covered with the miſerable Spectacle of Wrecks and Carcaſſes.

In *Jamaica* Matters grew ſoon into Confuſion. The Arrival of the Troops from *Gibraltar* had awed the rebel Negroes for ſome Time; but their Numbers being known, the Fear went over.

The Governor miſs'd the great Opportunity. On the firſt Sight of theſe Troops the rebel Slaves had quitted their Poſts, and retir'd into the Woods. Had he then offered any Terms, their Fright would have induc'd them to accept them; but this was omitted.

An Offer of Pardon was afterwards ſent to them, if they would return peaceably to their Maſters; but this, which they would at that Time have rejoic'd in, they now refus'd. They threaten'd the Plantations; deſpis'd the Forces ſent to quell them; and ſoon after ſurpriz'd a Detachment of Captain *Pope*'s Company, moſt of whom they cut to Pieces: After this Succeſs they burnt the Barracks, and plundered the neighbouring Plantations.

CHAP. CVI.

The Affairs of Georgia *proſper.*

THE Reception of the *Georgia* Silk, and its prov'd good Properties, encourag'd the new Colony to continue their Aſſiduity in bringing it to more Plenty and Perfection; and the ſame Induſtry and Attention promis'd Succeſs in all their other Articles of Commerce.

General *Oglethorpe* had put them in the Way of every Trial that could ſerve them: Their Fields were ſown with various Grain; and Vineyards planted under his Inſpection now began to yield their Produce excellent and abundant. The Protection of the Colony grew more an Object of public Concern, as its Value grew higher; and a very wiſe Meaſure was now taken to that Purpoſe. A Number of Highlanders were propos'd to be ſettled handſomely on the Boundaries of the Province; and the People receiv'd the Propoſal with Joy, and promis'd in every Thing to favour and aſſiſt them.

Theſe hardy People were rightly conſidered as the beſt Barrier to a proſperous and grateful Settlement; in a Country of Savages; who tho' at preſent friendly, were ſtill Savages.

In *Europe* Things yet wore the Face of War: The Allies had enter'd the State of *Venice* with ſixty thouſand Men; and ſeized a hundred Barks loaded with Proviſions for *Mantua*: Twelve thouſand Sacks of Flour, and three thouſand Loads of Hay, which the Enemy had purchas'd there, and laid up for their Winter Stores, fell alſo into their Hands.

A Meſſage was ſent in *Auguſt*, declaring to the People of *Mantua* the Beſiegers determin'd Purpoſe; and offering the Ladies Liberty to retire to whatever Place they ſhould chuſe. This Piece of Politeneſs had its Effect; and due Time allowed, the Place was ſhut up on all Sides.

The Garriſon of *Mirandola* capitulated in the Be-

Beginning of *September*, and obtained honourable Terms.

Hungary felt inteſtine Troubles equal to the worſt of thoſe abroad. The Country was threaten'd with a dreadful Scene of Blood in Favour of the Prince *Ragotſki*; and this Autumn *Buda* was ſtained with a moſt horrible Execution of that Prince's Partizans. More than a hundred ſuffered on one Scaffold; and their Leader was firſt torn to Pieces by wild Horſes.

The Garriſon of *Mantua* behaved all this Time with great Spirit and good Conduct.

The Succeſs of General *Oglethorpe*'s Inſtitutions of the ſeveral Works at *Georgia*, gave him a high Character; and every one who wiſh'd well to the Colony was deſirous of his inſuring the Succeſs of it by once more going thither. The General conſented: Three Clergymen went over with him; and it was in Earneſt propos'd to preach the Goſpel among the *Indians*. On *Tueſday* the fourteenth of *October* the General embarked at *Graveſend*, and after a ſucceſsful Voyage, arrived in Health; to the great Joy of the Inhabitants.

This Year the hereditary Prince of *Modena* arriv'd in *England*, to ſollicit the good Offices of our Government with the allied Powers, for the Reſtitution of his Father's Revenues, which they had ſequeſter'd for his Attachment to the Emperor. This Prince was receiv'd in a Manner that did Honour to the *Engliſh* Nation.

On the Twenty-fifth the King return'd from his *German* Dominions; and at Change Time the Day following, paſs'd thro' the City to *Kenſington*, amidſt the ſincere Acclamations of his People. Perhaps it is no more than Juſtice to ſay, no King of *England* at any Period had ever the Love of his People ſo perfect as his preſent Majeſty: certain that none ever ſo much deſerv'd it.

Negociations were at this Time carry'd on between the Emperor and *France* with great Aſſiduity and great Secrecy.

Mr. *Chauvelin*, Keeper of the Seals, a Creature of the Cardinal *Fleury*'s, had, by his Devotion to the Queen of *Spain*, fruſtrated the good Offices of the Maritime Powers for the laſt eighteen Months. The Cardinal was himſelf enclin'd to Pacification: he was offended to be croſs'd in this by the Intrigues of *Chauvelin*; and he ſet on Foot at this Time a Negociation in which that Miniſter had no Share. This was the Secret, this the Cauſe of Secrecy: The Prince of *Modena* was now ſolliciting the good Offices our State had promis'd, and he found the *Engliſh* a very different Interceſſion from one we have lately nam'd of the *Dutch*.

On the Twentieth of *November* the King inform'd him the Sequeſtration of that Dutchy was taken off; and on the Nineteenth he ſet out on his Return, full of a juſt Senſe of the Integrity, as well as Benevolence and Politeneſs of the *Engliſh* Nation.

CHAP. CVII.

Peace reſtor'd to Europe.

IT has at all Times, ſince the *Britiſh* Sovereignty was brought to its true Height of Glory, been the Character and Privilege of our Nation to call themſelves the Arbiters of *Europe*.

The King had in the Year 1735 his own People in ſome Degree to ſtruggle with, while he was preparing to give Peace to others. The additional Number of Seamen was diſputed in the Houſe of Commons, becauſe the King had not declar'd the Reaſons for raiſing them: but they now bluſh'd who ſo few Months before had taken ſo much Pains to thwart thoſe Preparations, on which the Peace of *Europe* and the Glory of our Kingdom, which was to give it, ſo immediately depended.

The Emperor and the King of *France* had agreed to the Preliminaries of a Peace during the laſt Months of the preceding Year, to which, in the Beginning of this, the Kings of *Spain* and *Sardinia* acceded.

Peace was thus reſtor'd, and the Glory of it given entirely to *Great-Britain*. All *Europe* reſounded with the Praiſe of the King, who by his Wiſdom, Firmneſs, and Moderation, kept the Balance in his Hand; and tho' from the Violence of the Shock, the Scale at firſt ſeem'd wholly borne on one Side, yet by his Steadineſs, ſoon return'd to its *Equilibrium*, and remain'd pois'd in a Manner, promiſing univerſal Happineſs. — *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and the *Empire*, exhauſted of People, drain'd of their Treaſures, confeſs'd his Majeſty's ſuperior Conduct; nor was the Honour of *Britain* leſs on this Occaſion, in reſtoring a general Peace, than on any in the Annals of *Europe*. The Remembrance of this glorious Criſis muſt give inexpreſſible Pleaſure to every generous *Engliſhman*.

As we have the Satisfaction to enter on this Year's Chronicle with ſo agreeable an Earneſt of Peace, we ſhall here add an Extract of the Preliminary Articles.

I.

" That *France* reſtore to the *Empire*, all the
" Places taken from it during the War.

II.

" That the *Emperor* keep the *Mantuan*, *Parma*,
" and *Placentia*, and the *Milaneſe*. The King of
" *Sardinia* to have *Vigevanaſco*, *Novaro*, and its
" Dependencies.

III.

“ That the Dutchy of *Tuſcany*, after the Deceaſe of the preſent Duke, be given to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and *Lorrain* annex'd to the Monarchy of *France*; but without any Vote in the Empire.

IV.

“ That King *Staniſlaus* be acknowledg'd King of *Poland* by all *Europe*, and enjoy all the Honours of a crown'd Head; after which, to reſign that Kingdom to King *Auguſtus*, who ſhall reſtore to him all the Eſtates in *Poland*, which belong'd to him or his Queen.

V.

“ That King *Staniſlaus* have, by Way of Equivalent for *Poland*, the immediate Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Barr*; and of *Lorrain*, after the Duke of *Tuſcany*'s Death.

VI.

“ *Don Carlos* to be acknowledg'd King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and to have the *del Preſidii*, with the Iſle of *Elbe*; but *Legborn* to be declar'd a free Port.

VII.

“ That *France* guaranty the *Pragmatic Sanction*.

VIII.

“ That *Spain* and *Sardinia* be invited to accede to the Treaty; *England*, *Holland*, *Portugal* and *Venice*, to guaranty it.”

A Medal *was ſtruck at* Hanover, *on Occaſion of this Peace.*

On one Side is the Buſt of the *Emperor* with this Inſcription, *Pacator orbis Chriſtiani: The Peace-maker of the Chriſtian World*. On the Reverſe, a Rainbow extending over the Cities of *Paris* and *Vienna*; at ſome Diſtance the Goddeſs of Peace, with an Olive Branch in her Right Hand, and an Anchor in her Left, and theſe Words, *Nova Fœdera ſpondet: She promiſes new Alliances*. And upon the Coupure, *Armiſtitio in Cæſarem & Regem Galliarum promulgato* M. *Octobris* 1735. An Armiſtice being publiſh'd between the Emperor and the King of *France* in the Month of *October* 1735.

The *Dutch* appointed a public Thankſgiving for the happy Turn of Affairs to Peace.

The Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* began now to be publickly ſpoken of, and by all Perſons with the higheſt Satisfaction. The Princeſs *Auguſta*, Siſter to the Duke of *Saxe-Gotha*, was the Perſon; and her Royal Highneſs's great Character, ſince well ſupported by her Virtues and her Conduct here, gave the higheſt Satisfaction to the *Britiſh* People in the Thought of this Alliance. The Lord *Delawar* was appointed Embaſſador to the Duke of *Saxe-Gotha* for this Purpoſe; and on the Fifth of *March* receiv'd his honourable Commiſſion.

While *England* was happy in herſelf, *Europe* rejoic'd in the Peace ſhe had given; every thing tending to its perfect Eſtabliſhment.

The *Turks*, who had been often troubleſome on the Frontiers, were engag'd in a deſtructive War with the *Perſians*: *Kouli Kan* had defeated their Army, and taken *Erzerum*: and inteſtine Troubles took up the Attention of that People. The tumultuous Populace joining with the Janizaries, had depos'd the Sultan then reigning, and reſtor'd the laſt. The Sovereign fell unpity'd, for he drew on his Ruin by protecting a bad Miniſter againſt an incens'd People. All ſaw it was to the Grand Viſir's bad Conduct, not to the *Perſian* Courage, *Kouli* ow'd his Victory. They addreſs'd their Sovereign to remove him; and he call'd their loyal Wiſhes Mutiny. He order'd more than a hundred of them to be put to the moſt cruel Death, and the reſt join'd the Janizaries to his Depoſition.

Achmet, who ow'd his Reſtoration to this Incident, promis'd to regard his People's Voice; and he kept his Word. This and the *Perſian* Succeſſes kept them quiet, and *Europe* ſaw herſelf reſtor'd to perfect Tranquility, the Balance of Power judiciouſly preſerv'd, and *George the Second* the Cauſe. Every thing ſucceeded to his Wiſhes, according to the wiſe and upright Plan he had laid.

On the Duke of *Lorrain*'s ſigning the Act of Renunciation, *France* expreſs'd her perfect Satiſfaction, and drew her Forces from the *Rhine*. *Spain* ſatiſfied with the Emperor's acknowledging *Don Carlos* King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, drew her Troops from *Mirandola* and *Tuſcany*. *Staniſlaus* return'd to *France* in *April*, with his faithful and brave General *Steinflicht*.

The *Poliſh* Nobles who had eſpouſed that Party, were reſtored to their Rights; and their Honour being deeply concerned on account of the Debts they had contracted at *Koningſburgh*, the *Czarina*, to facilitate their Submiſſion to *Auguſtus*, promiſed to aſſiſt in diſcharging them.

CHAP. CVIII.

The Marriage of the Prince of Wales.

SIX large Ships ſet out from *England* at the Time when General *Oglethorpe* ſailed for *Georgia*; and they arrived on the fifth of *March* without the Loſs of a ſingle Man.

The Joy of the Colony at ſuch a Reinforcement as now came, was great, but it was loſt in the much higher Tranſport of ſeeing their great Conductor. The Remembrance of his former Conduct gave them the higheſt Reverence for him; and they were rejoiced to ſee him now tread the ſame Steps.

The Town of *Savannah* was built according to his Plan: he had the Satisfaction to ſee the Houſes more than two hundred in Number; and theſe ſo good as to be worth from ten to five and thirty Pounds a Year Rent, and the Colony ſo flouriſhing, that there were People enough able to pay it.

In the adjacent Settlements alſo were ſeveral regular little Towns, and all proſperous.

Three Days after the Arrival of theſe Ships, General *Oglethorpe* went a Journey of eighty Miles up the Country, and ſettled the Place of a new Town; near which, upon the River *Altamaba*, there was order'd to be built a Fort with four Baſtions, to defend the In-Country. The People were extremely pleas'd with the Choice of the Place: they found it wholeſome and agreeable: and Fiſh, and Fruits, and Veniſon were abundant all about them.

In *England* all was at this Time Joy and Exultation. The People had expreſs'd their higheſt Satisfaction at the intended Nuptials of the P. of *Wales*, and in the Month of *April* they were celebrated. On *Sunday* the 20th, the Princeſs of *Saxe-Gotha*, arriv'd at *Greenwich*. Her Highneſs, attended by the Lord *Delawar*, and ſeveral Ladies of her Brother's Court, and her own Retinue, ſet out from *Gotha* the 17th, and lay that Night at *Caſſel*, the next at *Paderborn*, on *Tueſday* at *Munſter*; ſhe reach'd *Utrecht* on *Thurſday*, was conducted in one of the States Yachts to the *Hague* on *Friday*, where ſhe receiv'd the Complements of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, by one of their chief Officers, as alſo of the Grand Penſionary. On *Saturday* Morning about Ten ſhe reach'd *Helvoetſluys*, and without any Stay embark'd on board the *William* and *Mary* Yacht, when a freſh Gale blew up, and laſted as long as the Occaſion. The 20th, about Two, her Highneſs landed at the Hoſpital, and was conducted in one of his Majeſty's Coaches, to the Queen's Houſe in the Park, amidſt the Acclamations of Thouſands of Spectators. Her Highneſs ſeem'd highly delighted with the Joy the People expreſs'd at her Arrival, and had the Condeſcention to ſhew herſelf for above half an Hour from the Gallery towards the Park. The Prince of *Wales* went thither to pay her a Viſit, and their Majeſties, the Duke, and Princeſſes ſent their Compliments.

The Prince of *Wales* din'd with her Highneſs at *Greenwich*, in one of the Rooms towards the Park: the Windows being thrown open, to oblige the Curioſity of the People. His Royal Highneſs afterwards gave her the Diverſion of paſſing on the Water, as far as the Tower and back again, in his Barge finely adorn'd, and preceded by a Concert of Muſic.

The Ships ſaluted them all the Way they paſs'd, and hung out their Streamers and Colours; and the River was cover'd with Boats.

Her Highneſs came in his Majeſty's Coach from *Greenwich* to *Lambeth*, croſs'd the Water at *Lambeth*, and was brought from *Whitehall* to *St. James's* in the Queen's Chair, where was a numerous and ſplendid Court.

The Prince of *Wales* receiv'd her at the Garden Door, and upon her ſinking on her Knee to kiſs his Hand, he affectionately rais'd her up, and twice ſaluted her. His Royal Highneſs led her up Stairs to their Majeſties Apartments, where preſenting her to the King, ſhe fell on her Knee to kiſs his Hand, but was gently taken up and ſaluted by him. Her Highneſs was then preſented to the Queen in like Manner, and afterwards to the Duke and Princeſſes, who congratulated her Arrival; and dined with the Prince of *Wales*, and the Princeſſes.

At eight the Proceſſion began to the Chapel, and the joining of Hands was proclaim'd to the People by firing of Guns. Her Highneſs was in her Hair, wearing a Crown with one Bar, as Princeſs of *Wales*, ſet all over with Diamonds; her Robe likewiſe, as Princeſs of *Wales*, being of Crimſon Velvet turn'd back with ſeveral Rows of Ermine, and having her Train ſupported by Lady *Caroline Lenos*, Daughter to his Grace the Duke of *Richmond*; Lady *Caroline Fitzroy*, Daughter to his Grace the Duke of *Grafton*; Lady *Caroline Cavendiſh*, Daughter to his Grace the Duke of *Devonſhire*; and Lady *Sophia Farmer*, Daughter to the Earl of *Pomfret*, all of whom were in Virgin Habits of Silver like the Princeſs, and adorn'd with Diamonds, not leſs in Value than from 20 to 30000l. each.

Her Highneſs was led by the Duke, and conducted by his Grace the Duke of *Grafton*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold; and the Lord *Hervey*, Vice-Chamberlain; and attended by the Counteſs of *Effingham*, and the other Ladies of her Houſhold. The Marriage Service was read by the Lord Biſhop of *London*, Dean of the Chapel; and after it was over, an Anthem was performed by a great Number of Voices and Inſtruments.

When the Proceſſion return'd, his Royal Highneſs led his Bride; and coming into the Drawing-Room, their Royal Highneſſes kneel'd down, and receiv'd their Majeſties Bleſſing. At half an Hour after Ten, their Majeſties ſat down to Supper; the Prince and Duke being on the King's Right Hand, and the Princeſs of *Wales* and the four Princeſſes on the Queen's Left. Their Majeſties retiring to the Apartments of the Prince of *Wales*, the Bride was conducted to her Bed-Chamber, and the Bridegroom to his Dreſſing-Room, where the Duke undreſs'd him; and his Majeſty did his Royal Highneſs the Honour to put on his Shirt. The Bride was undreſs'd by the Princeſſes; and being in Bed in a rich Undreſs, his Majeſty came into the Room, and the Prince follow'd ſoon after in a Night-Gown of Silver Stuff, and Cap of the fineſt Lace. The Court were admitted to ſee the Bride and Bridegroom ſitting up in the Bed, ſurrounded by all the Royal Family.

That our Poſterity may know what might have been expected from this great and excellent Prince, had it pleas'd Heaven to give him a longer Life, we ſhall relate one Incident which happened about this Time; one Speech of that truly excellent Prince will continue his Name to all Poſterity; and Men ſhall acknowledge, no Words could praiſe him like his own.

The People we call Quakers, to whom Tythes to the Church have always been an intolerable Grievance, were now labouring to ſhake off the Yoke. They ſeiz'd on this Opportunity to apply to the Prince of *Wales*; and they deputed for the Purpoſe *Andrew Pit*, a Man whoſe Conduct vindicated their Choice.

On *Sunday* this Perſon waited on the Prince of *Wales*, to ſollicit his Favour in Relation to the Tythe-Bill, whom his Royal Highneſs anſwer'd to this Effect:

“As I am a Friend to Liberty in general, and to Toleration in particular, I wiſh you may meet with all proper Favour; but for myſelf I never gave my Vote in Parliament; and to influence my Friends, or direct my Servants in theirs, does not become my Station. To leave them entirely to their own Conſcience and Underſtanding, is a Rule I have hitherto preſcrib'd to myſelf, and purpoſe throughout my whole Life to obſerve.”

Mr. *Pitt*, overcome with this Conduct, reply'd, —May it pleaſe the Prince of *Wales!* — “I am greatly affected with your excellent Sentiments of Liberty; and am more pleaſed with the Anſwer you have given us, than if you had granted our Requeſt.”

CHAP. CIX.

The Affairs of Europe *at this Period.*

THE Sultan *Achmet*, whoſe Reign before his Depoſition had been very unpleaſing to his Subjects, had ſo well profited by the Leſſon of Mortification, that now he behav'd with Wiſdom and Juſtice: his People reverenc'd him; and quiet at Home, gave him Opportunity of doing more than ſimply reſiſting the *Perſians*.

He threaten'd the *Czarina*; and the Emperor order'd to her Aſſiſtance an Army of Forty Thouſand Men in *Hungary*; with Artillery and all Kinds of Stores. This was the more to his Honour, as the Affair of *Parma* and *Placentia* was not yet abſolutely ſettled between him and the *Spaniards*, and the Evacuation ſuſpended.

Spain became now embroil'd with *Rome*. The Populace inſulted her's and the *Neapolitan* Miniſters; and this was reſented by an Army with a regular Train, who plunder'd many Villages, and advanc'd almoſt to the Gates of *Rome*.

This Year was founded in *England* the Society for the Encouragement of Learning. The Patrons and Conductors of it were the Duke of *Richmond*, Preſident; and *Brian Fairfax*, Eſq; Vice-Preſident; Sir *Hugh Smithſon* and Sir *Thomas Robinſon*, Barts. were the Truſtees for the Year; and the Committee of Managers were,

Earl of *Hertford*,
Earl of *Abercorn*,
Earl of *Oxford*,
Earl *Stanhope*,
Lord *Percival*,
Sir *Brownlow Sherard*, Bt.
The Hon. *Wm. Talbot*,
Dr. *Richard Mead*,
Dr. *Alexander Stuart*,
Dr. *Robert Barker*,
Dr. *Addiſon Hutton*,
The Rev. Mr. *Thomas Birch*,
Charles Frederic,
James Weſt,
Major *Edwards*,
Benjamin Martyn,
George Lewis Scott,
Paul Whitehead, Eſqrs;
Mr. *John Ward*, Profeſſor at *Gr. Coll.*
James Thompſon, Eſq;
Samuel Strutt, Eſq;
Dan. Mackercher, Eſq;
George Sale, Eſq;
The Rev. *Mr. George Watts*.

What might one not expect from ſuch a Title, and from ſuch Names in the Management! but the Expectation was all. — One and twenty Years are paſs'd ſince the Inſtitution of the Society; and in all that Time it has been dwindling into Decay. It ſerv'd the Purpoſe for which it had been really eſtabliſh'd; that is, it gave a Place to the Contriver of it, who became the Secretary.

If it be enquir'd what Books they publiſh'd, the Anſwer will be compris'd, to ſay no worſe, in a very few Articles. If it be farther aſk'd what the Authors gain'd by it; abſolutely nothing.

Bookſellers are in *England* the only Encouragers of Learning. There was more Service done the Publick by thoſe who ventur'd their private Fortune in purchaſing the Manuſcripts on which this Publication is founded, and forming them into a connected Work, than in all the Societies that were ever eſtabliſh'd in the Kingdom.

Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds was this Year raiſed, by Three *per Cent* Annuities.

On the Twentieth of *May* the *Ruſſians* took the Lines of *Perecop* and entered into *Crim Tartary*. This was one of the greateſt martial Events of the Time.

They were five *Engliſh* Miles long, being an earthen Wall, fortified with ſtone Towers, reaching from the *Palus Mæotis* to the *Black Sea*; before there was a very deep dry Ditch, Twenty five Fathoms broad: the *Ruſſian* Soldiers had not ſcaling Ladders, but fixed their Pikes to their *Chevaux de Friſe*.

The Action was ſo extraordinary, that the *Turkiſh Aga*, who was made Priſoner, being preſent at a Review of the *Ruſſian* Troops, ſaid, *I don't ſee their Wings, without which, I cannot imagine how they could mount ſo ſteep a Rampart.*

Upon this Succeſs, Count *Munich* advanced into the *Crimea*, the *Tartars* flying; and at his Approach, the Garriſon of *Koſlow* embarked on thirty Tranſports for *Conſtantinople*, diſtant about four Stuffs Days ſail.

He found therein twenty Pieces of Cannon, Balls a vaſt Quantity; and Gold, Pearl, and rich in Abundance.

About the ſame Time the *Ruſſian Calmucs* forced the Entrenchments of the *Tartars* at *Cuban*, and put all the Men to the Sword, carrying the Women and Children into Slavery, to the Number of Twenty Thouſand.

General *Leontiew* took alſo the Fortreſs of *Kinbourn* on the *Niepier*, oppoſite to *Oczakow*, where he found Twenty Pieces of Braſs Cannon, Thirty Thouſand Sheep, and three Thouſand Horſes.

To cloſe all, *Aſoph* ſurrendered the firſt Inſtant, to Veldt Marſhal *Laſci*; the *Turkiſh* Baſhaw, who defended it, with all his Garriſon, being made Priſoners of War.

Theſe Loſſes greatly alarmed the *Turks*: War was declared at *Conſtantinople* with a vaſt deal of Ceremony; and the Mufti gave the People, who began to be mutinous, all the Aſſurance of Succeſs imaginable. It was thought fit, that the depoſed Sultan, who was in Priſon, ſhould die of an Apoplexy, and ſoon after his Son. The Malecontents would have it, they were poiſoned.

The *Turkiſh* Army under the Grand Vizir, marching againſt the *Ruſſians*, conſiſted of a hundred Thouſand Men. On the other Hand, the Court of *France*, who would not have the *Turks* too much weakened, labour'd with all her Might, to reſtore Peace between thoſe two Powers. Perhaps, 'twas from thence reported, that the Great *Mogul* was ſending a numerous Army to aſſiſt the *Turks* againſt the *Perſians*.

The Convention between the Emperor and *France* having been ratified, Preparations were begun for the Ceſſion of *Lorrain* to King *Staniſlaus*; and for his Journey to *Nancy*: the Dutcheſs Dowager, requeſted to continue at *Luneville*, being unwilling to leave her People; who made a very moving Remonſtrance to the Duke of *Lorrain* againſt his reſigning them up to the *French* Government.

The Pope's Affairs ſeemed more diſtreſſed than ever: The Kings of *Spain* and *Naples* had not only rejected the Satisfaction offered them, but the former ordered the Datary or Publick Office, where all Preferments in *Spain* were filled up by the Pope, to be removed to *Madrid*, reſolving to diſpoſe of them himſelf for the future.

The *Spaniſh* Clergy at *Rome* were alſo recalled, and all Perſons who were *Spaniards*, or even deſcended from them to the third Generation.

The Diet of Pacification in *Poland*, to the inexpreſſible Joy of the People, after many Difficuties, now came to a happy Iſſue. Their Reſolutions were drawn up in the King's Preſence, who did not leave the Throne, till the Whole was finiſhed. They were theſe:

That the Amneſty ſhall not be general, but extend only to the Soldiers, who could produce their Officers Orders for what they had done; others to be liable to the Law.

That all Confederacies made during the late Troubles, ſhould be void.

Commiſſioners to be appointed to ſettle the Augmentation of the Crown Army.

That two Hundred Thouſand Florins *per Ann.* ſhould be granted to the Queen, and two Thouſand Ducats for Pin Money.

That the *Saxon* Troops ſhould leave *Poland* in forty Days.

That if the Duke of *Courland* left no Iſſue Male, the States of that Dutchy ſhould chuſe a Succeſſor.

That for the future, the Marſhal of the Chamber of Deputies ſhould be choſe at the Opening the Diet.

That they would immediately conſider of Ways and Means for eſtabliſhing the ſtricteſt Intelligence with the Emperor, the Court of *Ruſſia*, and the *Ottoman* Port.

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CHAP. CX.

The Pirates re-aſſemble in the Eaſt-Indies.

THE Affairs of the *Eaſt Indies* did not wear ſo favourable an Aſpect as was expected, after the Succeſs we have mentioned of one of our Ships, againſt the Pirates of that Part of the World. The Country favoured theſe Robbers, by affording them numerous hiding Places; and the Booties they made were ſo conſiderable, that a Loſs of Men was ſoon recovered.

This Year, 1736, Captain *Derby*, in the *Anſelme*, fell a Sacrifice to them, after a moſt brave and honourable Reſiſtance.

The Pirates had by this Time got together a

Number of their People, and a new Chief, of the everlaſting Name of *Angria*, and knowing the Coaſt very well, they lay in wait for this great Prize.

The *Anſelme* had thirty Guns; and carried about a hundred Hands, with a conſiderable Number of Paſſengers: The Deſtination was to *Telbecherry*, and they failed from *Bombay* with a very conſiderable Quantity of Silver.

The Pirates to the Number of eight Hundred, in a great Quantity of Grabs and Row-Boats, waited their Opportunity, and attacked the Ship in a Calm.

Their Number terrified the People; but Captain *Derby* by his Exhortations and Example, ſoon gave them Spirit. He reminded them of the late Succeſs againſt theſe Robbers; and taking up a Muſket, fired at *Angria* as he came up in a ſmall Boat to board them.

He fell: but it appeared afterwards he was not killed. The Men were encouraged, as much as the Pirates were confounded, by this firſt Stroke; and they plyed their Guns with a becoming Spirit and Alacrity.

The Pirates loſt a great Number: but they ſeem'd more deſperate, the more they were repulſed. They made ſeveral Attempts to board the *Anſelme*, but were driven off with Loſs.

Captain *Derby* fought out all his Powder; and in this Condition, with his Men reduced to little more than half his Number, he was again boarded with more Fury than before, by a large Body of the Pirates.

He kept his Poſt with his Cutlaſs, till he ſunk under the Faintneſs of many Wounds at once; and his People then loſing all Spirit, gave up the Veſſel.

The King of *Spain*, about the Middle of this Year, agreed to evacuate *Tuſcany* to the *Imperialiſts*, on Condition of Don *Carlos* being put into Poſſeſſion of the *Allodial* Eſtates of the Houſe of *Farneſe*, in the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*; and having the Effects of the Houſe of *Medici* ſecured to him after the Death of the great Duke of *Tuſcany*.

Theodore, the famous King of *Corſica*, now made ſome Noiſe in *Europe*. The *Engliſh* had been accuſed of too much favouring him; and had ſhewn, that what was at that Time underſtood as an Act of Government, had been no more than an Indiſcretion of ſome private People. Certain it is, that an *Engliſh* Veſſel had carried the Adventurer thither; and ſome farther Indulgences had been ſhewn him by the People of our Country: but theſe were declared unauthorized, and thoſe who had complained ſeemed ſatisfied.

The Chiefs of the Iſland ſoon grew troubleſome to him, and his own ill Conduct weakened his Intereſt more than all their Cabals.

Four of the principal People were quarrelſome, and he ordered them to be impriſoned. They remembered who themſelves were, and who he was, and they alarmed the People.

The Word Tyrant was terrible, or rather it was hateful to the *Corſicans*; they were alarmed, they refuſed to execute his Orders, and his Troops forſook him.

The *Genoeſe* had early Intelligence of theſe Diſſenſions, and they took Advantage of them. Their Troops were every where ſucceſsful; and the Puniſhment *Theodore* inflicted on his Officers, for abandoning their Poſts, ſerved only to increaſe the Diſturbances.

From Time to Time the Face of Affairs changed, and with it the Conduct of the People. Upon every Succeſs of the *Genoeſe*, the new King was threatened to be left without Subjects; upon every Advantage, however little, that the *Corſicans* gained, they crowded about him, and he again became a King in more than Name.

By the whole Conduct of this extraordinary Affair; it appeared that *Theodore* was a Man of a daring Spirit; and that the *Corſicans* were a brave, but fickle People.

CHAP. CXI.

Affairs of America.

THE *French* in *America* had been all the Spring of 1736, preparing for ſome important Stroke againſt the *Engliſh*, and the *Indian* Nations in their Alliance; and by the Beginning of *July* they had prepared an Army of two Thouſand five Hundred white Men, beſides *Indians*, to attack us. The Advice of Peace put a Stop to their March, and only a Detachment of two Hundred Whites, and four Hundred *Indians*, called *Ilinois*, advanced to join a Party from *New Orleans*, to cut off the *Chekaſaw* Nation. Thoſe coming from towards *Canada*, not meeting with the *New Orleans* Party at the Place appointed, and thinking themſelves ſtrong enough, attacked the *Chekaſaw* Towns; but were ſhamefully beat in an open Fight, by not more than three Hundred Men.

Near forty *Frenchmen* and ſeven or eight *Indians*, were killed in the Fight; and twenty, with their Commander in Chief (Brother to M. *Bienville*, Governor of *New Orleans*) and one *Indian* were taken Priſoners. Theſe were all immediately burnt at the Stake, except two or three of the common Men preſerved for the ſame Purpoſe.

The other *French* Party was alſo cut off, ſeveral Nations of the *Indians* having joined againſt them.

This Year the *Eaſt India* Company came to a Reſolution of reducing the Intereſt of all their Bonds that bore a higher Price, to three *per Cent.* And at the ſame Time they entered upon vigorous Reſolutions in Regard to the Pirates, who had been ſo terrible in thoſe Parts of the World. They intereſted the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* Factories in this as a common Cauſe: Captain *Maſſey* went over Commodore, and they ſent with him a great Quantity of Arms, Ammunition and every Kind of warlike Stores.

Don *Carlos* in *Naples*, acted the Part of *Theodore* in *Corſica*; governing with a high Hand, where the only Hope was in more gentle Methods: The Nobility who had their full Share of the Oppreſſion, ſpoke with Freedom: the common People were ready for an open Rebellion, and the Soldiers deſerted in great Numbers.

Every Thing now went amiſs there, but in *Corſica*, all favoured the Cauſe of *Theodore*, for he was ſucceſsful.

He defeated the *Genoeſe* in ſeveral Engagements of ſmall Parties; and as they in their Succeſs had treated the *Corſicans* who fell into their Hands, as Rebels, and executed ſome of them, he decimated his Priſoners on one of theſe Occaſions, and ordered every tenth Man to be ſhot.

The *Spaniards* now ſtarted new Difficulties to the Succeſſion of *Tuſcany*, demanding the Reverſion for the Heirs of Don *Carlos*, in Failure of Heirs Male to the Houſe of *Lorrain*.

New Terms created new Difficulties; and with all the Care that had been taken by his *Britannick* Majeſty, to ſettle every Thing relating to the Peace upon the plaineſt and moſt abſolute Terms, the Evacuations in *Italy* and in *Germany*, were yet deferred.

The *Dutch* ſent this Year two Ships of War againſt the *Moors*, and the Commanders of them, acted according to the Spirit of their Nation, at once artfully and reſolutely. The ſmaller of the two Ships put out *Turkiſh* Colours, dreſſed the Men in *Mooriſh* Habits, and pretended to be chas'd by theother: In this Condition they ran before Fort *Magador*.

The Governor of the Fort, thought it a friendly Ship chas'd by an Enemy; and himſelf, with a conſiderable Number of his beſt People, threw themſelves on board for their Aſſiſtance. They were made Priſoners; and the other Ship then coming up, the *Dutch* landed, and preſently made themſelves Maſters of the Fort.

They brought off the Guns, Ammunition, and every Thing that was valuable, and an additional Number of Priſoners.

CHAP. CXII.

Condition of the Britiſh *Navy in* 1736.

THE Peace which *Europe* enjoyed, and which ſhe owed to the King of *Great Britain*, gave no Opportunity now for our Navy to make that Figure in the World, which it had never failed to do, in Strife and Oppoſition: and there were thoſe, who called themſelves Patriots, who exclaimed againſt the Expence of keeping up ſo conſiderable a Force in Times of Peace.

They were not heard. Thoſe who without the popular Name, were the true Patriots prevailed: they loaded the Publick with no more Expence, than was required to maintain that great Strength of our Iſle on a reſpectable Footing; but this they never would omit.

Half the *European* Powers had been awed, or forced into the Peace; and theſe it was well known would be too ready to break it.

The *Spaniards* were troubleſome in *America*; and ſome very unfair Tranſactions had happened under the Sanction of their Name in the *Mediterranean*.

The Government therefore kept up a due Force, and thoſe who had ſubmitted to the Peace from their Fears, were kept in Bounds by the ſame Motive.

In *September*, the Kingdom was alarmed with a Fear for the King. His Majeſty was in his *German* Dominions, and a Diſtemper of a very malignant Kind appeared there.

The King ſignified his Purpoſe of returning; and took ſuch Meaſures as his Phyſicians thought beſt for Security.

On the Twenty-ſeventh, Sir *Charles Wager* embarked, to ſail with the Convoy of Men of War, to attend his Majeſty from *Holland*.

On the Tenth of *December*, his Majeſty, after waiting ſome Days at *Helveotſluys*, ſailed with the Yachts and Men of War. The Winds had been unfavourable, and they now grew boiſterous.

Within ten Leagues of the *Britiſh* Shore, a ſtrong Tempeſt took them at the Weſt: the Veſſels were ſeparated; and the King, after having been twenty Hours in the Storm, got back to *Helvoet*.

One of the Yachts, and a Man of War were damaged; and his Majeſty, whoſe Serenity of Mind, would not let thoſe about him perceive it, was ſenſible he had been in Danger.

The Depredations in *America*, tho' it was now a Time of Peace, were not limited to the *Spaniards*, the *French* took many of our trading Veſſels.

The People of *Antegoa* ſuffered moſt; and thoſe of *Martinico* were the Offenders. The Pretence was, that they were too near their Shores. This, however falſe, was atteſted upon Oath by the Captains and Crews; and thirty Leagues Meaſure, were reduced to three in their Account, rather than a good Prize ſhould be loſt.

The People of *Antegoa* applied to their Governor; and he to the Governor of *Martinico*, but with little Effect.

The *Frenchman* anſwered, that he ſent a regular Account of the Affairs of the Iſland, conſtantly to his Kingdom; and there, not of him, the Redreſs muſt be ſought.

The Governor of our Iſland ſaw this was only removing the Cauſe into a Court where it could never be decided; and he took the ſhort and ſure Method of Reprizals: he fitted out a Sloop well armed, and full of Men; and gave them a full Commiſſion.

One after another the *French* Ships of *Martinico* were taken; and as ſoon as brought in, they were condemned.

Their Governor now found it his Turn to complain. The *Engliſh* Governor anſwered, that the *French* of *Martinico*, were no Strangers to the Reaſons of his Conduct; but if they wanted farther Explanation, they muſt ſeek it in *Europe*, whither he alſo ſent a regular Account of his Proceedings.

The *French*, who never will be reduced to Reaſon, were thus brought to good Behaviour; and all that Part of the World was quiet.

The People of *Georgia* were too preſumptuous in their Succeſs: they treated thoſe ill, who had ſupported them in their Diſtreſs; and Complaints came from *Charles Town* in very bitter Terms.

It was happy that General *Oglethorpe* was there; his good Conduct managed this Buſineſs to mutual Satisfaction.

He ſent Orders to his Agents and Officers, in the *Indian* Nations, not to moleſt the Traders from that Province; and he immediately went about the very eſſential Buſineſs of ſettling the Navigation of the River.

On the Thirtieth of *Auguſt* this Year, another troubleſome Buſineſs fell in the Way of that Gentleman, and it was again happy for the Colony, that he was there.

The Governor of the *Havannah* ſent Don *Antonio de Adrando*, his Commiſſioner to the Colony, with large Demands and Propoſitions.

A Sloop was ſent out to conduct Don *Antonio* by Sea to *Frederica*; and he was brought into *Jekyl* Sound.

General *Oglethorpe* had many Conferences with him on board the *Hawk* Sloop: for he was not ſuffered to come into the Town.

The *Spaniard* demanded too much; but Mr. *Oglethorpe* had the Addreſs to ſoften the Terms.

In *Europe*, Things were talked of, that were too ſtrange to be believed. In the Treaty of Peace between *France*, *Spain*, and the Emperor, 'twas affirmed, there were two Articles of a very extraordinary Nature; the one, that the Pretender's Son ſhould be put into Poſſeſſion of *Corſica*; and the other, that *France*, in Favour of *Spain*, ſhould make an Attempt upon *Minorca* or *Gibraltar*, or both.

Thus long are Things debated in *French* Policy. We ſee how the ſame Meaſures may be taken, to anſwer different Purpoſes: but we muſt always ſtay more than twenty Years, to know whether *France* has dropped the Deſign of any Enterprize againſt us.

On the Seventeenth of *November*, this Year 1736, the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Right Honourable Sir *John Thompſon*, Knt. with the Aldermen, Sheriffs, *&c.* waited on his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, with the Freedom of the City of *London*, in a Gold Box of two Hundred Pounds Value.

The Box was ten Inches long, and ſix broad; the Arms of the City were engraved on the Top, and it was encloſed in a Shagreen Caſe: Within it was the Copy of his Royal Highneſs's Freedom, wrote in gold Letters on Vellum; on the Top of which was again painted the City Arms, and at each Corner a Plume of Feathers.

All the Company were entertained at Dinner, at his Royal Highneſs's Houſe, *Pall-Mall*.

The Recorder's *Speech on preſenting the Box.*

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

"THE Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London*, moſt humbly beſeech your Royal Highneſs, that you "would be pleaſed to vouchſafe your gracious "Acceptance of the Freedom of the City. Your "Royal Highneſs's condeſcending to this humble "Requeſt, will yield Honour, to that whole "Body, and every Member of it. And they beg "leave to take this Opportunity of aſſuring your "Royal Highneſs of their dutiful and affectionate Regard, and of their hearty Wiſhes of "your Royal Highneſs's Health, Welfare, and "Proſperity.

His Royal Highneſs's *Anſwer*.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

"THO' no Ties were wanting to make "you dearer to me, yet I receive this as a "new Mark of your Duty and Loyalty to the "King, and of your Affection to me. I am very "thankful for your good Opinion, and ſhall try "at all Times to deſerve it, by my hearty Wiſhes "for the Welfare of your Trade, and by my conſtant Zeal for the Liberty of my Country."

We give the Particulars of this, tho' no naval Tranſaction, that the City of *London* may not want a Precedent on any ſubſequent Occaſion.

The Reader will find, perhaps, another Reaſon; if he conjectures, that it is done to place before Poſterity in a juſt Light, the moſt amiable Character of the late Prince of *Wales*, he will not judge amiſs of the Hiſtorian.

For ſeveral Years before this, the People of *Jamaica* had in earneſt ſet themſelves about raiſing and manufacturing Coffee: the Planters of *Barbadoes* ſaw the Promiſe of Succeſs, and now followed the Example.

In this Year 1736, a conſiderable Quantity of the Berry, or to ſpeak more properly, the Seed, was cured; and it was affirmed to be equal to that of *Mocha*.

The two late Dukes of *Wolſenbuttel*, had died ſoon after one another: this occaſioned a Suſpicion that their Deaths were not natural. A Deſign was diſcovered of five Years ſtanding, to deſtroy the reigning Family of *Brunſwick Wolſenbuttle* by Poiſon, and the Duke narrowly eſcaped; thirty Perſons were in the Confederacy, at the Head of which was Baron *Wolf*, who was ſent to the

Tower of *Hartz*, ſtrongly ironed, and confeſſed the Fact; on which the greateſt Part of his Accomplices were taken.

The *Brazil* Fleet conſiſting of thirteen Ships, under Convoy of one Man of War, arrived in *November* at *Liſbon*, with a rich Cargoe of two Hundred and thirteen Octaves and a half of Diamonds, and ſix Millions and a half in Gold Cruſadoes, four Millions and a half of which were for the King, and the remaining two Millions for particular Merchants.

The Emperor had now complied with every Thing demanded by the Court of *Spain*, relating to the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, but 'twas agreed, that the *Spaniards* ſhould not evacuate *Tuſcany*, till a more convenient Seaſon for their Embarkation.

Thus cloſed on *Europe* the Year 1736, very happily for the ſeveral Nations long waſted by War; and very honourable for *Britain*, who had given them Peace.

CHAP. CXIII.

The King arrives in England.

CONtrary Winds, and the Threatnings of new Storms, kept the King from ſailing, till the Thirteenth of *January* 1737. The Concern of his People had been inexpreſſible during his imagin'd Danger; and their Joy was proportioned to that and to the Event at his Return.

On the Fourteenth, at Noon, his Majeſty arrived off *Leoſtoff*; and ſuch was the Eagerneſs of the People, to ſee his ſacred Foot again upon *Britiſh* Land, that forty Perſons ran up to their Necks into the Sea, to meet the Boat in which he was to be brought to land; and bore it upon their Shoulders.

A Chaiſe and Pair of Mr. *Jeakes*'s, were the beſt travelling Accommodations ready: this waited on the Sands, and brought his Majeſty to that Gentleman's Houſe.

Here Mr. *Artis* of *Yarmouth* added four Horſes; and at *Saxmundam*, a Carriage of Lord *Strafford*'s took up the royal Charge.

About eleven at Night, his Majeſty reach'd *Ipſwich*, where Illuminations, and every Demonſtration of Joy, teſtified the People's Tranſport at his Return.

On *Saturday* the Fifteenth, he paſſed thro' the City, and alighted at St. *James*'s about two o'Clock in the Arms of the Queen; whoſe Joy on ſeeing his Majeſty, after ſo many Fatigues and Dangers, was too great to be well ſupported.

The *Louiſa* Man of War was loſt upon this Service. This Ship was one of his Majeſty's Convoy; and after putting to Sea with the Yachts, had got to the *Downs*, and was ordered back by the Lords of the Admiralty.

The Veſſel ſtruck upon a Sand at *Linder*, not far from *Goree*, and ſunk; only ſeventeen of the Crew were ſaved.

The Prince of *Wales*, whoſe Virtues every Day more endeared him to the People, returned the Compliment he had received from the City of *London*, by an Act of generous Humanity.

On the Eleventh of *January*, his Royal Highneſs ſent five Hundred Pounds to the Lord Mayor for releaſing diſtreſſed Citizens out of Priſon.

This was a handſome Sum, conſidering the Income of his Royal Highneſs; and in this, as in all other Inſtances of his Generoſity, he gave a double Merit to the Gift, by the Manner of beſtowing it.

His Senſe of the Reſpect the City had ſhewn him, and his Humility were expreſſed together in the Terms of the Meſſage with this Money: he called the wretched Objects of his Liberality, his brother Freemen.

General *Oglethorpe* having ſettled every Thing in *Georgia*, arrived in *England* at the latter End of the preceding Year.

On the Nineteenth of *January*, he met the Truſtees for that Infant Colony, and received their unanimous Thanks for his Management of their Affairs; on which they beſtowed a great deal of juſt Applauſe.

The General informed them, that an *Indian* Nation, ſeven Hundred Miles diſtant, acknowledged his Majeſty's Authority, and traded with the *Engliſh* from *Savanna*.

That the *Spaniſh* General of *Florida* and Council of War, had ſigned a Treaty with the Colony.

That beſides *Savanna*, which was increaſed in Buildings, there were three other Towns founded that Year, viz. *Auguſta*, *Frederica*, and *Darien*.

That a new Town of *Ebenezer* was built by the *Salizburghers*, and ſeveral Villages; and many Gentlemen ſettled through the Country at their own Expence.

CHAP. CXIV.

Affairs of America 1737.

THE People of *Antegoa* who had been reſcued from *French* Inſolence, by their own ſpirited Behaviour, under the Directions of their Governor were applying themſelves among other Things, to the raiſing of Coffee, in the Manner of the People of *Jamaica* and *Barbadoes*; and they were promiſing themſelves great Advantages from that and the other Articles of a ſucceſsful Commerce; when a general Stop was put to Buſineſs, occaſioned by the happy Diſcovery of a Negro Plot, which ſhould have been perpetrated on the Eleventh of *October*, the Anniverſary of the King's Coronation; on which Day the General uſually gives a handſome Ball to the Gentlemen and Ladies of the Iſland.

This was poſtponed to the Thirtieth, upon Account of the Death of the General's Son at St. *Chriſtopher*'s ſome little Time before; and this was the only Preſervative of their Lives.

The Plot was this, *viz.* One *Court*, a Negro, belonging to *Thomas Kirby*, Eſq; was the chief Perſon; *Tomboy*, a Negro, belonging to Mr. *Hanſton*; and *Hercules*, a Negro, belonging to Mr. *Chriſtophers*, were to have been this *Court*'s Generals, and while the Gentlemen and Ladies were diverting themſelves at the Ball, they were to convey a great Quantity of Gun-powder into the Cellar, and blow up the Houſe.

At the ſame Time, *Court*, *Tomboy* and *Hercules*, were to head a Party of four Hundred Men each, one from the eaſt End of the Town, one from *Otto*'s Paſture, and one from *Morgan*'s Paſture, all arm'd with Cutlaſſes; and theſe to fall on all the Whites in the Town, Men, Women, and Children, without reſerve, at the ſame Time that the Houſe blew up. This was to be a general Signal to the other Parts of the Iſland, (for they were to look out on ſeveral Eminences, which with a Fire they were to make at each Place was to convey the Signal through the whole Extent); then the Negroes of each Plantation were to riſe and deſtroy all the Whites in their reſpective Diſtricts, and ſo have made themſelves Maſters of the whole Iſland.

Court, *Tomboy*, and *Hercules*, being ſuſpected for former Crimes, were taken up; and after ſome ſtrict Examination, ſufficient Cauſe was found to commit them; and ſtill more and more Evidences appearing againſt them, they were at length convicted on the Nineteenth.

The Day following, *Court* was brought to the Place of Execution, and he was there laid extended on a Wheel, an Hour and a Quarter, when he begged Leave to plead; to which the Juſtices gave their Aſſent, and he acknowledged every Thing that was alledged againſt him, and what the others had confeſſed in Priſon the ſame Morning.

About Noon, *Court* was broke on the Wheel, as were *Tomboy* and *Hercules*. Four more were burnt the ſame Day in *Otto*'s Paſture, and the next Day ſeven more.

Thus an Accident prevented a general Maſſacre; the Terrors of theſe Executions had great Effect upon the Negroes, and the Iſland enjoyed again a State of Proſperity and Quiet.

The Inſolence and bad Behaviour of the *Spaniards*, in the Seas near their Poſſeſſions, now grew to an intolerable Heighth.

The King could not ſee the Trade and Navigation of *Great Britain* and its Colonies interrupted and preyed upon in this Manner with Impunity; and ſo far were Matters carried in the Beginning of this Year, that a Rupture was expected between the two Crowns.

France who was intereſted more deeply, than the Generality of People ſaw in this Matter, now interfered.

Cardinal *Fleury* took an Opportunity to declare to the Miniſters of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, in Preſence of Monſ. *Van Hoey* the *Dutch* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would interpoſe to accommodate the Differences between their *Britannic* and Catholic Majeſties, concerning the *Britiſh* Commerce in *America*, particularly that of the South-Sea Company. The Plan was this;

I.

That the King of *Spain* ſhould grant a Freedom of Commerce to the *Engliſh* in all his Territories in *America*.

II.

That the South-Sea Company ſhould be permitted to ſend their Ship thither without being moleſted on any Pretence whatſoever.

III.

That the King of *Great-Britain*, for theſe Advantages obtained for his Subject, ſhould reſtore *Gibraltar* to *Spain*.

IV.

That this Reſtitution and Freedom of Commerce ſhould be ſecured to each, in the ſtrongeſt Manner irrevocably.

CHAP. CXV.

The State of Europe *at this Period.*

THE Buſineſs of *Corſica* now began to appear in a new Light. The *Spaniards* were found to ſupport and aſſiſt the new King in their Turn; and when they had brought the Affairs of the Iſland to ſuch a Criſis, that they muſt appear deſperate to the *Genoeſe*, the Duke of *Montemar* was charg'd with a Commiſſion from the King of *Spain* to that Republic, propoſing the giving it up, on Terms not diſadvantageous to *Genoa*, to the King of the *Two Sicilies*.

The *Turks* at this Time rejected all Propoſals of Peace; and the *Venetians* as well as the Empire prepared to oppoſe their threatened Operations.

The *Genoeſe* having conſider'd the Propoſals made by *Spain*, and ſeeing their Purpoſe, declar'd the Terms unequal. They proceeded with Vigour againſt their rebellious Subjects in *Corſica*; and *Spain* and ſome other Nations at length ſaw their Error.

The *Genoeſe* encreas'd the Pay of their Soldiers in that Service; they proclaim'd free Pardons for Highwaymen and Murderers, who would engage in it; and they ſet a Reward upon the Head of *Theodore*.

In the Beginning of *February* the *French* Troops deliver'd up *Philipſburg* and Fort *Kehl* to the *Imperialiſts* after the Fortifications they had made were razed.—They yielded alſo the City of *Treves*, by Way of Exchange for the Dutchy of *Barr*; the Inhabitants of which were diſcharg'd from the Oaths of Allegiance which they took to the Duke of *Lorrain*: But the taking the Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Lorrain* was deferred till the Departure of the Princeſs *Elizabeth* for *Turin*, whoſe Marriage to the King of *Sardinia* was fix'd for *March* 5th.

With reſpect to the Affairs of *Germany*, the Ceſſion of *Lorrain* to *France* made a good deal of Noiſe, and gave great Uneaſineſs to ſuch Princes as had Territories in its Neighbourhood: But we cannot conceive that a Point which was then warmly diſputed amongſt us, ought to admit of any Diſpute at all; *viz.* Whether the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Barr* be any great Acquiſition to *France*? Let us conſider how this Acquiſition may be meaſured, and the Queſtion will be anſwered.

France declar'd with great Solemnity, that ſhe would never lay down her Arms till King *Staniſlaus* had Satisfaction. Satisfaction for what? For the Kingdom of *Poland*, and the grand Dutchy of *Lithuania*. After a War not unproſperous on the whole, ſhe has laid down her Arms on the giving this Country to King *Staniſlaus* for Life, and the ſecuring the Sovereignty after his Demiſe to the Crown of *France* for ever. One would think it therefore of ſome Value. But as the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Barr* belong'd to their natural Prince before this Ceſſion; we may gueſs at their Worth by the Equivalent given him, and that was no leſs than the grand Dutchy of *Tuſcany*, the firſt Principality of *Europe*.

By this Ceſſion all the reaſonable Views of the *French* Court were ſatisfy'd: And it was ſeen that if the Duke of *Lorrain* became Emperor, his Dominions in *Italy* would be better ſecur'd than ever his Imperial Majeſties were; who a little while before was ſo diſtreſſed, that he had but one Place in *Italy*, and that too block'd up: tho' after in Poſſeſſion not only of the *Mantuan* and *Milaneſe*, but alſo of *Parma* and *Placentia*, the hereditary Countries of the Queen of *Spain*.

'Tis true *Naples* and *Sicily* were now with his Conſent in the Hands of another Prince; but they were ſo without his Conſent, when he had nothing left but *Mantua*.

About this Time the Diſputes between *Spain* and *Portugal* were finally adjuſted; and Friendſhip was reſtored between them.

CHAP. CXVI.

The Affairs of Antigua *again diſturb'd.*

THE Peace the Iſland enjoyed after the Execution of thoſe Negroes who had been found Principals in the Conſpiracy for a general Maſſacre, was but of ſhort Duration: Quarrels aroſe among the Negroes and white Servants, and Diſputes among themſelves.

Theſe brought out new Diſcoveries. Men were impeached from Time to Time; and the Iſland ſeem'd again threaten'd with Blood.

The Governour acted with great Prudence and Moderation: He judg'd that Malice had as much Share as Truth in theſe Accuſations; and he ſilenc'd them without proceeding to Extremities. This ſeemed at firſt to promiſe a Reduction of the very Hearts of the Negroes to their Maſters; but the Good was not laſting.

Thoſe ignorant People who at firſt thought this Mercy, ſoon imagin'd it to be Fear. They thought more of their own Importance and Strength, and new Schemes were formed, or old revived to the ſame dreadful Purpoſe.

A fair Trial had been made of Lenity in vain.

The Governor himſelf now ſaw nothing could ſecure the People but Severity. The guilty were almoſt all known, and the worſt of them were taken up, tried and executed. Within the Month of *January* ſeventy of them ſuffered Death; and however much againſt the Principles of the *Engliſh*, ſome with Torture.

For thirty Years after our firſt Settlement on *Barbadoes* and the *Leeward* Iſlands, the Labour was performed by the White Servants of our own: The Wars in the Reign of *Charles* I. ſent over Abundance of the better Sort; *Cromwell*'s Uſurpation and the Reduction of *Ireland*, made large Additions, and the Reſtoration of *Charles* II. would ſoon have enabled the *Britiſh Sugar* Planters to have out-done any of her Rivals in that Manufacture. But a Notion was ſtarted at home, that the Multitude then crowding to the *Sugar-Iſlands*, were greater than could be ſpared, and a Stop was put to the going over of more. The true Reaſon was, *England* had a mind to ſhare the Gains of the *Dutch* in the *Slave-Trade*, which ſhe ſoon did in Earneſt.

They ſoon let in an Inundation of *Blacks* on the *Sugar-Iſlands*. The Planters had neither Ships to ſend, nor Commodities to purchaſe them, but it was the whole Body of Merchants in *England* that brought them over.

At firſt the Planters liked it very well, finding they could do their Buſineſs cheaper; but when Death had deprived them of their former White Servants, and the Number of *Blacks* became formidable, they obliged themſelves under conſiderable Penalties to procure *Whites* in Proportion to them.

We have at large conſidered this *Slave-Trade* in our preceding Numbers, treating of thoſe who ſet it firſt on Foot: What will be its abſolute Conſequence; is yet in the Womb of Time.

CHAP. CXVII.

The Dutch *complain of* Spaniſh *Depredations.*

THE King of *Portugal* this Year borrowed of the Merchants of *London* a hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds to be laid out in warlike Stores and Neceſſaries: The Intereſt was 7 *per Cent*; and the Mint of *Liſbon* the Security. No wonder People enough were ready to lend the Money. The Subſcription was filled in four Days.

The *Dutch* were now plunder'd in the *American* Seas as freely as the *Engliſh*. The *Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas* did the Buſineſs; but this artful People complained as if they thought the *Engliſh* had their Share in it. Mr. *Trevor* was commiſſioned with the King's Anſwer, which was ſuch as became a King of *England*: That his *Britannic* Majeſty was ſurprized they ſhould attribute the Loſſes their Subjects ſuſtained by the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt Indies*, to his Majeſty's People, as if they join'd with the *Guarde Coſtas* in their Depredations: That his Majeſty determined to ſend a Squadron of Men of War to *America*, in caſe the King of *Spain* perſiſted in not making Satisfaction; and that their High Mightineſſes might join him if they thought fit.

The King, altho' offended at the improper Conduct of the *Dutch*, yet wiſh'd to protect them in common with his own Subjects; and impatient at the Inſolence of the *Spaniards*, declared his Intention of effectully protecting the Navigation and Commerce of that Part of the World, ſo far as related to his Subjects and his Allies.

The Lords of the Admiralty, in the Beginning of *April*, put four Ships into Commiſſion to augment the Squadron in thoſe Seas: And their Commanders had Inſtructions to defend the Trade and Navigation of the King's Subjects, and to take Satisfaction for any Inſults they had ſuffered.

Sir *John Norris* was now ordered home from *Portugal* with the Squadron under his Command. The King on his Audience of Leave commiſſion'd him to aſſure his *Britannic* Majeſty he would ſeek all Opportunities to expreſs his Gratitude for the many Services he had done to himſelf and his People; and that to ſhew his Eſteem for the *Engliſh* Nation, the Subjects of that Kingdom trading to the Dominions of his Crown in *Europe*, or the *Indies*, ſhould have the ſame Advantages in their Commerce as the Natives of his own Kingdom.

The *Eaſt-Indies* were yet infeſted with the Pirate Grabs, and Accounts came frequent, and full of Complaints, of this, and of the dreadful Uſage the Priſoners who fell into their Hands ſuffered; chained together, and ſtarved, and beaten, while, at the Mercy of a ſavage People, they were taſked, like the *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*.

This the Government felt and determined to aſſiſt the Company to redreſs.

In the mean time the Equipment of the Ships for the *American* Seas, went on ſucceſsfully and expeditiouſly, *Spain* heard of it; and conſcious Guilt brought that perfidious and cruel People to Terms.

The Governor of *Bombay*, by an excellent Scheme, delivered from their wretched Slavery the Crew of the gallant Captain *Derby*, a Ship, ſometime before taken by the Pirate *Angria*. He had a Ship well mann'd and arm'd, and ſent it to *Angria*'s Fort, where, by a Stratagem, the Captain got five of *Angria*'s chief Men on board of him, and then ſent Word, that if the *Engliſh* were not immediately ſet at Liberty, he would hang thoſe he had in his Power. *Angria* was very much ſurprized at the Meſſage, and refuſed; but offered any five *Engliſh* they would name: the Captain anſwered, if he did not comply in a certain Time limited, he would proceed to Execution. *Angria* at laſt complied, and they were all deliver'd up, but naked.

They were all brought ſafe to *Bombay*; and ſome of them return'd on board the *Lynn*, and the reſt in other Ships.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXVIII.

The miſerable Diſtreſs of the Ship Mary.

EARLY in the Year 1737 there came to *England* from *Barbadoes* an atteſted Account of perhaps the moſt dreadful Scene of Sea Diſtreſs that has happened from the Beginning of Navigation to the preſent Time.

The Ship *Mary* was the Subject: Of her whole Crew two Perſons only lived, and thoſe by Miracle, to tell the miſerable Fate of their Companions.

All Comment muſt be needleſs; all Addition and Ornament of Language impertinent in ſuch a Story. Take it, humane Reader, in the artleſs Language of thoſe who alone could tell it: And let Truth ſupply the Place of Eloquence.

The Voyage of the Ship Mary *from* Liſbon, *related by* Simon MᶜCone *and* Thomas Thompſon, *the only ſurviving Mariners.*

“OUR firſt Commander's Name was *John Rawlinſon*; we ſailed from *Liſbon* freighted by a *Portugueſe* Merchant. In our Paſſage to *Guinea* we ſtopp'd at the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, from thence we ſailed to *Catchoe* in *Africa*, and in five Months and odd Days we got our Cargo of Slaves, Bees-Wax, and ſome Ivory.

“Here our Captain and his Wife died, and our chief Mate, *William Rye*, was made Captain: We then ſail'd for *Liſbon*, but ſtopp'd at the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, to recruit ourſelves and Slaves. Sailing from thence our ſecond Captain died; and *William Cook*, who was at firſt our ſecond Mate, was made Captain: About four Days after, our Ship ſprung a Leak; and our Carpenter being dead, we were in a very bad Condition. The Leak growing larger, we were ſeveral Days hard put to it, to keep the Ship above Water.

“At length being all tir'd out, by ſtanding ſo hard to the Pump, we were obliged to let the Negroes out of Irons to aſſiſt us in pumping the Ship, and ſave our Lives, which they did for ſome Days; but being extremely ſhort of Proviſion and Water, they could not hold it long. The Leak ſtill increaſing, we found we muſt prepare the beſt we could, in our poor ſmall Boat. We went to work upon her, and put into her ſeven Stone Bottles of Water, and five Bottles of Brandy, which was all we could get; for when we had any Proviſion upon Deck to throw into the Boat, the Slaves being in Number two or three hundred, and Proviſion very ſhort, they ſeiz'd upon it, and eat it from us. Then they got what Liquor they could find; and perceiving us to be very much confus'd, they took the Opportunity to get drunk, and forſook the Pump, which we ſeeing and obſerving nothing but Death like to inſue, we got into the Boat, and veer'd her a-ſtern of the Ship the 8th of *November* 1736, at Night, the Ship being then ſinking, as we thought; and finding the reſt of the Ship's Company wanted to jump into the Boat, which muſt have ſunk her, we remain'd a-ſtern, not daring to pull along Side of the Ship; and next Morning we left the Ship to Providence.

“We were obliged to bear away for ſome of the *Weſt-India* Iſlands, which were at leaſt five or ſix hundred Leagues from us. Our Boat's Crew were two *Portugueſe*, four *Engliſh*, one *Iriſh*, and one *Rhode-Iſland* Man born; the two latter whereof are the Authors of this Declaration.

“Fifteen white Men we left on board the Ship, we believe, periſhed with her. We ſail'd in the Boat to and fro ſeveral Weeks, until the 8th of *December*; at which Time we ſaw a Sail: It was a Snow, and the Sight reviv'd us all. We hoiſted a Signal of Diſtreſs, and the Snow lay by, until we were ſo near to her, that we could diſcern the Men on the Deck; and then ſhe made Sail, and went away from us without ſpeaking: They were afraid, as we imagin'd, when they ſaw ſo many of us in the Boat.

“Our Hunger being now intolerable, we were reduc'd to kill one of our Companions to eat; and we agreed together to begin with one of the *Portugueſe*, whom we accordingly kill'd out of pure Neceſſity, and cut his Fleſh in ſmall Pieces, dipt it in Salt Water, and hang it up to dry in the Sun, until it was hard, and ſo eat it, tho' but very ſparingly. Thus we were forc'd to do with four more of the Crew out of the eight: We alſo kill'd a ſixth Man, but were forc'd ſo to do, becauſe he would have killed me *Simon MᶜCone*, (one of theſe Declarants) for he ſtruck me with the Tiller of the Boat, and had juſt bereav'd me of Life, when this my Comrade *Thomas Thompſon* came to my Relief, and we were forc'd therefore to kill him, tho' we flung him overboard, for he was ſo unhealthy, that we could eat no Part of him.

“We *Simon MᶜCone* and *Thomas Thompſon*, being the only Survivors of the Crew that left the ſaid Ship, were determined to live and die the one by the other, and not one to deſtroy the other; but to leave all Things to the Almighty Providence of God, expecting nothing leſs than Famine, for we liv'd ſeveral Days without eating any Thing, ſaving one ſmall flying Fiſh that flew into the Boat, and ſome ſmall Barnakles that grew on the Boat, which we were obliged to eat raw. At laſt we eſpied Land which happened to be the Iſland of *Bar-*

“ *badoes*, where we had like to have been caſt on “ Shore. This was the Nineteenth of *January* 1736, “ and we were then ſo extremely weak, that we “ could not work the Boat. Providence prevent“ed this Deſtruction by a Schooner belonging to “ the Iſland, the Captain whereof, called *Glanveil* “ *Nicholas*, was ſo kind as to take us up, and land “ us at *Bridge Town*.

CHAP. CXIX.

Affairs of Georgia *at this Period.*

THE general Treaty of Peace being now concluded, the Court of *Britain* adviſed the States General in Time, that they would probably be invited to accede to it; but that it would be improper for the maritime Powers to enter into any Engagements, till every Thing was much clearer with Regard to the Commerce of thoſe Powers. Indeed ſuch was the Conduct of the reſt of *Europe*, that it was not difficult to be perceived the *Dutch*, with the *Engliſh*, would be Sufferers by the Peace they had given to them.

The King in this acted with that Prudence that diſtinguiſhed, and happily for us, yet diſtinguiſhes all his Actions; and at the ſame Time ſhewed a Spirit of Reſentment at an Indignity, which charmed his People.

The Republick of *Venice* had ſhewn great Countenance and Favour to the Son of the Pretender, who had been there ſome Time under the Name of the Count *d'Albanie*; on receiving Intelligence of this, his Majeſty by a Letter from the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, to the Reſident from *Venice*, the Sieur *Buſinello*, ordered him to depart his Dominions in two Days: and this was done.

The flouriſhing Colony of *Georgia* was now thrown into great Uneaſineſſes, by Claims of the King of *Spain*; and there were thoſe who pretended to aſſert, that *Carolina* being ſituated in 32 Degrees of Latitude and 294 and a half of Longitude, and *Georgia* being to the South of the ſame, it was indiſputable, that this laſt, as well as the firſt, was within the Territories of the King of *Spain*, according to the Treaty in 1670: for that the Demarciation between *Carolina* and *Florida* was regulated by the Seventh Article of the ſaid Treaty, to be 33 Degrees 15 Minutes, North Latitude, and 330 Degrees, 20 Minutes Longitude: but they ſpoke with little Knowledge, the Fact is thus:

King *Charles* the Second (with whom the Treaty was made, well knowing the Right and Title he had to the whole Province of *Carolina*) granted the ſame to the then Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, &c. by his Royal Charter, dated *June* 30, 1665, under which Charter the ſaid Lord Proprietors poſſeſſed the ſame; and the Province of *Carolina* does, by the ſaid Charter, appear to extend as far as 29 Degrees North Latitude, which certainly takes in all 30. Subſequent to this Charter the Treaty of 1670 was made, and the Seventh Article of it mentions no Demarciation, but confirms our Right, as follows:

“ It is agreed, That the moſt Serene King of “ *Great Britain*, his Heirs and Succeſſors, ſhall “ have, hold, keep and enjoy for ever, with ple“nary Right of Sovereignty, Dominion, Poſſeſ“ſion and Property, all thoſe Lands, Regions, “ Iſlands, Colonies and Places whatſoever, being, “ or ſituated in the *Weſt Indies*, or in any Part of “ *America*, which the ſaid King of *Great Britain* “ and his Subjects do at preſent hold and poſſeſs, “ ſo as that in Regard thereof, or upon any Co“lour or Pretence whatſoever, nothing more may “ or ought to be urged, nor any Queſtion or Con“troverſy be ever moved concerning the ſame “ hereafter.”

The Treaty of *Utrecht* in 1713, again confirmed the Poſſeſſion of all *Carolina* in the Crown of *Great Britain*.

And in the Year 1729, the Parliament purchaſed for his Majeſty, from the Lords the Proprietors, the whole Province of *Carolina*, bounded to the 29th Degree, in the Manner abovementioned, which comprehends *North Carolina*, *South Carolina* and *Georgia*; by which it indiſputably appears, that the two laſt are within the Territories of the King of *Great Britain*, a well as the firſt.

To ſet this Matter in the cleareſt Light, we ſhall give the Reader in one View, a general Idea of the Matter.

Georgia is Part of the Province called *Carolina*, which was at the ſame Time with the reſt of *North America*, firſt diſcovered by Sir *John Cabot*, *Anno* 1497, and Sir *Sebaſtian* his Son; at the ſole Expence of the Crown of *England*; whoſe Right to that Country was continued to be aſſerted by Queen *Elizabeth*. By her Commiſſion, Sir *Francis Drake* diſlodged the *Spaniards* from St. *Auguſtine*, and took the Place.

Though the *Spaniards* afterwards reſettled themſelves at St. *Auguſtine*, yet the Crown of *England* maintained its Rights to all the Remainder of that Country; and King *Charles* II. granted it in 1606 to Lords Proprietors, bounding it from 36 Degrees, to 29 Degrees North Lat.

The Lords Proprietors ſent and took Poſſeſſion, according to the Bounds of that Charter, and the *Indians* ſubmitted to them purſuant thereto. They peopled the Province, dividing it into two Parts, calling the one *North*, and the other *South Carolina*

After this the whole being purchaſed in the Year 1729 by the Parliament, for the King, his Majeſty divided *South Carolina* into two Parts, calling one of them *Georgia*.

Hence it appears, that *Georgia* is no other with Reſpect to foreign Princes, than Part of *Carolina*; and that *Carolina* is comprehended in the Treaty of 1670, as part of the Dominions of the Crown of *Great-Britain*.

With reſpect to Poſſeſſion, there could be no Pretence of the *Spaniards* to diſpute it, ſince (beſides the Poſſeſſion of the Inhabitants, and the *Indians* ſubmitting to the King of *Great-Britain*,) an Independent Company belonging to his Majeſty, was in Garriſon upon the *Alatamaba* River, and Detachments from them poſſeſſed as far as 30 Degrees 2 Minutes, till *September* 1727, when they changed Quarters, and went to *Port-Royal*.

With Reſpect to Inſults or Hoſtilities, none were committed by any *Britiſh* Inhabitant of *Georgia*; ſo far from it; that the Officers of *Georgia* reſtrained the *Indians* from taking Revenge upon the *Spaniards*, for a Murder committed by a Party from St. *Auguſtine*; and the kind Treatment given to the *Spaniards* upon all Occaſions, appears by the late Governor of St. *Auguſtine's* Letter to Mr. *Oglethorpe*.

From this undoubted Evidence it is manifeſt, that the King's Dominions in *North America* extend as far as the 29 Deg. North Lat. and that the Parliament of *Great Britain*, was well ſatisfied that they did, ſince they purchaſed ſo far from the Proprietors.

The Expence of this Colony, which was Twenty Thouſand Pounds granted yearly by Parliament, at firſt may look large; but if it be conſidered that the Truſtees greatly improved, as well as protected the Colony out of the Parliamentary and other Money, it will not be found ſo expenſive as others.

The military Defence of *Nova Scotia* and *Anapolis* at that Time ſtood the King in thirteen Thouſand Pounds yearly, tho' there was no Improvement made in that Province.

Moſt of the *American* Colonies were at leaſt as expenſive as *Nova Scotia*, and *Anapolis*, the Charge of which, was either paid by the King for Troop, Artillery, &c. or by Taxes, raiſed from the People of the Colony, or by both: thus *Jamaica* ſtood the Public then in fourteen Thouſand Pounds a Year upon the Eſtimate, beſides the Governor's Salary out of the Civil Liſt, and the Taxes raiſed by the Country: in the whole near Thirty Thouſand Pounds yearly.

It was calculated that 7000 l. a Year went to ſupport the Civil Government in *Georgia*, in maintaining Perſons newly arrived, preſerving a good Harmony with, and ſupporting the *Indians*, and carrying on the Improvements of the Province; ſuch as raiſing of Silk, Wine, Oil, and other Produces, the Expence whereof private Perſons were not able to bear, and which probably was the Reaſon why the *Engliſh America*, did not then produce any Quantity of them, tho' their Climate and Soil was very proper for them.

Carolina and *Georgia*, being almoſt ſurrounded by *French* and *Spaniards*, (who lie upon the ſame Continent, and can march into the former through the latter by Land) the many Improvements there made, and the Harbours now diſcovered, occaſion'd thoſe Powers to be covetous of them. And the more theſe Provinces improve, the ſtronger their Deſire will be of getting them: for *Georgia* is the Key of all *North America*: and if they poſſeſſed theſe Ports, they could by cruiſing from thence, ſearch all the *Carolina* and *Virginia* homeward bound Ships, and would probably confiſcate many of them, ſince they generally brought *Spaniſh* Silver home, the only Coin current in *America*.

For theſe Reaſons, the Truſtees petitioned his Majeſty, to order a Regiment of ſeven Hundred Men to be raiſed, which being properly poſted upon the Iſlands, and along the Rivers, would protect both theſe Provinces from the *Spaniards*: and this ſeemed more immediately neceſſary, ſince the *Spaniards* at St. *Auguſtine* had ordered the *Engliſh* Merchants to depart thence, and were ſetting up Barracks there, for a Regiment of five Hundred Men; which with thoſe before there, made up eleven Hundred regular Troops. And that the *French* had two Thouſand five Hundred regular Troops in their Province next adjoining to *Georgia* and *Carolina*.

The Number of ſix or ſeven Hundred Men was therefore too ſmall to give juſt Umbrage to the *Spaniards*, but if his Majeſty ſhould ſend over no Forces as the *Spaniſh* Miniſter was ſaid to inſiſt on, while other Powers were increaſing theirs in thoſe Parts, the Safety of ſeveral Thouſand *Britiſh* Subjects there, and of thirty Thouſand Slaves, of ſix Hundred Thouſand Pounds Value, the Property of his Majeſty's Subjects, would depend upon their Pleaſure; for if there were no Forces there, they could at Will deſtroy the one, and poſſeſs themſelves of the other.

CHAP. CXX.

The Conduct of the Spaniards *at this Time.*

THE *Engliſh* Force deſtined for the *American* Seas, now grew near its Completion; and the Court of *Spain* found it neceſſary to make ſome Steps toward Reparation.

Inſtead of paying for the Damages, done our Veſſels and our Commerce, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter, (for all this Time there was one at the Court of *London*,) pretended Grievances on the Part of his Maſter; and oppoſed theſe, and the *Spaniſh* Claim to *Georgia* and *Carolina*, againſt the juſt and reaſonable Demands of our Court.

This the Government ſaw through, and knew how to deſpiſe. They ſaw that theſe were Pretenſions raiſed only to be ſacrificed; and that the

Spaniards meant to purchaſe by relinquiſhing them an Indemnity for their *American* Depredations, or ſome Benefit in Regard to what was much more dear and intereſting to them, *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*.

The Merchants concerned in the *American* Trade ſaw Preparations; but they ſaw no more. They were amus'd with this ſpecious Appearance of Redreſs; which yet the cunning and known Intrigue of the *Spaniſh* Miniſter threaten'd, would amount to nothing; and even while the Government was moſt earneſt in making it, they receiv'd notice of more frequent Captures.

On the thirteenth of *October* they waited on his Majeſty with an Addreſs repreſenting the fair and lawful Nature of their Trade, and the unjuſt Seizures of the *Spaniards*.

The King received them with a Parent's Tenderneſs and Favour; and they were acquainted, that the Matter ſhould be conſidered by a Committee of the Privy Council, and an Anſwer given them by a Secretary of State.

A Hurricane in the Autumn of this Year did great Damage at *St. Kitts* and *Montſerrat*. The Plantations were levelled, the Slaves deſtroyed, and ſome Ships loaded for *England* loſt with their Crews.

CHAP. CXXI.

Inſults from the Spaniards *in* Europe.

THE Complaint of the Merchants concerned in the *American* Trade, expreſs'd in ſuch plain, tho' decent Terms, had ſet the Court of *Spain* in a very ill Light with us; but their Depredations and Inſolence were not confined to that Quarter of the World. Captain *Hipper*, in an *Engliſh* Veſſel, was deſtin'd to feel the Effects of it nearer home.

He had loaded regularly at *Smyrna* for *Algiers*, and had on board three *Turkiſh* Merchants, and ſome Paſſengers, when on the twentieth of *September*, purſuing his Courſe, he fell in with two *Spaniſh* Barks. Captain *Hipper* hoiſted his *Engliſh* Colours. The *Spaniards* put out Mooriſh, and ordered him on board; and he obeyed, ſuppoſing they were Moors.

The *Spaniards* confined him, and thoſe who went to them with him, and immediately ſent Hands on board, and rifled his Ship. This was their common Practice whenever they were ſuperior in Strength; and this was ſtrongly repreſented to the *Engliſh* Government.

The *Dutch*, who had been told they might, if they pleaſed, join our intended Squadron for the *American* Seas, did not wait for that Opportunity of doing themſelves Juſtice: Orders were immediately given for Repriſals; and in the Autumn of this Year they took ſeveral *Spaniſh* Veſſels; among which was one that had on board ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction. Reſtitution of this was demanded in high Terms; and the *Dutch* made a ſhort Anſwer: Reſtore us what you have taken of ours, and we ſhall give back theſe.

On *Sunday* the twentieth of *November* this Year, died Queen *Caroline*, whoſe Memory muſt be for ever dear to the Friends of our Religion and Liberties. The World has not at any Time produc'd an Example of greater Diſtinction in the ſeveral Relations of Life, whether we conſider her Majeſty as a Queen, a Wife, a Mother, a Miſtreſs or Friend: of theſe we might produce a Multitude of the moſt undoubted Inſtances, if the Sacredneſs of the Characters that are concerned did not make the Subject too delicate for us to undertake.

Tho' her Illneſs was ſevere and afflicting above Meaſure, and attended with great Pain to herſelf, it was the Means of giving us the moſt exalted Idea of her Virtues, which enabled her to go thro' ſuch a Trial, not only with Submiſſion to the divine Will, but with a Compoſedneſs of Temper, and Magnanimity of Spirit, which amazed all that were about her.

Every Interval of Eaſe from her Sufferings was employed in Acts of Devotion; in giving new Proofs of her Tenderneſs to thoſe that were moſt dear to her; in ſhewing her kindeſt Regards to her Servants, and in manifeſting her Zeal for the Welfare of the Public.

Her Manner of Thinking and Speaking on the many intereſting Subjects that poſſeſs'd her Soul, and her *whole* Behaviour from the Beginning of her Illneſs to the *fatal* Moment in which ſhe expir'd, was ſo full of Dignity and Innocence, and withal ſo natural and unaffected, that 'tis hard to ſay whether her great Abilities, and all the amiable Qualities which adorned her Life, did more Honour to her Character, than the Circumſtances which preceded her Death.

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CHAP. CXXII.

The continued Depredations of the Spaniards.

THE Complaints and the Preparations of our Government, while they ſeem'd to have ſome Effect in *Europe*, had none in thoſe Parts of the World where moſt Damage had been done; for the ſame Practices were continued with the ſame Violence and Inſult.

Our Ships were every Day taken without the leaſt Pretence; and in *Auguſt* this Yeat they *Spaniards* embarked Troops to attack *Georgia* and *Carolina*.

Our Government ſent in Men from *Gibraltar*; General *Oglethorpe*'s Regiment was ordered to be rais'd with great Expedition; and ſo good Notice was given to the People of thoſe Colonies, that they very well kept the *Spaniards* at Bay till more Force arrived.

A *Frenchman* who had ſurrendered himſelf to the *Engliſh* Conſul at *Liſbon*, was in *December* this Year ſent to *England*; a ſtrong Evidence againſt the *Spaniards*. He had commanded one of their Ships, and he declared that his Orders were to ſeize all *Engliſh* Merchant Veſſels, whether they had contraband Goods or not.

This gave our Government Authority for a more ample Demand of Reſtitution: And this was made in ſuch Terms, that the Court of *Spain* ſaw they muſt at Length do ſomething.

They gave Orders for the Reſtitution of three of our Ships which had been taken in the *Mediterranean*; and Directions were ſent to their *Spaniſh* Governors in *America*, which ſpoke their Government at leaſt frighted into a Pretence of Juſtice, if not in Reality diſpoſed to do it.

The Governor of *Porto Rico* was laid under a heavy Fine for not acquainting the Court in Time, that a *Guarda Coſta* had brought in an *Engliſh* Prize there: All the Governors had Instructions to ſee that the Treaties between *Spain*, *England* and *Holland* were punctually obſerved; and ſome of our Ships that had been ſeized there were releaſed, on Security being given to pay the Value, if it ſhould be afterwards proved there was any counterband Trading.

Theſe fair Pretences lull'd all but thoſe who were concern'd. The Merchants found themſelves not the leſs plunder'd, becauſe the Enemy ſpoke the Government fair; and on the third of *March* 1738 their Petition for Redreſs was preſented to the Houſe of Commons. The Allegations contained in it they authenticated by Letters from Perſons then in the Condition of Slavery; thoſe who were obliged to work in Irons, and fed upon unwholſome Food, ſo that many of them had already periſhed; and the Remainder would have looked upon Death as a Relief from their inſupportable Miſery.

The Houſe of Commons beſtowed a proper Attention upon this important Point. They examined ſeveral of the Merchants, Owners and Captains, who attended for that Purpoſe; and having received ſatisfactory Anſwers in regard to the ſeveral Allegations in the Petition, on the 28th of *March*, they in a grand Committee came to a Reſolution to addreſs his Majeſty to uſe Meaſures to bring *Spain* to a Reſtitution of thoſe Captures, a Releaſe of the Priſoners, and Satisfaction to this Kingdom.

On the thirtieth General *Oglethorpe*'s Regiment marched thro' the City for *Georgia*. Every Man was allowed to take a Wiſe with him for the Good of the Colony; and there was an advanced Pay allowed on that Account.

On the ſixth of *April* the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons waited on the King, with ſeveral of the Members, and addreſſed him on the Merchants Petition. His Majeſty anſwered, that he was ſenſible of the unlawful Conduct of the *Spaniards*; and that he would uſe effectual Meaſures for the Redreſs of the Sufferers, and future Security of Commerce.

The next Day ten thouſand additional Seamen were voted by the Houſe for the Year 1738; and on the eighteenth the fourteen following Men of War were put into Commiſſion.

	Guns.		Guns.
Princeſs Amelia	80	*Deptford* - -	60
Prince of Orange	70	*Princeſs Louiſa* -	60
Elizabeth - -	70	*Weymouth* - -	60
Kent - - -	70	*Orford* - -	50
Worceſter - -	60	*Aſſiſtance* -	50
Princeſs - -	60	*Newcaſtle* - -	50
Sunderland - -	60	*Saliſbury* - -	50

The King in the mean time took every Meaſure that Humanity dictated for the Relief of his injured Subjects; at the ſame Time that every Thing was done for their Redreſs. Preparations were for general Satisfaction; great Quantities of Ammunition and Stores were ſent to *Georgia*, and a Number of *Engliſh* Seamen releaſed from *Spaniſh* Priſons arriving at this Time, his Majeſty ordered a Sum of Money for their immediate Relief, which amounted from five to ten Pounds a Man, according to their Conditions.

The *Indians* in Peace, and thoſe particularly in Subjection to us on the Confines of *Georgia*, now began to feel the Effects of the *Spaniſh* Reſentment. Some Troops of that Kingdom fell upon a Town of the *Creeks*, and had ſome Advantage from the Surpriſe; but as ſoon as the *Indians* had a little recovered themſelves, they very well returned the Slaughter.

More than half the *Spaniſh* Party fell in the Action, or in the ſubſequent Purſuit; for the *Indians* followed their Advantage, and preſs'd upon the flying Enemy, till Night gave them a Reſpite.

On the fourth of *May* the Houſe of Lords intereſting themſelves as deeply as the Commons, in the Affair of the *Spaniſh* Depredations, waited on the King with this Addreſs.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, having taken into our ſerious Conſideration the many unjuſt Violences and Depredations committed by the *Spaniards* upon the Perſons, Ships and Effects, of divers of your Majeſty's Subjects in *America*, have come to the following Reſolutions, which we beg Leave in the humbleſt Manner to lay before your Majeſty, for your royal Conſideration, *viz.*

"I. Reſolved, That the Subjects of the Crown of *Great-Britain* have a clear and undoubted Right to navigate in the *American* Seas, to and from any Part of his Majeſty's Dominions; and for carrying on ſuch Trade and Commerce as they are juſtly intitled unto in *America*; and alſo to carry all Sorts of Goods and Merchandizes, or Effects, from one Part of his Majeſty's Dominions to any other Part thereof; and that no Goods, being ſo carried, are by any Treaty ſubſiſting between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, to be deemed or taken as contraband or prohibited Goods, and that the ſearching of ſuch Ships upon the open Seas, under Pretence of carrying contraband or prohibited Goods, is a Violation and Infraction of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns.

"II. Reſolved, that it appears to this Houſe, that as well before as ſince the Execution of the Treaty of *Seville*, on the Part of *Great Britain*, divers Ships and Veſſels, with their Cargoes belonging to the *Britiſh* Subjects, have been violently ſeized and confiſcated by the *Spaniards*, upon Pretences altogether unjuſt and groundleſs; and that many of the Sailors on board ſuch Ships have been injuriouſly and barbarouſly impriſoned and ill treated; and that thereby the Liberty of Navigation and Commerce belonging to his Majeſty's Subjects, by the Law of Nations, and by Virtue of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, hath been unwarrantably infringed and interrupted, to the great Loſs and Damage of our Merchants, and in direct Violation of the ſaid Treaties.

"III. Reſolved, That it appears to this Houſe, that frequent Applications have been made, on the Part of his Majeſty to the Court of *Spain*, in a Manner the moſt agreeable to Treaties, and to the Peace and Friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two Crowns, for redreſſing the notorious Abuſes and Grievances before mentioned, and preventing the like for the future, and for obtaining adeequate Satisfaction to his injured Subjects; which, in the Event, have proved entirely fruitleſs, and of no Effect.

"We think it our Duty, on this important Occaſion, humbly to repreſent to your Majeſty, That we are moſt ſenſibly affected with the many and grievous Injuries and Loſſes ſuſtained by your Majeſty's trading Subjects, by Means of theſe unwartantable Depredations and Seizures; and to give your Majeſty the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſincere Aſſurances, That in caſe your friendly and powerful Inſtances for procuring Reſtitution and Reparation to your injured Subjects, and for the future Security of their Trade and Navigation, ſhall fail of having their due Effect and Influence upon the Court of *Spain*, and ſhall not be able to obtain that real Satisfaction and Security, which your Majeſty may in Juſtice expect; we will zealouſly and cheerfully concur in all ſuch Meaſures as ſhall become neceſſary for the Support of your Majeſty's Honour, the Preſervation of our Navigation and Commerce, and the common Good of theſe Kingdoms."

To which his Majeſty anſwered,

My Lords,

"I Am ſenſibly touch'd with the many Hardſhips and Injuries ſuſtained by my trading Subjects in *America*, from the Cruelties and unjuſt Depredations of the *Spaniards*. You may be aſſured of my Care to procure Satisfaction and Reparation for the Loſſes they have already ſuffered, and Security for the Freedom of Navigation for the future; and to maintain to my People the full Enjoyment of all the Rights to which they are intitled by Treaty and the Law of Nations.

"I doubt not but I ſhall have your Concurrence for the Support of ſuch Meaſures as may be neceſſary for that Purpoſe."

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CHAP. CXXIII.

The Ruſſians *attempt a North-Eaſt Paſſage.*

THIS Year 1738 the *Ruſſians*, a People newly civilized, undertook that great Diſcovery, which had been ſo unſucceſfully attempted by the northern Nations, vers'd long before them in the Arts and Commerce.

They equipp'd a Number of Ships for this daring Expeditiun, and they ſailed from *Archangel*. They got to the River *Lena*, which lies as far to the Eaſtward of the *Weygattz Streights*, as theſe are diſtant from *Archangel*; they winter'd at the Mouth of the *Oby*; and by the good Directions to ſet Lights at the Mouth of all the Rivers which empty themſelves into the Northern Ocean, there was Hope they would accompliſh their Deſign; but they failed, as others had ſo often done before them. They were however honoured for the Attempt, and they made many uſeful Diſcoveries; tho' they did not atchieve the great End of their Voyage.

The Expeditions after this Paſſage, are like the Labours of Chemiſts in Search of the Philoſopher's Stone. The Thing which they aim to find does not exiſt, but they never fail to inrich the World with uſeful Diſcoveries.

This Year produced the Invention of Monſieur *de la Croix* for finding the Longitude. He form'd to himſelf a Syſtem, that as Geographers admit of two Poles, an Equator, and two Circles of Geographical Latitude, there may alſo be admitted two Poles, an Equator, and two Circles of Magnetic Latitude; and that the Compaſs Boxes, whoſe Needles are moved on the Vertical Plane, give a particular Inclination to each of the Latitudes. He uſed this Suppoſition to find out the Oppoſition of the North Magnetic Pole, as well in Longitude as Latitude; and afterwards to find out the Inclinations belonging to each Degree of the Latitudes.

After this, in order to find out the Longitude, he form'd a Spherical Triangle, whoſe Sides fix'd the Diſtance from the Spot of Reſidence, as well to the Pole of the World, as to the Magnetic Pole and alſo the Diſtance from the latter Pole to the former, and when theſe Diſtances were aſcertain'd, he infer'd that this muſt find out the Longitude of the Place.

This like the Voyages of the *Ruſſians*, failed of Succeſs, but yet did Honour to the Inventor.

CHAP. CXXIV.

Admiral Haddock *ſails to the* Mediterranean.

THE King, whoſe own Attention to the Intereſts of his People, would have influenced him to be in earneſt in his Demands of Reparation from *Spain*, had been now moved to it more ſtrongly by the Petition of the Merchants, and the Addreſſes of the Houſe of Lords and Commons.

The *Britiſh* Miniſters at the Court of *Madrid* were inſtructed to demand Satisfaction in more abſolute Terms; and a Squadron of ten Men of War under the Command of Admiral *Haddock* was ſent to the *Mediterranean*. They ſailed from *Spithead* on the twenty ſecond of *May*.

The Appearance of a *Britiſh* Fleet upon the Coaſt of *Spain* was of great Service in forwarding the Negotiations; but in ſpite of every Thing we could do, the *Spaniards* continued even now their Depredations in *America*; and found Means of cavilling in *Europe*. Accounts arrived that there were fifteen Sail of *Britiſh* Ships juſt then taken by the *Spaniards*, and detain'd at the *Havannah*. The *Succeſs*, Captain *Sims*, from *London* to *Virginia*, was at this Time taken near *Montſerrat* by a *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta*; who after plundering the Ship, turn'd the Captain and moſt of the Crew adrift into the Long-Boat: they were fortunately taken up by a *Dutch* Veſſel, but the Ship was carried into *Porto Rico*.

The *Spaniards* thus continuing their Depredations, three Bombſhips were ordered to be got ready with all Expedition, well furniſhed with Mortars, Shells, &c. which, with four Sail of Men of War, were ordered to reinforce Admiral *Haddock* in the *Mediterranean*, and make a Fleet of twenty-one Ships.

This produced an Order from the *Spaniſh* Court to their Commiſſioners to allow the Accounts of the *Britiſh* Merchants: But ſoon after 68,000 Pounds was pretended to be due upon the Negro Duty; and the King of *Spain* reſerved a Right of ſuſpending the Aſſiento of Negroes ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, unleſs the *Engliſh* South-ſea Company would agree in a limited Time to anſwer that Demand. The Convention with *Spain* had given great Diſguſt to the People, and this Demand made them outrageous.

They ſaw nothing could be done with this perfidious Nation by fair Means, and the Voice of the People was for a War.

The News arrived in *England* about this Time of the Storm which had been terrible in the *Eaſt Indies*, the Autumn before. It happened on the thirtieth of *September*; and our People in the Bay of *Bengal* ſuppoſed the final Deſtruction of the World was approaching. It was attended with a very heavy Rain, which raiſed fifteen Inches of Water in ſix Hours, and with a violent Earthquake, which threw down Abundance of Houſes; as the Storm reached ſixty Leagues up the River *Ganges*, it was computed that 20,000 Ships, Barks, Sloops, Boats, Canoes, &c. were caſt away.

A prodigious Quantity of Cattle of all Sorts a great many Tygers, and ſeveral Rhinoceroſes were found drowned; even a great many large Fiſh were ſtifled by the furious Agitation of the Waters, and an innumerable Quantity of Birds were beat down into the River. Two *Engliſh* Ships of five hundred Tons were thrown into a Village above two hundred Fathom from the Bed of the River *Ganges*, broke to Pieces, and all the People drowned among the Inhabitants and Cattle. Barks of ſixty Tons were blown two Leagues up into the Lands over the Tops of high Trees.

The Water roſe in the End forty Feet higher than uſual; and among the *Engliſh* Ships drove aſhore, and broke to Pieces, were the *Decker*, *Devonſhire*, and *Newcaſtle*.

In a *French* Ship which drove on Shore, and bulged, after the Wind and Waters abated, they opened their Hatches, and took out ſeveral Bales of Merchandize. But the Man who was in the Hold to ſling the Bales, ſuddenly ceaſed working; nor by calling to him, could they get any Reply. On this they ſent down another, but heard nothing of him, which very much added to their Fear; ſo that for ſome Time no one would venture down: At length, a Man more hardy than the reſt, deſcended; and he became ſilent and unactive as the two former, to the Aſtoniſhment of all: They then agreed by Lights to look down into the Hold, which had a great Quantity of Water in it, where they ſaw a huge Alligator ſtaring as expecting more Prey: It had come in through a Hole in the Ship's Side, and 'twas with Difficulty they killed it: and they found Parts of the three Men in the Creature's Belly.

CHAP. CXXV.

Affairs of Georgia *at this Period.*

ON the Eighth of *April*, the Magiſtrates of *Savanna* received Advice, that Captain *Lyford*, Commander of a Sloop, on the Third of that Inſtant, ſaw ſome large Ships at Anchor off *Auguſtine* Bar, whom he apprehended to be *Spaniſh*.

The Magiſtrates ſent to Captain *Mackpherſon*, and Captain *Mackintoſh*, who commanded the Rangers and Scouts on the South Frontiers, that they ſhould be vigilant, and ſee if any Thing ſtirred in that Country.

On the Eleventh at Night, Captain *Joſeph Prew*, Maſter of a Veſſel, arrived at *Savanna* from *Auguſtine*, who gave an Account, that being at the *Havannah*, he was on the Twentieth of *September* 1737, made Priſoner there, where there were great Preparations: Two ſixty Gun Ships, one thirty Gun, two twenty four Gun Ships, and two Sloops of eight Guns each, were fitted out; and that it was ſaid, they were to have convoyed Tranſports with Seven Thouſand Men to invade *Georgia* and *Carolina* in *March*; Letters arrived from the Court of *Spain*, which, it was ſaid, contained Orders to put a Stop to the Equipment.

He added, that on the Twenty-ſixth of *March*, one twenty four Gun Ship, two ſmaller Ships, two Snows, and a Schooner, with five Hundred Soldiers, and eighty *Spaniſh* Servants on board, ſailed from the *Havannah* for *Auguſtine*.

Upon the embarking of thoſe Men, Captain *Prew* was releaſed, and ſent on board the twenty four Gun Ship to *Auguſtine*, where he landed at the ſame Time with the abovementioned *Spaniſh* Soldiers and Servants.

When he arrived, there were in the Port of *Auguſtine* ſix half Galleys, and thirty ſeven Lanches and Pinnaces; and the Town was full of Soldiers.

The Magiſtrates of *Savannah* immediately ſent Advice of this to the Lieutenant Governor of *South Carolina*, who about the ſame time had received Accounts to the like Purport from *Auguſtine*.

They alſo ſent Advices of it to Captain *Gaſcoigne*, to the Magiſtrates of *Frederica*, and to the other Settlements on the Southern Frontiers, and enquired if they wanted any Things for their Defence. They alſo acquainted the Chiefs of the *Creek Indians*; who declared their Zeal and Readineſs for the Defence of the Colony, and that they would take up Arms as ſoon as ever they ſhould be required.

On the Thirteenth, the Magiſtrates received Letters from *William Bull*, Eſq; Lieutenant Governor of *South Carolina*, that he had Advices that Part of the *Spaniſh* Troops deſigned for the Invaſion, were arrived at *Auguſtine*, and that he had therefore ordered down the *Chickſaw* and *Uchee Indians*, to rendezvouſe at *Purryſburgh*; as alſo another Body of Men to draw together there, to march where Occaſion ſhould require. He deſired the Magiſtrates of *Savannah* to furniſh theſe with Proviſions, the Magazines there being full.

On the Fourteenth they received Advices from Captain *Gaſcoigne*, that all was quiet on the Southern Frontiers. They alſo learned from *Frederica*, that all the People there, could, upon a Signal, be called together in an Hour's Time, and that they had Guards ſo poſted, as they were not to be ſurprized.

Advice came at the ſame Time from *Darien*, that they were in a good State of Defence, and wanted neither Proviſions nor Ammunition.

On the Seventeenth they heard from the Southern Frontiers, that all was yet quiet, and that the *Spaniards* had not then made any Motion, except doubling the Guard at the Look-out, upon St. *John's* River, which was the moſt advanced Poſt the *Spaniards* had on that Continent.

After the Receipt of theſe Papers, Letters from *Charles Town* of the Eighth of *May*, gave an Account, that Colonel *Cockran*, with Part of General *Oglethorpe's* Regiment arrived there on the Third, and that they ſet out for *Georgia*; and that the *Spaniards* remained quiet at *Auguſtine*.

CHAP. CXXVI.

The Engliſh *prepare to reſent the* Spaniſh *Inſults.*

THE Conduct of the *Spaniards* had now opened all Eyes: the Government and the People ſaw together what was needful to be done, and every Thing conſpired to promiſe Redreſs to *England*, and Humiliation to her haughty Enemy.

On the Firſt of *July* this Year, the *Hector* and *Blandford* Men of War ſailed for *Georgia*, with General *Oglethorpe* and the Tranſports.

On the Fourteenth of the ſame Month, the Lords of the Admiralty put a ſeventy Gun Ship, the *Lenox*, into Commiſſion; as alſo two ſixty Gun Ships, the *Leon* and *Superbe*, and a fifty Gun Ship, the *Portland*.

Expreſs upon Expreſs were diſpatched from the Board; a Preſs for Seamen began, in which no Protections were allowed as Excuſe: Some Reinforcements were ſent from *Ireland* to *Gibraltar*; and Orders were iſſued to ſtrengthen the Works at *Port Mahon*.

More Ships were talked of to be put into Commiſſion: A Thouſand Seamen were demanded from the Rulers of the Watermen's Company; and Impreſs Warrants were ſent to the Lord Lieutenants of Counties.

Theſe Preparations could not be miſunderſtood, nor was a Proſpect of War ever an Occaſion of ſo univerſal Joy: the Robberies, Murthers and Inſults committed on the *Britiſh* Subjects, were now in every Mouth: and the Spirit of the People was Revenge.

The Colonies entertained the ſame Opinion: and took prudent and active Meaſures for Defence.

It was rumoured that the *Spaniards* had a Body of Troops at St. *Auguſtine*'s, deſtin'd to ſerve againſt *Georgia* or *Jamaica*; and the Governor of *New York* publiſhed a Proclamation to forbid any of the *Britiſh* Subjects from ſupplying them with any Thing.

There were at this Time in Commiſſion in the *Weſt Indies* ſix and twenty *Britiſh* Ships of War, in the *Mediterranean* twenty two; and fifty five at Home.

Theſe with four that had been on various Service, and at the Time of taking the Account in *Auguſt*, were returning Home, made the whole Amount one Hundred and ſeven; the Complement of Men more than ſix and twenty Thouſand.

Several Bomb Veſſels were ordered in great haſte, and before the End of the Month they joined the Ships at *Spithead* for a ſecret Expedition.

Every Veſſel carried one thirteen Inch Mortar, and one ten Inch Nowitzer, with four Hundred Shells, and forty Carcaſſes for each.

The Computation of their Force, Charge and Service was at that Time, as follows. A Mortar with thirty Pound of Powder, would throw a Shell weighing two Hundred and forty Pound, four Thouſand Yards. Twelve Pound of Powder was the Charge for the latter, and carried a ninety ſix Pound Shell to the ſame Diſtance.

The ſucceeding Month more Stores were ſent to Admiral *Haddock*, and it was univerſally underſtood, that he would winter at *Port Mahon*.

In the *Weſt Indies*, the Tables now were in ſome Meaſure turn'd upon the *Spaniards*. Private Commanders caught the general Spirit of the Nation; they ſaw they were ſupported by a due Strength in thoſe Seas, and in their Turn they made Prizes.

Captain *Berkely* in a *Boſton* Ship, retook ſeveral *Engliſh* Veſſels ſeized by the *Spaniards* in the Bay of *Honduras*, and took ſome of their Periauguas.

On the Shore were a ſmall Party of *Spaniards* in Tents, with their Officer: He demanded the Occaſion of the *Engliſhman*'s Conduct: Captain *Berkeley* ſeeing their Number not much ſuperior to his own, armed all his Men, and landed to give them his Anſwer.

He attacked them upon their own Ground, drove them into the Woods, and made Prize of all their Baggage.

CHAP. CXXVII.

The Conduct of Spain *in Conſequence of theſe Preparations.*

THE Appearance of Admiral *Haddock*'s Squadron, had before given Weight to the *Britiſh* Miniſters at the Court of *Spain*; and the Proſpect of its wintering there, had ſtill more Effect.

The King ratified the preliminary Articles of Accommodation with *Great Britain*, but not without Reſtrictions on ſeveral Heads, and eſpecially that which ſtipulated, that, for the future, the *Engliſh* ſhould not be viſited by any *Spaniſh* Veſſels whatever.

Of theſe Reſtrictions, the Marquiſs *de la Quadra* neglected to inform Mr. *Keene*, till after the Departure of the Courier diſpatched for *London*, with the News of the Ratification.

The *Britiſh* Miniſter, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting any Alterations in the preliminary Articles, after the formal Declaration which he had made, that the King his Maſter would never conſent to any Change whatever in them, was greatly ſurprized when M. *de la Quadra* ſent for him, to tell him, that the King could no Way reconcile himſelf to ratify them without joining the aforementioned Reſtrictions to them; but that this ſhould not hinder Things from being brought to a happy Concluſion.

Mr. *Keene* was extremely offended at this Treatment, and anſwered, "But, Sir, why was not "this told me before the Departure of the Courier?"

M. *Vander Meer*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſador at *Madrid*, had a very warm Conference with M. *de la Quadra*, about the evaſive Shifts that Court made Uſe of, to avoid giving Satiſfaction for ſome *Dutch* Ships taken by *Spaniſh* Privateers; at the End whereof, he told the *Spaniſh* Miniſter in plain Terms, "That at the Time when *Spain* was "apprehenſive of being attacked by *Great Britain*, ſhe had been exceeding laviſh of her Promiſes of Satiſfaction; but now theſe Fears were "removed, ſhe ungenerouſly took an Opportunity of evading them."

This Conduct was in haſte notified to the *Britiſh* Court; and there it was made no Secret to the People. They learned nothing by it, but what they perfectly well knew before; and the Government became ſenſible, that as nothing but an Appearance of Force could bring the *Spaniards* to a Shew of doing Juſtice; the real Uſe of that Force alone, could bring them in earneſt to do what they pretended to deſign.

The People who had all along deſired a War, grew more and more clamorous for it; and the Government which foreſaw more of the Conſequences than they could yet, did not intend to ſuffer the Behaviour of that Kingdom, without a full Reſentment.

CHAP. CXXVIII.

The Affair of the Convention with Spain.

THE People of *England*, who toward the Cloſe of the laſt Year, had, perhaps too haſtily, deſired a War with *Spain*, were in the Beginning of the Year 1739, thrown into Terrors by natural Incidents.

An Earthquake was felt in ſome of our Northern Counties, and Storms and Inundations ravaged the whole Kingdom.

The People of the *Weſt Riding* of *Yorkſhire*, agreed in their Accounts of a very conſiderable Shock of the Earth, which happened on the Thirtieth of *December*, and continued more than a Minute, either in one Effort, or repeated Concuſſions; attended with a rattling Noiſe.

On the Fourth of *January*, a Storm did vaſt Damage on our Weſtern Coaſts, and daſhed ſeveral of our ſmaller Veſſels to Pieces, while it ſtranded larger. This extended itſelf to the Continent, for the Churches and publick Buildings in *France* ſuffered by it.

On the Fourteenth, the City of *Edinburgh* was alarmed by a Tempeſt, which began at One in the Morning, and laſted three Hours, throwing down many of the talleſt Buildings; and damaging the Shipping on the near Coaſt: this was felt in the ſame Manner, but for a ſhorter Time, in *Ireland*, where alſo it did great Damage.

The common People thought the Anger of Heaven was declared in theſe Concuſſions, and Superſtition took in many Breaſts the Place of Revenge.

The Troops ſent from *England*, had this Year nearly been fatal to the new Colony in *Georgia*. They demanded more than their Pay; and one of them attempted to ſtab General *Oglethorpe*, who would have ſet them right.

This raiſed ſuch a Spirit in the People of the Colony, that the moſt mutinous of the Men were laid in Irons; and Severity reſtored Peace to the Colony.

The Fellow who had attempted to murther the General, eſcaped a publick Execution, by immediate Death. An Officer, as the General parried the Thruſt, ſtruck the Perſon to the Ground.

The Diſputes and attempted Accommodation with *Spain*, were underſtood as the great Object of the Nation's Attention: But it is ſtrange to ſee with how different Eyes various People looked upon the ſame Meaſures.

His Majeſty in his Speech to the Houſe of Lords on the Firſt of *February*, told them 'twas a *great Satiſfaction* to him, that he could aſſure them, a *Convention* was ſettled and ratified with *Spain*.

The Houſe of Lords in their Addreſs, expreſſed the ſame Senſe of this Convention: but to the Merchants who were moſt concerned, it appeared in ſo different a Light, that the Common Council of the City of *London*, ſent their Sheriff with a Petition to both Houſes of Parliament, in which they teſtified their Surprize and Concern at certain eſſential Parts of it. The Tranſaction will appear ſo important to Poſterity, that it may not be improper to preſerve in this

Place the whole Particulars.*

With what Reaſon the Merchants of *England* were diſſatisfied with this Convention, appeared ſoon after, their Demand on *Spain* amounted to Three hundred and forty-three thouſand, two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven Pounds; and it was by the Commiſſaries of the two Nations lowered to the even Sum of two hundred thouſand Pounds.

The

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* *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

I Have upon all Occaſions, declared, how ſenſibly I have been affected with the many Hardſhips and Injuries ſuſtained by my trading Subjects in *America*. I have the Honour of my Crown, and the true Intereſt of my People too much at Heart, to ſee either of them ſuffer any Prejudice or Diminution, without purſuing the moſt proper and advantageous Methods for their real Security and Preſervation.

Theſe Conſiderations alone were ſufficient to incite me to exert my utmoſt Power, in vindicating and protecting our undoubted Rights and Privileges of Navigation and Commerce; and nothing could add to my own Zeal in ſo juſt a Cauſe, but the due Regard I always have to the Petitions and Complaints of my Subjects, and the Advice of my Parliament. The Wiſdom and Prudence of your Reſolutions, upon this great and national Concern, determined me to begin with the more moderate Meaſures, and to try, once more, what Effect and Influence my friendly Endeavours and preſſing Inſtances would have upon the Court of *Spain*, towards obtaining that Satisfaction and Security, which we were entitled to demand and expect; and your Aſſurances to ſupport me in all Events, enabled me to proceed with proper Weight and Authority.

Thus ſupported by the concurrent Advice of both Houſes of Parliament, I loſt no Time in making Preparations to do myſelf, and my People Juſtice, if the Conduct of the Court of *Spain* had laid us under that Neceſſity: and at the ſame Time I did, in the ſtrongeſt Manner, repeat my Inſtances for obtaining ſuch Juſtice and Reparations for the many Injuries and Loſſes already ſuſtained, and ſuch an effectual Security for the future, as might prevent the Conſequences of an open Rupture.

It is now a great Satisfaction to me, that I am able to acquaint you, that the Meaſures I have purſued, have have had ſo good an Effect, that a Convention is concluded, and ratified between me and the King of *Spain*; whereby, upon Conſideration had of the Demands on both Sides, that Prince hath obliged himſelf to make Reparation to my Subjects for their Loſſes, by a certain ſtipulated Payment; and Plenipotentiaries are therein named and appointed, for redreſſing, within a limited Time, all thoſe *Grievances* and *Abuſes*, which have hitherto interrupted our Commerce and Navigation in the *American* Seas: and for ſettling all Matters in Diſpute, in ſuch a Manner, as may, for the future, prevent and remove all new Cauſes and Pretences of Complaint, by a ſtrict Obſervance of our mutual Treaties, and a juſt Regard to the Rights and Privileges belonging to each other. I will order the Convention and ſeparate Articles to be laid before you.

It hath been my principal Care, to make Uſe of the Confidence you repoſed in me in this critical and doubtful Conjuncture, with no other View but the general and laſting Benefit of my Kingdoms; and if all the Ends, which are to be hoped for, even from ſucceſsful Arms, can be attained without plunging the Nation into a War, it muſt be thought, by all reaſonable and unprejudiced Perſons, the moſt deſirable Event.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the proper Eſtimates to be prepared, and laid before you, for the Service of the current Year. I heartily wiſh, that the Poſture of Affairs would have permitted me to retrench the publick Expences, for which I am obliged to demand the preſent Supplies: And I make no doubt, that your experienced Zeal and Affection for me and my Government, and the proper Concern you have always ſhewn for the publick Good, will induce you to grant me ſuch Supplies, as you ſhall find neceſſary for the Honour and Security of me and my Kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot but earneſtly recommend it to you, not to ſuffer any Prejudices or Animoſities to have a Share in your Deliberations at this important Conjuncture, which ſeems, in a particular Manner, to call upon you to unite in carrying on ſuch Meaſures, as will be moſt conducive to the true Intereſt and Advantage of my People.

The Houſe of Peers agreed the ſame Day to the following Adddreſs.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to return your Majeſty our humble Thanks for your moſt gracious Speech from the Throne.

Amongſt the many convincing Proofs, which your Majeſty hath given of your paternal and unwearied Care of the Rights of your People, nothing can fill their Hearts with more grateful Sentiments, than that ſincere and affectionate Concern, which you ſo often have declared, for the many Hardſhips and Injuries ſuſtained by your trading Subjects in *America*. The Honour of your Majeſty's Crown, and the true Intereſt of your People, are, and ever will be inſeparable; and as your Majeſty hath, on all Occaſions, demonſtrated to the World, that you have both equally at Heart, it was impoſſible for us, not to have the firmeſt Dependance on your Zeal and Vigilance for their real Security and Preſervation.

The gracious Regard which your Majeſty is pleaſed to expreſs for the Reſolutions and Advice of your Parliament, is a great Inſtance of your Royal Goodneſs; and tho' your Majeſty's conſtant Deſire, out of Tenderneſs to your People, to avoid involving theſe Kingdoms in the manifold Inconveniences of War, muſt incline you to approve the Beginning with more moderate Meaſures; yet we never entertained the leaſt Doubt, but that true Greatneſs and Fortitude, which inſpire your Royal Breaſt, would induce you to exert your utmoſt Power in vindicating and protecting our undoubted Privileges of Navigation and Commerce, and in doing Juſtice to yourſelf and your Subjects, if the Conduct of the Court of *Spain* had made ſuch Methods neceſſary.

We beg Leave, on this Occaſion, to offer to your Majeſty our unfeigned Thanks for your great Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion, in acquainting us from the Throne, that a Convention is concluded and ratified between your Majeſty and the King of *Spain*, whereby Reparation is agreed to be made to your Subjects for their Loſſes, by a certain ſtipulated Payment; and Plenipotentiaries are appointed for *regulating*, within a limited Time, all thoſe *Grievances* and *Abuſes*, which have hitherto interrupted our Commerce and Navigation on the *American* Seas; and that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to order the Convention and ſeparate Articles to be laid before us.

We ſhould fall ſhort of thoſe warm Impreſſions of Gratitude, which we feel in ourſelves, as well as be wanting in our Duty, if we did not return your Majeſty our moſt thankful Acknowledgments, for your

Royal

The Directors of the South-ſea Company refuſed, with a juſt Indignation, to pay the Sixty-eight thouſand Pounds demanded by *Spain*; and the Company in a general Court approved their Conduct.

On the eighth of *March* the Affair of the Convention being to come before the Houſe of Commons; the Repreſentatives of the *Britiſh* People ſhow'd

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Royal Care in making Uſe of the Confidence repoſed in your Majeſty, with no other View, but the general and laſting Benefit of your Kingdoms. Reparation for paſt Injuries and Loſſes, and effectual Security for the future, founded in Juſtice, and warranted by Treaties, have been the great Views of your Majeſty and your Parliament in this national and important Affair; and if thoſe Purpoſes can be attained, without plunging the Nation into a War, it muſt give the trueſt Satisfaction to all your faithful Subjects, who cannot but be as deſirous to preſerve the Peace, as they are able and ready to defend and vindicate their Rights, againſt the Incroachments of all Aggreſſors.

We are deeply ſenſible, how unbecoming and pernicious it would be, at any Time, to ſuffer either Prejudice or Animoſities to mix themſelves with Parliamentary Deliberations; and your Majeſty's gracious Recommendations to us, particularly to avoid them at this important Conjuncture, cannot fail to awaken in us a more than ordinary Caution on that Head. *Great Britain* hath but one common Intereſt, conſiſting in the Security of your Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and the Welfare and Happineſs of your People: And when your Majeſty is pleaſed to exhort us to Unanimity, it is only calling upon us to unite, for our own Preſervation. We therefore beſeech your Majeſty to accept the ſtrongeſt and moſt affectionate Aſſurances, that we will zealouſly and cheerfully concur in all ſuch Meaſures, as ſhall be moſt conducive to thoſe great and deſirable Ends.

His Majeſty's moſt Gracious Anſwer.

My Lords,

I Thank you for this dutiful and affectionate Addreſs; and for the Dependence you expreſs on my Care to make Uſe of the Confidence you repoſe in me, for the general Benefit of my People. You may rely on the Continuance of my Endeavours to perfect the Accommodation with the Court of *Spain*, in ſuch a Manner, as may be moſt for the Honour of my Crown, and the true Intereſt of my Kingdoms; and that I will purſue ſuch Meaſures, as ſhall appear to be moſt conducive to the future Security of the Trade and Navigation of my Subjects.

The Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament aſſembled, do beg Leave to return your Majeſty our unfeigned Thanks, for your Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech from the Throne.

We acknowledge your Majeſty's great Goodneſs in the conſtant Regard your Majeſty has been pleaſed to expreſs to the Petitions and Complaints of your Subjects, and the Advice of your Parliament, and in the purſuing ſuch Meaſures for the Honour and Dignity of your Crown, and the true Intereſt of your People, as your Majeſty in your great Wiſdom judged to be moſt proper and advantageous.

We congratulate your Majeſty on the Succeſs of your Royal Endeavours, in concluding a Convention with the King of *Spain*, whereby Reparation is ſtipulated to be made and paid to your Majeſty's injured Subjects, and Plenipotentiaries are appointed for regulating all thoſe Grievances and Abuſes, which have hitherto interrupted our Commerce and Navigation, and for removing all future Cauſes and Pretences of Complaint.

We beg Leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that your faithful Commons will effectually ſupport your Majeſty, in accompliſhing and bringing to Perfection this great and neceſſary Work, in ſuch a Manner, as may anſwer the juſt Demands and Expectations of your Majeſty and your People.

And your Majeſty may be aſſured, that your faithful Commons will grant to your Majeſty ſuch Supplies as ſhall be neceſſary for the Honour and Security of your Majeſty and your Kingdoms; and that we will endeavour to avoid all Heats and Animoſities in carrying on the publick Buſineſs at this critical and important Conjuncture.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I Return you my Thanks for this dutiful and loyal Addreſs, and you may be aſſured that I will uſe my beſt Endeavours to bring this important Affair to a ſpeedy and happy Concluſion.

The Sheriffs of *London*, by Order of the Court, preſented the following Petition to both Houſes of Parliament, which was read, and ordered to be laid on the Table for Conſideration.

THAT the Citizens of *London* are too deeply intereſted in whatever affects the Trade of this Nation, not to expreſs the utmoſt Anxiety for the Welfare and Proſperity of that only Source of our Riches; and it is with a Concern your Petitioners are unable to expreſs, that they perceive the Trade to his Majeſty's *American* Colonies, ſtill continues expoſed to the Inſults of the *Spaniards*, who under unwarrantable and injurious Pretences, continue to ſtop, ſearch, and make Prizes of *Britiſh* Veſſels navigating the *American* Seas, in manifeſt Violation of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns.

Your Petitioners moſt humbly apprehend, That the Trade from theſe his Majeſty's Kingdoms, to his *American* Colonies, is of the utmoſt Importance, and almoſt the only profitable Trade this Nation now enjoys, unrival'd by others; and they were induced to hope from his Majeſty's known Goodneſs, and paternal Care of his Subjects, ſupported by the vigorous Reſolutions of both Houſes of Parliament, and the Equipment of a very powerful Fleet, that his Majeſty's trading Subjects in the Seas of *America*, as well as in all other Parts of the Ocean, would not only have received a full Satisfaction for their Loſſes occaſioned by the Depredations of *Spain*, but alſo an undoubted Security for their Commerce for the Time to come; and that a reaſonable and adequate Reparation would likewiſe have been obtained, for the Barbarities and inhuman Cruelties exerciſed by that Nation on the *Engliſh* Seamen, who have had the Unhappineſs of falling into their mercileſs Hands.

Your Petitioners moſt humbly beg Leave to teſtify their great Concern and Surprize to find, by the Convention lately concluded between his Majeſty and the King of *Spain*; that the *Spaniards* are ſo far from giving up their (as we humbly apprehend) unjuſt Pretenſions of a Right to viſit and ſearch our Ships on the Seas of *America*, that this Pretenſion of theirs is, amongſt others, referred to the future Regulation and Deciſion of Plenipotentiaries appointed on each Side, whereby we apprehend it is in ſome Degree admitted.

ſhow'd an unprejudic'd Spirit in their Attendance. More than a hundred of them were preſent before ſeven in the Morning; and a Quarter before ten four hundred and eighty were at Prayers.

The Debates wore out more than the Day. The great and excellent Prince of *Wales*, attentive as became his high Station, and higher Character, to an Event of this Importance, was early in the Gallery of the Houſe, and ſtaid there till twelve at Night: His Dinner was brought him to the Place; and his Attention was devoted to the Subject, as that of a Patriot Prince to the Intereſts of a People who naturally were to be his Subjects.

It was a miniſterial Point as well as popular. The Event was, that the Houſe, by a ſlight Majority, reſolved on an Addreſs of the ſame Nature with that of the Lords. Some upon this left the Houſe. They were called Seceders, and they gloried in the Title.

On the twelfth the Houſe of Commons waited on his Majeſty with their Addreſs of Thanks relating to the Convention.

CHAP. CXXIX.

The Affairs of Georgia.

A New Conſpiracy was diſcovered ſoon after the Spirit of the People had quelled the firſt; and this was alſo among the Soldiery; tho' in a different Body. Theſe were the Troops the Government had ordered thither from *Gibraltar*. They had been poſted near *St. Auguſtin's*, and the *Spaniards* had converſed occaſionally with them, and corrupted them. They, like the others, began Diſturbances by ſome unreaſonable Demands. One of them in this Mutiny fir'd at General *Oglethorpe*, and another attempted it, but his Piece only flaſh'd in the Pan. A Court-martial was held on theſe, and the reſt, and they were condemned capitally. Four only were executed; but this ſtruck ſufficient Terror.

CHAP. CXXX.

A Treaty with Denmark.

THE Courts of *Great-Britain* and *Denmark* which had not for ſome Time perfectly underſtood one another; this Year ſettled a Treaty of Subſidy, to the following Effect:

All the Treaties of Alliance, Friendſhip, and Guaranty, formerly made between the High Contractors, and alſo concerning Trade, are renewed and confirmed by this Treaty.

His *Daniſh* Majeſty engages himſelf to keep, during three Years, five thouſand Foot and one thouſand Horſe in Readineſs for the Service of *Great-Britain*, ſo that they may be always in a Condition to march within two Months after Notice given: But if *Great-Britain*'s immediate Defence be the Buſineſs in hand, thoſe Troops ſhall begin their March upon the firſt Summons they receive.

If his *Daniſh* Majeſty ſhould find himſelf obliged at the ſame Time to ſend Auxiliary Troops to any neighbouring Power or Powers in Alliance with him, his *Britannic* Majeſty, in Conſideration of the great Expences in keeping the *Daniſh* Troops,

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We humbly conceive we have too much Cauſe to fear, if the Right pretended to by *Spain*, of ſearching *Britiſh* Ships at Sea, be admitted in any Manner or Degree whatſoever, that the Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects to *America*, will become ſo precarious, as to depend in a great Meaſure, upon the Indulgence and Juſtice of the *Spaniards*, of both which they have given us for ſome Years paſt, ſuch Specimens, as we humbly think this Nation can have no Cauſe to be ſatisfied with.

Your Petitioners beg Leave further to expreſs their humble Apprehenſions, that ſuch a precarious Situation as this, muſt inevitably expoſe the Trade of the *American* Seas to continual Interruptions and perpetual Alarms, as well as to ſevere Loſſes; that to theſe unhappy Cauſes they humbly apprehend, the preſent low State of the *Britiſh* Colonies in *America*, may in a great Meaſure be attributed; and if the cruel Treatment of the *Engliſh* Sailors, whoſe hard Fate has thrown them into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, ſhould be put up without any Reparation, your Petitioners humbly apprehend, it may be the Means of deterring the Seamen from undertaking Voyages to the Seas of *America*, without an Advance of Wages, which that Trade or any other will not be able to ſupport.

Your Petitioners therefore having laid before this honourable Houſe, the high Importance this Trade is of to the Kingdom in general, and this City in particular, thought it their indiſpenſable Duty, to repreſent in the moſt humble and reſpectful Manner, to this honourable Houſe, the fatal Conſequences of leaving the Freedom of Navigation any longer in Suſpence and Uncertainty: They therefore humbly hope this honourable Houſe will take it into mature Deliberation, and do therein as to their great Wiſdom ſhall ſeem meet.

And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c.

The *Weſt India* Merchants of *London* and *Briſtol*, preſented alſo their Petitions relating to the ſaid Convention.

Troops, engages himſelf to pay eighty Crowns for every Trooper, and thirty for each Foot Soldier; of which one half is to be paid after the making a Convention on that Head, and the other Half as ſoon as the Troops enter into the Service of *Great-Britain*.

His *Britannic* Majeſty likewiſe engages to pay three Years ſucceſſively the Sum of Two hundred and fifty thouſand Bank Crowns *per Annum*, upon Condition that his *Daniſh* Majeſty will be contented with One hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns a Year, from the Day on which the ſaid Troops enter into the Service and Pay of *Great-Britain*.

With this the King acquainted the Houſe; an Addreſs of the Lords, thanking his Majeſty for this Meaſure, followed; and the Commons voted Seventy thouſand, five hundred and eighty-three Pounds for that Service.

In *Spain* Things wore not a much more favourable Aſpect than in *England*. The Government in either Place was ſatisfied, but not the People. On the firſt of *May* was held the firſt Conference of the Plenipotentiaries for concluding a definitive Treaty; but the People on one Hand deſired Reparation for paſt Depredations; and on the other an Opportunity of committing more.

On the twenty-fourth of the ſame Month an Earthquake made great Havock at *Smyrna*, and buried Multitudes of People in the Ruins of the Buildings.

In *Jamaica* the Negroes grew now very troubleſome. They choſe themſelves a Chief or Captain, whoſe Name was *Chagoa*, a Perſon of Courage; but that is common to them all; 'tis Juſtice to ſay, of Prudence alſo, and a true Senſe of Virtue. He repreſented to the reſt the Cruelty of their Treatment, and reminded them of their Strength.

He talked them into a due Senſe of the natural Rights and Liberties of Mankind, and convinced them no Servitude was binding but what was voluntary.

They learned to think like him, as well as act in Obedience to him. And he took Precautions for Succeſs in his Actions. He led them by Surprize upon two Parties of Soldiers, whom they defeated.

After this Succeſs they retired to a Place of Strength in the Mountains, and ſent an Offer of Terms. *Chagoa* demanded that they ſhould be acknowledged a free People, allowed Plantations, and the Rights of Commerce.

The Government of the Iſland were obliged by the Neceſſity of the Time to comply with this; and Terms were ſettled accordingly.

CHAP. CXXXI.

The Negotiation with Spain *unſucceſsful.*

THE Government ſoon found the Merchants had judged better of *Spain* than they. The Sum of Ninety-five thouſand Pounds had been ſtipulated for the Merchants; and this they eluded paying. The Conferences promiſed nothing better than trifling and Deluſion on the Side of *Spain*; and our Government having juſtified itſelf to the whole World, by Propoſals of Accommodation, prepared Force.

Fourteen Men of War were in the Beginning of *June* put into Commiſſion, and three Bomb-ketches. Proclamations were publiſhed recalling *Britiſh* Sailors in foreign Service; and advanced Wages offered to thoſe who would enter; while a Preſs took up others able to ſerve. New Levies were begun for the Land-Forces, and ſome Regiments ordered from *Ireland*. The Secretaries of State adviſ'd the South-ſea Company of their proper Conduct, and Orders were in conſequence ſent to their Correſpondents in *Spain*.

The Merchants were charmed with theſe vigorous Meaſures; and public Credit roſe in Proportion. The Conferences were ſuſpended; the King of *Spain* declared to Mr. *Keene*, that ſince the South ſea Company refuſ'd to pay the Sixty-eight thouſand Pounds, he ſhould revoke the Privilege, and ſeize their Effects in *Mexico*, to pay the Sum.

The *Britiſh* Fleet cruiſed upon his Coaſt, and this, he ſaid, hurt his Honour, at a Time when the two Nations were upon uncertain Terms.

The Galleons were expected home at this Time; and Admiral *Haddock*'s Preſence was therefore very unwelcome.

Georgia was now threaten'd with ſomething worſe than War, with a Deſertion of the People. The *Spaniards* of *St. Auguſtin* invited Slaves, and whoever pleaſed to come over to them, promiſing them Lands, and great Advantages, and in a very little Time they had got over ſeven hundred. In *July* this Year general Repriſals were granted by Authority againſt the Subjects Goods and Effects of the King of *Spain*: and the Admiralty iſſued them in Form. The Merchants took them with great Pleaſure, and ſent out thoſe who were determined to ſink, burn, and deſtroy, according to the Letters.

The Government, who had not raſhly taken this important Step, weighed every Circumſtance now: and they were more careful than People perceived, to give the hoſtile Meaſures Effect.

A great deal depends in remote Parts upon early Intelligence; and this the Adminiſtration took Order ſhould be given very properly. As ſoon as as it was ſeen a War was unavoidable, they took Meaſures for attacking the Enemy in the *Weſt-Indies*, and in the South ſeas; and determining to grant Letters of Repriſals, they ſent Notice in Time to Commodore *Brown*, who commanded a Squadron at *Jamaica*, with Orders to improve the Opportunity.

In the mean time Admiral *Vernon* was honoured with the Command of a Squadron for the *Weſt-Indies*. And the great Voyage of Mr. *Anſon* was propos'd, tho' not in the exact Condition wherein it was afterwards undertaken.

CHAP. CXXXII.

Admiral Vernon *ſails*.

ON the twenty third of *July* Admiral *Vernon* ſailed with his Squadron from *Spithead*; Commander in Chief of all his Majeſty's Ships in the *Weſt-Indies*.

Unfavourable Winds kept him a Week in *Portland* Road; in which Time indefatigable Pains were taken in preparing the Men for Action, by accuſtoming them to the Exerciſe of the great Guns, as well as ſmall Arms.

Want of Wind again kept the Squadron a Day or two off *Plymouth*; but, this over, they ſailed for the Coaſt of *Spain*.

On the ninth of *Auguſt* they made *Cape Ortugal*; and on the twenty-third the Admiral arrived at *Madeira*. Having taken in the neceſſary Stores there, he ſailed with the *Louiſa*, *Worceſter*, *Burford*, *Stafford*, and *Norwich*, for *Antigua*; where he arrived on the twenty-ninth of *September*: And on the twelfth of *October* at *Port-Royal*.

He had from Time to Time diſpatch'd Ships for Intelligence, and on different Service, where there appeared any Proſpect of Succeſs; but he now learned that moſt of the Reports he had heard were groundleſs; that no Fleet of Ships, no Galleons, as reported, were ready to ſail for *Europe*; nor could there be any Thing worth his Notice there till *January*.

This was not a Time to be ſpent in Idleneſs by ſuch a Commander, and with ſuch a Force. He immediately thought of attacking ſome important Place belonging to the Enemy. *Carthagena* and *Porto Bello* came into his Mind together; and he determined to uſe all Means of gaining Intelligence relating to them.

There was in his Hands at this Time a Priſoner of ſome Conſequence, Don *Pedro Elliſtagaritta*, Captain to the *Spaniſh* Admiral; who had been brought off from *Carthagena* in the Beginning of *September*, by Captain *Stapylton*. He propoſed to exchange this Gentleman for the South-ſea Agents.

The Pretence of an Exchange of this Kind, tho' he had no immediate Hope from it in that Way, gave him a fair Opportunity of ſending in a Flag of Truce, by Means of which he could learn the Condition of the *Spaniſh* Fortreſſes.

By this and other Means of like Kind, the Admiral, whoſe Conduct, (to give it the higheſt Character,) was equal to his Courage, learn'd the Condition, Strength, and Deſtination of the *Spaniards* at Sea and at Land in that Part of the World.

He found their Fleet and Galleons purpoſed to join at *Carthagena*, in order to go to *Porto Bello*, to open the Fair at that Place, the Money having been brought from *Panama* ſome Time.

Every Thing now joined to fix *Porto-Bello* as the Place he ſhould attack. On the twenty eighth he was joined by Commodore *Brown*, who came in from a Cruiſe in the *Hampton-Court*; and he came to a Reſolution of ſailing immediately; to get there, if poſſible, before the Fleet of Galleons.

He took on board the beſt Pilots he could get; and the Governor of *Jamaica* lent him what Men he could ſpare under the Command of Captain *Newton*.

Three Ships which he had diſpatched to the *Caracca* Coaſt, now came into Port; and the Admiral leaving proper Orders for thoſe that were cruiſing, and ſtationing Ships for Protection of the Trade, ſailed on the fifth of *November* with the *Burford*, *Hampton-Court*, *Princeſs Louiſa*, *Strafford*, *Norwich*, and *Sheerneſs*; the laſt of which he ordered to cruiſe off *Carthagena*. On the twentieth in the Evening he came in Sight of *Porto Bello*, having been delay'd in his Paſſage by contrary Winds.

There being but little Wind that Evening, tho' a very great Swell, he anchored for the Night ſix Leagues off the Shore, being apprehenſive of driving to the Eaſtward of the Harbour.

On the twenty-firſt in the Morning he ply'd to Windward in Line of Battle, having given the proper Directions for an Attack; but the Wind proving Eaſterly, he was obliged to confine his Attempt to the Iron Fort only; cloſe to which the Squadron was piloted by Captain *Rentone*.

Commodore *Brown* in the *Hampton-Court*, who led the Attack, executed his Part as became an Officer of Experience and Reſolution; and he was well ſupported by Captain *Herbert*, in the *Norwich*, and Captain *Mayne*, in the *Worceſter*. The Admiral ſoon perceived that ſome of the *Spaniards* fled from ſeveral Parts of the Fort; upon which he made the Signal for the Boats in which the Soldiers were, to make the beſt of their Way, in order to their Landing, whilſt he was coming up to the Fort to batter it.

The Admiral luffing up as near to the Fort as he could, the Fire of his ſmall Arms commanded the Enemy's lower Batteries, and had a good Effect in driving them from that Part, from which they could do moſt Harm; and by this Means the Men were alſo ſecured at Landing. This (as the Enemy afterwards confeſſed) was the principal Occaſion of their deſerting the lower Batteries; the Small Shot from the former Ships not having reached them, tho' their Cannon had beat down ſome of the upper Part of the Fort.

As the Boats came near the Admiral's Ship, he called to them to go directly on Shore under the Walls of the Fort: There was no Breach made;

but this anſwered as was expected, by throwing the Enemy into a general Conſternation. The Officers and Men who had ſtood to the lower Battery, fled to the upper Part of it; where they held up a white Signal for capitulating. The Admiral anſwer'd with a white Flag; but it was ſome Time before he could ſtop his own Men; and thoſe on board the *Strafford*, Captain *Trevor*, which followed him, from firing.

In the mean Time the Seamen had climb'd up the Walls of the lower Battery, ſtruck the Colours, and drawn the Soldiers up after them; to whom the *Spaniards*, who had retir'd to the upper Part of the Fort, ſoon after ſurrendered at Diſcretion.

Their Number was now only five Officers, and thirty-five Men, out of above three hundred; the reſt being either killed or wounded, or having made their Eſcape.

The Ships that went in before the Admiral, were fallen to Leeward, ſo that they were out of Sight of the *Gloria Caſtle*; the Admiral's Ship lying open to that Caſtle, they kept firing one of their longeſt Guns at him till Night; but not being within Point-blank, their Shot either fell ſhort, or went over him, only one Ball went thro' the Head of his Foretop-Maſt, juſt above the Rigging, ſo that it did no Harm.

The Admiral finding they continued their firing, tried ſome of his lower Tier at them, which being new Guns, anſwered beyond Expectation, carrying over the *Gloria Caſtle* into the Town, none of the Shot falling ſhort, and one of them going thro' the Governor's Houſe, and ſome thro' other Houſes in the Place.

This ſucceſsful Beginning was attended with a very inconſiderable Loſs, there being only three Men killed and five wounded on board the Admiral's Ship; the like Number were killed and wounded on board the *Worceſter*, and one Man had both his Legs ſhot off on board the *Hampton-Court*. The other Ships had none killed or wounded; and only two Soldiers were ſhot going aſhore; one of which died ſoon after of his Wounds.

The next Morning being the twenty-ſecond, the Admiral went on board Commodore *Brown*, to call the Captains to conſult together, and give out the neceſſary Orders for warping the Ships up the next Night, in order to attack the *Gloria Caſtle* the Night following, as it would not have been practicable to attempt it in the Day Time; but in this he was prevented, by the Enemy's putting up a White Flag at the *Gloria*, and ſending a Boat with a Flag of Truce to the Admiral, with the Governor's Adjutant, and a Lieutenant of a Man of War, who brought the Conditions ſign'd on which they deſir'd to capitulate.

In anſwer to theſe the Admiral immediately drew up the Terms on which he would admit them to Capitulation, and diſpatched them back again, allowing them only a few Hours to take their Reſolution. Within the Time limited they accepted the Conditions offered them. And before Night on *Thurſday*, the twenty-ſecond of *November*, the Admiral ſent Captain *Newton*, who commanded the Detachment of Soldiers from *Jamaica*, with about one hundred and twenty of the Men, who took immediate Poſſeſſion of *Gloria Caſtle*, and *St. Jeronimo* Fort. Theſe were the remaining Forts that guarded the Harbour of *Porto Bello*, the *Gloria Caſtle* lying juſt below the Town, and *St. Jeronimo* Fort juſt above it. The following were the Terms.

ARTICLES *of Capitulation granted by* EDWARD VERNON, *Eſq*; *Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in the* Weſt-Indies, *and Commodore* Brown, *to Don* Franciſco Martinez de Retez, *Governor of* Porto-Bello, *and Don* Franciſco de Abarao, *Commandant of the* Guarda Coſtas *at the ſame Place, the* 22d *of* November, 1739, *O. S.*

I.

"THAT the Garriſon be allowed to march "out as deſir'd, upon Condition the King "of *Great-Britain's* Troops be put into Poſſeſſion "of the *Glory Caſtle* before Four o'Clock this "Evening, and the Garriſon to march out by Ten "o'Clock To-morrow Morning.

"That the Inhabitants may either remove, or "remain, under a Promiſe of Security for them-"ſelves and their Effects.

II.

"That the *Spaniſh* Soldiers may have a Guard, "if they think it neceſſary.

III.

"That they may carry off two Cannons, "mounted with ten Charges of Powder each, "and their Match lighted.

IV.

"The Gates of the *Glory Caſtle* muſt abſolutely "be in Poſſeſſion of the King our Maſter's "Troops by Four o'Clock, and the *Spaniſh* Gar-"riſon ſhall remain in all Safety for their Perſons "and Effects, till the appointed Time of their "marching out, and to carry with them the Pro-"viſions and Ammunition neceſſary for their "Safety.

V.

"That the Ships, with their Apparel and Arms, "be abſolutely delivered up to the Uſe of his "*Britannic* Majeſty; but that all the Officers, Sol-"diers, and Crew, ſhall have three Days allowed "them to retire, with all their perſonal Effects, "only one Officer being admitted on board each "Ship and Veſſel, to take Poſſeſſion for the King "our Maſter, and to ſee this Article ſtrictly com-"plied with.

VI.

"That provided the Articles above mentioned "are ſtrictly complied with, and that Poſſeſſion "be given of Caſtle *St. Jeronimo*, in the ſame "Manner as is ſtipulated for the Caſtle *Gloria*, "then the Clergy, the Churches and Town, ſhall "be protected and preſerved in all their Immu-"nities and Properties.

"And that all Priſoners already taken ſhall be "ſet at Liberty before our leaving the Port."

Given under our Hands on board his Majeſty's Ship Burford, *in* Porto Bello *Harbour, this* 22d *of* November, 1739, O. S.

E. VERNON.
CHA. BROWN.

There were in the Harbour two *Spaniſh* Men of War, of Twenty Guns each, and a Snow; the Crews of theſe Ships, when they ſaw the regular and bold Attack that was made on the Iron Fort, deſpaired of being able to defend themſelves, and fell to plundering the Town in the Night of the Twenty firſt, and committed great Outrages on the Inhabitants.

The Admiral took on board his Ships from the ſeveral Fortreſſes, forty Pieces of Braſs Cannon, ten Braſs Field Pieces, four Braſs Mortars, and eighteen Braſs Pattereroes; and he rendered unſerviceable above eighty Iron Cannon, by knocking off the Trunnions, and ſpiking them up: he alſo took on board all their Shot and Ammunition, except one Hundred and Twenty two Barrels of their Powder, which he expended in ſpringing Mines, by which all the Fortifications of the Forts were blown up, and entirely demoliſhed, and the Harbour left open and defenceleſs.

Ten Thouſand Dollars that were arrived, and deſigned to pay the King of *Spain*'s Troops at *Porto Bello*, fell into the Admiral's Hands, and he diſtributed them amongſt his Majeſty's Forces for their Encouragement.

He was joined at *Porto Bello* on the Twenty Seventh of *November*, by his Majeſty's Ship the *Diamond*, Captain *Knowles*, and on the Twenty ninth, by the *Windſor*, Captain *Berkeley*, and the *Angleſea*, Captain *Reddiſh*; having left Orders at the *Leeward Iſlands*, for theſe Ships to follow him.

The principal Engineer in the Mining Work, was Captain *Knowles*, of the *Diamond*: he was aſſiſted by Captain *Boſcawen*, (who deſired he might ſerve in this Expedition as a Voluntier, his Ship the *Shoreham* not being fit for the Sea) and by Mr. *Barnes*, Purſer of the *Worceſter*, who had been an Officer in the Army, and was very uſeful on this Occaſion.

Commodore *Brown* had the chief Direction of what was done at *Gloria* Caſtle, and St. *Jeronimo* Fort; and Captain *Watſon*, Captain of the Admiral's Ship, took Care of the Execution of all that was to be done at the Iron Fort, which was built on a Rock. The Walls of the lower Battery, which conſiſted of twenty two Guns, were nine Feet thick, and of a hard Stone, cemented with ſuch a fine Mortar, ſo that it was a long Work to make any Impreſſion in it to come to mine at all.

The lower Battery of *Gloria* Caſtle conſiſted of two regular Baſtions, and a Curtain between them, mounted with twenty two Carriage Guns, beſides a Line of eight Guns that pointed towards the Mouth of the Harbour. Theſe with the other Guns they had on the other Parts of both Caſtles, beſides their Battery on St. *Jeronimo*, rendered the Entrance of the Harbour very difficult and dangerous.

In Conſideration of the Services performed by Captain *Rentone*, (who acted as a Pilot in this Expedition) the Admiral thought fit to appoint him Commander of the *Spaniſh* Snow taken in the Harbour of *Porto Bello*; and to ſend his Diſpatches by him to *England* in that Snow: and the twenty Gun Ships, which were *Spaniſh* Guarda Coſtas, were by his Order fitted up, and taken along with him.

On the Sixth of *December*, the Admiral was joined at *Porto Bello*, by his Majeſty's Ship the *Sheerneſs*, Captain *Stapleton*, which he had ſent to cruize off *Carthagena*, and which had taken two Veſſels, with Supplies of Ammunition, Stores and Proviſions that were going to *Carthagena*.

On the Seventh in the Evening, Captain *Stapleton* having taken in Water, was ſent to cruize on his former Station.

During the Admiral's Stay at *Porto Bello*, he ſent a Letter to the Preſident of *Panama*, demanding the Releaſement of the Factors and Servants of the *South Sea* Company, who were confined at that Place; in Conſequence of which, the Preſident of *Panama* ſent an Officer with Mr. *Humphreys* and Dr. *Wright*, Factors, and alſo with the Servants of the *South Sea* Company, who were delivered to the Admiral at *Porto Bello*.

On the Thirteenth of *December*, Vice-Admiral *Vernon*, with his Squadron, ſailed from *Porto Bello* for *Jamaica*; and being off *Carthagena*, on the Twenty eighth of *December* ſent away Captain *Rentone*, in the *Spaniſh* Snow for *England*.

* * *

CHAP. CXXXIII.

Account of the English *Navy at this Time.*

WHILE Admiral *Vernon* was immortalizing himſelf in *America*, our Fleets were not unemployed in *Europe*; nor had thoſe who had timely Notice and Orders of Reprizals there been idle.

Admiral *Haddock*, who kept his Station, at once to the Mortification and Terror of the *Spaniards* in the *Mediterranean*, took ſeveral Prizes.

The naval Force of the Kingdom was put upon a Footing of great Credit; there were in Commiſſion in the Middle of *Auguſt* 1739, eighty four Men of War, carrying about four Thouſand Guns, and employing near thirty Thouſand Men. Beſide theſe, Fire-ſhips, Tranſports, and all other attendant Veſſels were kept up in equal Proportion, to the whole Amount of a Hundred and thirteen Sail: And the Board of Admiralty ordered the Surveyor of the Navy to make a Report of what other Ships were fit to be put into Commiſſion: theſe were two firſt Rates of a hundred Guns, two ſecond Rates of Ninety, ſix third Rates of Eighty, and four of Seventy, ten fourth Rates of Fifty and Sixty Guns, three fifth Rates of Forty-four, and five ſixth Rates of Twenty and Twenty-two Guns, one Bomb, two Storeſhips, two Sloops, two Yachts, four Hoys and a Smack.

Every Thing was determined for Action, and the ſlow, but ſecure Steps of the Government were ſuch, as without loſing Opportunities of Advantage, took every prudential Method for Succeſs.

Beſide the Force we have named, and which was enough to ſtrike a Terror into an Enemy more able to defend herſelf than *Spain*, the Commiſſioners of the Navy ordered ten Gallies of twenty Guns to be built with all Expedition, for cruiſing upon the *Spaniſh* Privateers; the Regiments of Horſe and Dragoons were ordered to levy twelve hundred Men for Additions to their ſeveral Troops; and every Thing wore the ſame Face of active Preparation.

As the Cruizers from Admiral *Haddock*'s Squadron took many Prizes, Courts of Vice Admiralty were eſtabliſhed at *Port Mahon* and *Gibraltar*, for their Condemnation.

On the Fifth of *September*, the *Spaniſh* Envoy, *Geraldino*, and the Agent for the *Aſſiento* Contract, Mr. *Terry*, ſet out for *Spain*; and a Proclamation was iſſued, to order the Meeting of the Parliament early.

We at this Time received alſo an Account of the Proceedings of the Court of *Spain*. They ſaw a War unavoidable, and they prepared for it with Diligence, and declared their Defiance of our Armaments by early Inſtances of Hoſtility. On the Twentieth of *Auguſt*, Commiſſions were granted there for cruiſing on the *Engliſh*: War was ſoon after declared againſt *England* in Form, and a Proclamation publiſhed, ordering all *Britiſh* Subjects to depart the Kingdom in eight Days.

Six Ships of ours were by Order of that Court ſeized at *Malaga*, and their Veſſels were every where earneſt in looking after Prizes.

On the Twenty third of *October*, War was declared here againſt *Spain* in the uſual Form.

In the *Mediterranean*, Prizes of Importance were made on both Sides: the St. *Joſepha*, a Ship of ours, commanded by Mr. *White*, was taken at the Bar of *Faro*, within Reach of the Shot of the Caſtle; and Complaints were made to the King of *Portugal*, againſt this Violation of a neutral Port.

Admiral *Haddock* made Prizes of more Value: among theſe were two from the *Carraccas*, with two Millions of Pieces of Eight. One of theſe he ſent to *Spithead* in *October*, with her Crew; and ſeveral Privateers: no Squadron had for many Years been ſo ſucceſsful.

The King communicated to the two Houſes the Reaſons for the War he had declared againſt *Spain*; and they joined in Addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would not make any Peace, Treaty, or Agreement with the King of *Spain*, unleſs he firſt gave up all Right and Pretenſions, to viſit, ſearch, or moleſt, any of the *Britiſh* Ships trading to the *Weſt Indies*.

His Majeſty anſwered with Aſſurances, that he would preſerve the Rights and Privileges of his Subjects; and every Thing conſpired to give the Nation Succeſs; the Wiſdom of the Sovereign, the Care of the Adminiſtration, and its own Spirit.

CHAP. CXXXIV.

Admiral Haddock *is reinforced.*

THE Succeſs of Admiral *Haddock*, had raiſed his Reputation to a great Height, and given Spirit to the People: the *Spaniards* had not been idle Spectators of the Ravages his Ships made in their Commerce: they were preparing a Force againſt him; and the Government here ſent him in Time a Reinforcement.

Admiral *Balchen* ſailed from *Plymouth* to join him on the Firſt of *December*, with two ſeventy, and four ſixty Gun Ships.

The great Admiral had not before feared *Spain*, but now he held her in Defiance.

The Government ordered a Number of Marines adequate to the Service to be raiſed; and Bounty Money was given in a large Proportion: five Men out of each Company of the Foot Guards were ordered for Serjeants and Corporals, to diſcipline the Recruits; and every Encouragement allowed, that could induce them to enter voluntarily: for 'tis a Maxim, and has been always with this Government, that tho' preſſing may be ſometimes needful, they fight beſt who enter freely.

This Year produced an Inſtance of Courage in a ſingle Man, in a Sea Engagement, ſcarce to be paralleled from Hiſtory.

A Privateer of *Boſton*, in *New England*, attacked a *Spaniſh* Ship of twenty Guns, commanded by an Officer of known Courage, and full of Men.

The Conflict was very deſperate for ſeveral Hours, and many on each Side fell. The Chance of War was giving it for the *Spaniard*, and the *Engliſh* yet in cloſe Fight, were going to give up the Struggle, when the Commander of the Privateer, for his laſt Effort, offered a hundred Guineas to any Man, who would lead the Way to board the Enemy.

A common Man, his Name *Robinſon*, a Native of *Dublin*, threw himſelf upon the *Spaniards* Quarter Deck, with a Piſtol in one Hand, and his Cutlaſs in the other. The *Spaniſh* Commander ran to meet him, and *Robinſon* ſhot him through the Head; he then threw down his Piſtol, and fought his Way with his Hanger.

The *Engliſh* ſet up a great Shout when the *Spaniard* fell, they followed their brave Leader, and the Ship ſurrendered.

The Merchants at this Hero's Return doubled the Reward given by the Officer, and gave him the Command of a Privateer. Theſe were the Rewards that perſonal Valour wanted; and theſe never were in thoſe virtuous, tho' late Times, denied either by the publick, or as we ſee by private Perſons.

CHAP. CXXXV.

Publick Meaſures in the Beginning of the Year 1740.

THE Preparations of *Spain* and the determin'd Purpoſe of our Country, to obtain by Arms, what was refuſed or evaded by Treaties, and trifled away under the always deſpis'd, and always deteſted Name of Conventions, made it neceſſary to prepare for active and ſpirited Proceedings.

Toward the latter End of *January*, it was reſolved in Council, to add two Thouſand Marines to the ſix Regiments; twenty Men to each of the Independant Companies; and to raiſe a new Independant Company.

The State of the *Dutch* Navy at this Time appeared from actual Survey, very different from what ill Men had reported.

The whole Number of their Ships of War, amounted to more than a Hundred; and half that Number were ready to put to Sea.

On the Ninth of *January*, a Faſt was obſerved throughout the Kingdom, for Succeſs of his Majeſty's Arms; and the Temper of Mind with which it was obſerved by the Generality of the People, ſhewed Religion was at no low Ebb in *England*.

While this was doing, ſome little Wranglings happened among the Conductors of our publick Affairs. The famous Place Bill gave great Diſturbance in one of the Houſes; and it was conſidered by ſome as an Infringement of the Privileges of the other, that a Meſſage for a Supply, ſign'd by the King, had been ſent to the Houſe of Commons, and not to the Lords.

A Motion was made alſo, to paſs ſome Cenſure on thoſe who had been concerned in making the hateful Convention with *Spain*: but ſo great was the Opinion of the Integrity, as well as Abilities of thoſe concerned in that Matter, that it paſſed in the Negative by a Majority of Sixty.

Theſe Bickerings, tho' among the Great, did not then prevent the Progreſs of national Buſineſs. An Embargo was laid carefully on all Shipping, except Coaſters: three firſt Rates were ordered to be got ready for immediate Service, and a great Number of additional Hands were ſent to *Portſmouth* and *Chatham* for that Purpoſe.

A Proclamation was publiſhed on the Fifth of that Month, with a conſiderable Bounty for all Sailors that would enter voluntarily by an appointed Time; Proviſions to a vaſt Amount were ſent to Admiral *Haddock* in the *Mediterranean*, and three Camps were formed: in *Hyde-Park*, *Hounſlow-Heath*, and *Black-Heath*.

Spain was ignorant of no Part of the *Engliſh* Conduct; and every Step gave Terror.

CHAP. CXXXVI.

The Princeſſa, *a* Spaniſh *Ship of War taken.*

PRizes of conſiderable Conſequence were daily taken from the Enemy; and the *Engliſh* Sovereignty of the Seas was nobly vindicated in all Parts; but the Attention of the Publick was in the Beginning of this Year, turned upon one great Article, the Capture of a Ship of War of *Spain*, of very great Force, and commanded by Officers, whoſe Courage gave the World a new Opinion of their Country's Character.

The Ship was the *Princeſſa*, ſhe fell in with three Men of War of ours; the *Lenox*, on board of which was Commodore *Maine*; the *Kent*, Captain *Durell*, and the *Orford*, Lord *Auguſtus Fitzroy*.

The *Princeſſa* was a ſixty eight Gun Ship, high built, and therefore with the uncommon Advantage of firing her lower Tier of Guns in bad Weather; and there were on board at the Time of the Action near ſeven Hundred Men.

The Ship was larger than our firſt Rates, her Guns of an uncommon Size; and moſt of them braſs: ſhe was eſteemed one of the fineſt Veſſels in the Navy of *Spain*.

Our Ships came in Sight of her at Nine in the Morning; and by Eleven came up and began the Engagement; which the *Spaniard* neither ſought nor ſhunn'd.

As the *Engliſh* approached, he called together his Men, and with his Lieutenant, a Knight of *Malta*, and a Perſon diſtinguiſhed by his Courage, addreſſed them in few Words.

"When you received the Pay of your Country, "you engaged yourſelves to ſtand all Dangers in "her Cauſe: and now is the Tryal. Fight like Men, "for you have no Hope but in your Courage."

When he had ſaid this, he ordered two Guns to be pointed downward to the Hold, and a Pump to be cut, determined to ſink the Ship with them, if they declined their Duty.

By this Time, the *Lenox* was come within Gun-ſhot, and gave her Fire; the *Kent* followed, running in cloſe to Leeward, and gave alſo her Broadſide.

The *Spaniard* did not yet ſuffer a Gun to be diſcharg'd; but when the *Engliſh* ran cloſe, he took every Opportunity of firing with Advantage. So few Shot were very ſeldom thrown away in an Engagement; tho' more were ſeldom fired at equal Time.

All three of our Ships were greatly hurt, and his own much more; when at a Quarter after Five in the Afternoon, he ſtruck to Lord *Auguſtus*, and ſent a Meſſage to that Nobleman, to deſire he might deliver his Commiſſion into his Hands.

The Loſs of Men on the Side of the *Spaniards*, was great; and 'tis no Wonder many fabulous Accounts were at firſt given of a Thing in itſelf ſo very conſiderable.

The Ship was brought to *Portſmouth*, and when Men ſaw her Strength, and the Marks of Havock ſhe had ſuſtained before the Commander ſubmitted, they did great Honour to the Captains who had taken her, tho' with the Advantage of ſuperior Numbers.

Captain *Durell* loſt a Hand in the Engagement, and all our Ships had ſuffered greatly: but the Loſs of Men was leſs than could well have been imagined in ſuch a Conflict.

* * *

CHAP. CXXXVII.

Admiral Vernon *attacks* Carthagena.

THE Succeſs of *Porto Bello* at once raiſed to the higheſt Pitch the Reputation of Admiral *Vernon*, and gave himſelf and his Sailors Spirit to undertake the moſt deſperate Things.

Carthagena was the great Object of his Attention; and a bold and honourable Thought it was, to attempt the Place with his Strength. In earlier Time it had been an eaſy Object of the *Engliſh* Reſentment.

We have given an Account of *Drake*'s taking it with a very ſlight Force; and after him, Monſieur *de Ponti* with a Fleet of one and twenty Ships, and about five Thouſand Men, had the ſame Succeſs againſt it in 1697.

But tho' greatly encreaſed in Strength, and Number of Inhabitants, between the Expeditions of our *Drake* and the *French* Conqueror; from his attempting it, to that of Admiral *Vernon* in 1740, it had encreaſed much more.

The Sea overflowing its Champaign Grounds on one Side, had formed an unſurmountable Barrier; Fortifications were built about it, from Time to Time; and it contained now not leſs than nine Thouſand Inhabitants, beſide the regular Force.

Of all this the brave *Engliſhman* was ſenſible; but he had been reinforced in Number, and his Squadron now amounted to fifteen Ships, and he had Commanders and Men, who emulating his own Spirit, dar'd to undertake any Thing.

On the Twenty fifth of *February* he ſailed from *Port Royal*, in *Jamaica*, with a Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships, and having a favourable Wind, got Sight of the high Land of *St. Martha*, on the *Spaniſh* Main, the firſt of *March*.

He ordered Captain *Windham*, of the *Greenwich* to ply up in the Night, and lie to Windward off the Port, for intercepting any Thing that might be coming in there the next Day; and himſelf bore away with an eaſy ſail for *Carthagena*.

The Third at Noon, he was joined by the *Falmouth*, Captain *Douglaſs*, off Point *Canoa*, and that Evening anchored with the Squadron before *Carthagena* in nine Fathom Water, in the open Bay called *Playa Grande*: on the Sixth, he ordered in all the Bomb-ketches, and the ſmall Ships and Tenders for covering and aſſiſting them, and continued bombarding them till nine in the Morning.

The Squadron received no Damage from the Town, but the Shells fell in there ſucceſsfully, particularly into the principal Church, the Jeſuits College, and the Cuſtom-houſe; and they beat down ſeveral Houſes between them. A Shell alſo that fell into the South Baſtion, ſilenced a Battery of ten Guns there for a long Time.

The Admiral drew off his Bomb-ketches and ſmall Craft on the Ninth, and weighed with his Squadron on the Tenth in the Morning, and making Signal for the Line of Battle, coaſted the Shore towards *Boca Chica*.

They fired at him from the three ſmall Caſtles without *Boca Chica*, but none of their Shot reached him: And that having left the *Windſor*, Captain *Berkeley*, and the *Greenwich*, Captain *Windham*, to cruize off the Port of *Carthagena* for twenty Days, he made ſail to *Porto Bello*, to repair there the Damages the ſmall Craft had received; and on the Fourteenth, anchored with his Squadron in *Porto Bello* Harbour, detaching his Cruizers from Time to Time to lie off *Chagre*, to block up the Enemy. Having got his Ships watered, put to Sea on the Twenty-ſecond with his Squadron, except the *Louiſa* and the *Falmouth*, which had not compleated their Watering, but had his Orders to haſten it, and follow him. An Accident in the Fore-top-ſail Yard of his Ship, the *Strafford*, retarding her Progreſs, he ordered Captain *Herbert* in the *Norwich*, to make all the Sail he could in before him, with the Bomb-ketches, Fire-ſhips and Tenders under his Orders;

and Captain *Knowles*, as Engineer on board the Bomb-ketches for placing them to play on the Caſtle, and to cover them with his own Ship and the reſt.

Captain *Knowles* got to an anchor by three in the Afternoon, and began bombarding and cannonading that Evening, and by ten o'Clock at Night, the Admiral got alſo to an Anchor with his own Ship the *Strafford*, and the *Falmouth* and *Princeſs Louiſa* that followed him. They continued bombarding and cannonading with three Ships, firing leiſurely only from their lower Tire till eleven o'Clock on *Monday* the Twenty-fourth, when the *Spaniards* hung out a Flag of Truce from the Fort, and Mr. *Vernon* anſwered it from his own Ship, and ſtopt all Firing. He ſent Captain *Knowles* on Shore, who ſoon returned with the Governor; to whom having granted the Capitulation hereto ſubjoined, he ſent him on ſhore again with Captain *Knowles*, whom he appointed Governor of the Caſtle for his *Britannick* Majeſty, and ſent a Garriſon with him of five Lieutenants, and a Hundred and twenty Men, with all the Boats of the Fleet to land them. By three o'Clock that Afternoon, Captain *Knowles* entered the Fort with his Garriſon.

The ſame Evening Captain *Knowles* ſent and placed a Guard upon the Cuſtom-houſe, on the oppoſite Side of the River *Chagre*, and Vice Admiral *Vernon* went a-ſhore himſelf by Day-break the next Morning, to give all neceſſary Orders. He found the Cuſtom-houſe full of Goods, for the Lading of the Gallions, ſuch as Guayaquil Cocoa, Jeſuit's Bark, and *Spaniſh* Wool, and gave immedate Orders for their being ſpeedily ſhipped off.

The Number of Serons and Bags of the before mentioned Goods amounted to 4300; and the two Guarda Coſta Sloops in the River (which were all the Guarda Coſtas that were left in thoſe Parts) were ſunk juſt above the Cuſtom-houſe; Carpenters having been ordered to break up their Decks, and entirely deſtroy them.

The Cuſtom-houſe being entirely clear by *Friday* the Twenty eighth, was filled with the combuſtible Matter of the neighbouring Huts, and ſet on Fire that Evening, and it burnt with great fierceneſs all Night.

On the Twenty ninth in the Morning, the Braſs Cannon being embarked, which were eleven Guns and eleven Pattereroes, and a good Part of the Garriſon, the Mines were ſprung under the lower Baſtion, which entirely demoliſhed it.

Then two Mines were ſprung to blow up ſome of the upper Parts of the Works, and afterwards all the inner Buildings of the Caſtle were ſet on Fire, and continued burning all the Night of the Twenty ninth.

On the Thirtieth Vice Admiral *Vernon* put to Sea with his Squadron, and on the Firſt of *April*, in the Evening got to the Mouth of the Harbour of *Porto Bello*, and was joined there by the *Windſor* and *Greenwich*, juſt returned from their Cruize off *Carthagena*. On the Third was joined alſo by the *Burford*, which he had left at *Jamaica* to be repaired.

Articles of Capitulation granted by Edward Vernon, *Eſq; Vice Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of his* Britannick *Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in the* Weſt-Indies, *to Don* Juan Carlos Guiterez de Zauollos, *Captain of Foot, and Caſtillano of the Caſtle of St.* Lorenzo, *at the Mouth of the River* Chagre.

I.

THAT upon his *Britannick* Majeſty's Troops being put into immediate Poſſeſſion of the Fort St. *Lorenzo*, at the Mouth of the River *Chagre*, the ſaid Caſtilliano, and all his Garriſon, be at free Liberty to march out without any Moleſtation, and may retire into the Village of *Chagre*, or where elſe they pleaſe.

II.

That the Inhabitants of *Chagre* may remain in all Safety in their own Houſes, under a Promiſe of Security to their Perſons and Houſes.

III.

That the Guarda Coſta Sloops be delivered up to the Uſe of his *Britannick* Majeſty, in the Condition they are, and the King of *Spain*'s Cuſtom-houſe.

IV.

That the Clergy and Churches in the Town of *Chagre*, ſhall be protected and preſerved in all their Immunities.

Given under my Hand on board his Britannick *Majeſty's Ship the* Strafford, *at Anchor before the River* Chagre, *this Twenty fourth of* March, 1739.

E. VERNON.

CHAP. CXXXVIII.

The Spaniſh *Naval Force at this Period.*

WE have given an Account of the *Engliſh* Naval Force at the Commencement of the War with *Spain*, and of the Additions made to it on this Occaſion.

That the Reader may know what we had to combat, we ſhall give a fair State of the Naval Strength of our Enemy.

He will remember in what Manner the *Princeſſa* fought, againſt unconquerable Odds; and if by that he judge of the others, the Armament will appear very formidable.

Spaniſh *Ships in* Europe.

At *Cadiz.*	Guns.
Royal Capitaine	114
Iſabella	80
St. Lewis	60
Pidgeon	54
St. Francis	46

Can be fitted in ſome Months.

At Cadiz, *under the Command of Vice Admiral* Pintado.

	Guns	Men
St. Pedro	64	500
Royal Family	66	500
St. Ferdinando	64	500
La Fort	62	450
Andaluſia	64	500
La Fin	64	500
Greyhound	44	300
Greek	24	125
Two Advice Boats	18	100

At Cadiz, *under the Command of Vice Admiral* Clavijo, *deſign'd as Convoy to the Flota intended for* New Spain; *but the Ships were then unloaded, and were man'd for Service againſt the* Engliſh.

	Guns.	Men.
St. Anthony	64	500
New Spain	60	500

Beſides four Bomb-ketches, which carry four Mortars, and ten Guns each.

At Corunna *and* Ferrol, *lately commanded by Don* Proſpero Pardo, *man'd and ſtor'd, and intended to join the Squadron at* Cadiz.

	Guns.	Men.
Prince †	74	600
Galicia	70	600
St. Charles	64	500
El Lion	70	600
Eſperanza †	60	450
Caſtilles †	60	450
St. Philip	84	700
Queen	80	600
St. Anne	80	600
St. James	70	600

Theſe laſt four in Ferrol *not fully man'd.*

The *Prince*, *Caſtilles*, and *Eſperanza*, ſailed from *Ferrol* with the *Princeſs*, and a new Ship of twenty-four Guns carrying twelve Pounders, and three hundred Men, two Snows of fixteen Guns for *Cadiz* and the *Havannah*, alſo with Orders to intercept our *Liſbon* Fleet, which was convoying home only with the *Sea-horſe* Man of War; but the Government having Intelligence of it, Lord *Auguſtus Fitzroy* was ſent away at an Hour's Warning to *Portſmouth* to ſail with five Men of War.

At Carthagena, *in the* Mediterranean, *commanded by Count* de Venez.

	Guns.	Men.
America	60	500
Hercules	66	500
Conſtant	70	600
Aurora	28	200
Liga	28	200

Theſe five Sail were to cruize in the *Streights*.

At *Carthagena* in *New Spain*, under Don *Blaſs*, were four large Men of War, four ſmaller, and the Galleons unloaded.

All this Force the *Spaniards* prepared to employ in Earneſt againſt us offenſively; as well as defenſively; and the Strength of the Ships, and Reſolution of the Officers were Articles proclaimed throughout *Europe*, as the Force and Number of their invincible *Armada* had been before.

On the eighth of *May*, this Year 1740, the Princeſs *Mary* of *England* was married to the Prince of *Heſſe*; the Proxy was the Duke of *Cumberland*. And on the ſixth of the Month following her Highneſs embarked at *Greenwich* for *Holland*, in her Way to *Caſſel*.

The People intereſted themſelves in every Event that had any Concern with the War. And on the Occaſion of the taking the *Princeſſa*, Compariſons were made of the Ammunition of the *Engliſh*, and foreign Ships, much to the Diſadvantage of our own.

This was indeed a ſerious Conſideration, and in the End Complaint was made to the Lords of the Admiralty, that the Gunpowder uſed by the three Men of War when they took the *Princeſſa*, was weaker than the Powder taken in that Ship in Proportion of ſeven to twelve, it was thought proper to make a publick Tryal: in order thereto, ſome Gunpowder was taken out of each of the four Ships, and put into four Boxes at *Portſmouth* which were ſealed up by ſome Officers of the Navy and Ordnance, and ſent to Town, and tryed at *Woolwich* before the Duke of *Montague*, Maſter General of the Ordnance, Sir *Charles Wager*, Lord *Vere Beauclerk*, General *Borgard*, ſome Captains of Men of War, &c. in three divers Ways.

1. By raiſing a Weight of 20 Pound 7 Ounces, with two Drams of Powder.

2. By firing a twelve Pounder ſhot out of a 5 Inch Mortar, with a Quarter of an Ounce of Powder.

3. By firing a half Pounder Shot out of a Swivel Gun with two Drams of Powder.

In the firſt Experiment, the *Engliſh* Powder raiſed the Weight from four Inches to ſix and ſome Tenths, and the *Spaniſh* no higher than one Inch and nine Tenths: In proving by the Swivel Gun, the *Engliſh* Powder threw the Ball $15\frac{1}{7}$ Foot at an Elevation of 61 Degrees, and the *Spaniſh* had not Strength enough to throw it out of the Gun; and the Trial by the Mortar proved equally inF avour of the *Engliſh* Powder.

The Privateers of *Spain* ventured near our Coaſts, as thoſe of *France* do at this Period, and to the Capture of many of our Ships, added Cruelty to the Crews.

The Government took it early into Conſideration; and effectual Means were propoſed and executed for Redreſs. The Inſults ceaſed, and the Admiralty had great Honour.

CHAP. CXXXIX.

Lord Anſon*'s Voyage round the World.*

ON the eighteenth of *September* this Year, Mr. *Anſon*, ſince dignified with a higher Title, ſailed on his famous Expedition round the Globe.

Ten Months before, the Deſign had been laid; and Accidents had not only delayed till now its Progreſs, but neceſſarily altered a great Part of the purpoſed Conduct.

When the Government firſt determined on a War with *Spain*, which was toward the Cloſe of the Year 1739, it was propoſed to attack the diſtant Settlements of that Nation, and by interrupting the Treaſures deſtin'd thence for *Europe*, to reduce the Enemy to a Neceſſity of granting an honourable Peace.

Mr. *Anſon*, at that Time Captain of the *Centurion*, was fixed upon to command in ſuch an Expedition.

With this Purpoſe he was called home from the Service on which he then was; and it was determined that he ſhould have the Conduct of one of two then intended ſecret Expeditions; and Captain *Cornwal* of another.

This was the Deſign: Mr. *Anſon*'s Squadron was to take on board a conſiderable Number of Land-Forces under Command of Colonel *Bland*; and ſailing immediately on receiving that Force, he was to touch no where till he came to *Java* Head, in the *Eaſt-Indies*: thence having taken in Water, they were to proceed to *Manila*, on *Leuconia*, one of the *Philippine* Iſlands. The other Squadron of equal Force with Mr. *Anſon*'s, was to proceed round *Cape Horn*, to range along that Coaſt; and after doing what was in their Power againſt the *Spaniſh* Settlements, to proceed to *Manila*, there to join his Force, to refit and unite their Strength for greater Enterpriſes.

This was the Purpoſe; and had this taken Effect, the *Spaniards* would have been attacked in their remoteſt Settlements by a conſiderable Force, and at a Time when they would not have been prepared for Reſiſtance.

Many Delays interven'd, and many Changes in the Diſpoſition were made from Time to Time. It was the 18th of *September* 1740, before Mr. *Anſon*'s Squadron ſail'd; deſtin'd inſtead of the *Eaſt-Indies*, to round *Cape Horn*, and ſupplied, inſtead of *Bland*'s Soldiers, with *Chelſea* Invalids.

In this State he ſet out with five Men of War, a Sloop, and two Victualling Ships: the *Centurion* of ſixty Guns, with Mr. *Anſon*, the *Glouceſter* of fifty Guns, Capt. *Richard Norris*, the *Severn* fifty Guns, Captain *Legge*, the *Pearl* of Forty Guns, Captain *Mitchell*, the *Wager* of twenty Guns, Captain *Kid*. The Sloop *Trial* of eight Guns, Captain *Murray*.

The Victuallers were Pinks, one of four hundred, the other of two hundred Tons Burthen.

The Invalids and Marines amounted to four hundred and ſeventy, and were under the Command of Colonel *Cracherode*. This the whole Force.

The Commodore took his Courſe for *Madera*; and after a troubleſome Paſſage reached that Iſland on the twenty-fifth of *October*.

On the third of *November* he weighed from *Madera*, ordering in Caſe of Separation, a Rendezvouz at *St. Jago*, one of the *Cape Verd Iſlands*; but this, for important Reaſons, he afterwards altered for the Iſland of *St. Catharine*'s on the Coaſt of *Brazil*. Toward the latter End of *November* the Crews grew ſickly: on the twenty-eighth they croſſed the Line: on the ſixteenth of *December* they ſaw the Coaſt of *Brazil*; and on the twenty-firſt anchored at *St. Catharine*'s, where they ſtaid till the eighteenth of *January*, without finding the Iſland ſo well adapted to their Refreſhment, or the People ſo well diſpoſed to their Aſſiſtance, as others had related.

CHAP. CXL.

They ſail from St. Catharine*'s.*

ST. *Catharine*'s was the laſt Place where the *Engliſh* were to touch as Friends. Mr. *Anſon* gave great Caution to all his Captains, as carefully as poſſible, to avoid Separation; but if it happened, the firſt Rendezvouz appointed was the Bay of Port *St. Julian*'s: if in ten Days they did not join the Commodore there, they were to proceed thro' the *Streights La Maire*, round *Cape Horn*; and the next Place of Rendezvouz was to be the Iſland *Noſtra Senora del Socoro*. The laſt was the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, where, if after fifty ſix Days they did not find the Commodore; the ſenior Officer was to take Charge of the Squadron, and they were to proceed.

This was the Diſpoſition in caſe of Accidents; and with as much Calmneſs as we write the Story, did this brave and great Commander adjuſt the Proceedings of the Squadron, if himſelf ſhould periſh; making it his great Care that his Death ſhould not interrupt the Purpoſe of the Expedition.

On the thirty-firſt of *January* Captain *Kid* of the *Trial* died.

At Port *St. Julian's* they refitted that Sloop, which had been ſo much damaged by hard Weather, that it was impoſſible ſhe ſhould otherwiſe have rounded *Cape Horn*: and here the Commodore appointed Captain *Murray* to ſucceed to the *Pearl*, Captain *Cheap* to the *Wager*, and Mr. *Saunders*, his firſt Lieutenant, to the *Trial*.

On the twenty fourth of *February* the Commodore prepared for his Departure, and fixed the Plan of Operations when the Squadron ſhould arrive in the South-ſeas.

The firſt Attempt was determined to be upon the Town and Harbour of *Baldivia*, the principal Frontier Place of *Chili*.

On the 27th they put to Sea: 'Till the 4th of *March* they had little Wind, and hazy Weather: They came that Day in Sight of *Cape Virgin Mary*, the North Boundary of the *Streights* of *Magellan*: The next Morning they ſaw the *Terra del Fuego*, and entered the *Streights La Maire* on the ſeventh.

From the Paſſage of theſe *Streights* Storms of the moſt dreadful Fury toſs'd the Squadron, and the Rounding of *Cape Horn*, prov'd a moſt deſperate Undertaking. They fell in with the *Terra del Fuego* again, after a tireſome Courſe, in which they ſuppoſed they had made at leaſt ten Degrees to the Weſt of it; and finding this, ſtood away to the South-Weſt ſeveral Days. The Storms had entirely ſeparated the Squadron. The Commodore had Sight of no Veſſel of them till afterwards at the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*; nor did any two of them indeed keep together, or in Sight of one another.

The moſt expreſs Orders had been given to prevent this; and every Captain had been enjoin'd, under ſevere Penalties, not to be at any Time more than two Miles from the *Centurion*; but the Fury of the Winds had ſet, long before this, all Orders at Defiance. It appeared to every Ship moſt probable, that the others had periſhed: but every Man ſtill remembred his Duty; and from ſeveral Places, and in ſeveral Ways, all aimed for their Rendezvous at *Juan Fernandez*.

The Commodore cruis'd a due Time at the firſt Appointment; and it then became a Queſtion, whether or not he ſhould not make for the ſecond, which was at *Baldivia*: On due Conſideration every Thing diſſwaded from it. As no Ship of the Squadron had been ſeen at the firſt, nothing was ſo probable as that they all had periſhed; and the Condition of the *Centurion*'s People, tho' eſcaped the Danger, was by no Means ſuch, as to indulge the vain Thoughts of attacking the Enemy.

All that could be hoped in the Condition wherein they then were, a weak Ship, and a ſick and enfeebled as well as reduced Company, for the Deaths were terribly frequent, was to make the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*, the Place of Refreſhment, and the general Rendezvous. Indeed there was only the Chance of reaching that Place, or periſhing at Sea, and there remained therefore no Determination, but the making for it with all poſſible Speed.

On the twenty-eighth of *May* they came nearly upon the Parallel whereon it is laid down, and looked out for it; but in vain. The Commodore thought he ſaw it in the Morning; but it was ſuppos'd afterwards to have been only a Cloud; and they ſtood weſtward in the Parallel.

On the 30th of *May* they had Sight of the Coaſt of *Chili*. This was a mortifying Object, as it ſhewed them they had been near the Iſland, and come from it.

Water was now grown very ſcanty: The Crew died five, ſix, or more a Day; and the Remainder were in a Manner all enfeebled. In this Condition Calms delayed and diſpirited them; and it was the ninth of *June* before they ſaw the Iſland.

On the tenth they got under the Lee of it; and next Morning came to an Anchor, to the inexpreſſible Joy of the Commodore, and the deſpairing Crew.

CHAP. CXLI.

Some of the Squadron join the Commodore.

THE *Centurion* was ſcarce anchored, when the People diſcovered a Sail. As this was the great Rendezvous, they doubted not but it was one of the Squadron, and it proved to be the *Trial* Sloop; in a miſerable Condition: the *Glouceſter*, and *Anna Pink* joined them on the twenty-firſt, in as wretched a Condition. The Sight of theſe was a great Comfort, and greater Aſtoniſhment of the Commodore, who knew, that if his own Ship had been ſo much longer out at Sea, the whole Crew muſt have periſhed.

The Number loſt before they made the Iſland, was very great; but the Survivors, tho' in a miſerable Condition, recovered ſpeedily.

The Sea Air is the Cauſe of that moſt dreadful Diſeaſe the Scurvy, which afflicts Sailors on long Voyages; and the living but a little while on Land always reſtores them.

The *Anna* Pink had been in Harbour ſeveral Weeks before ſhe ſailed for *Juan Fernandez*, in a Bay behind the Iſland of *Inchin*; whither Diſtreſs had driven, not Knowledge carried them.

Theſe were the only Veſſels that ever joined the Commodore. The *Severn* and *Pearl* put back to the *Brazils*; and the *Wager* was loſt.

This laſt Ship had Stores on board for the intended Service at *Baldivia*; and the Captain ſollicitous not to be wanting in ſo eſſential an Article if the other Ships arrived there, made the beſt of his Way to the firſt Rendezvous, off the Iſland *Socoro*. They made Land on the 14th of *May*, but the Ship ſtruck on a ſunk Rock, and bulged. The Crew however had Time to get on Shore.

The Captain propos'd fitting up their Boat, and proceeding to the Northward, to ſeize the firſt *Spaniſh* Ship they found, and proceed in her to the Iſland of *Juan Fernandez*; but the Men were ungovernable: drunk with the ſpirituous Liquors which they ſeized upon when the Ship was periſhing; and too mad with Deſperation to obey Command; they determin'd to return to *Europe*.

Their Purpoſe was to fit up the Long-boat, paſs the *Streights* of *Magellan*, and make the *Brazils*, there to obtain a Paſſage.

The Captain was extremely averſe to this; but his Authority had periſhed with the Ship. The People were obſtinate, and frequent Quarrels followed, in which one of them, a Ringleader, was killed, tho' in a Circumſtance that ſcarce juſtified that Proceeding.

The People took Alarm, and confined their Captain, by whoſe Hand he fell; declaring they would carry him a Priſoner to *England*, to be tried there for the Murther: But they altered this Reſolution; and when they ſailed in the lengthened Long-boat for the *Streights* of *Magellan*, they left him, and ſeveral of the People who choſe it, behind, with the Yawl and Barge.

The Number left with Captain *Cheap* was only nineteen Perſons; the reſt made their Way forwards with all Diligence; and the Veſſel reach'd the *Brazils*; but of near eighty Perſons who went off in her, only thirty liv'd to ſee that Place. From the thirteenth of *October* to the nine and twentieth of *January* they were on this Paſſage; and with their ſlight Conveniencies, it is almoſt miraculous they reached the Place.

All the Time of this Diſtreſs of Captain *Cheap* and his People, the *Anna* Pink was on the ſame Coaſt, and within thirty Leagues of them. It was their Misfortune not to know this, or ſhe could have received them all, and brought them to *Juan Fernandez*.

Captain *Cheap* and his Company fitted up their ſmall Veſſels in the beſt Manner they could, took on board what Proviſions they could carry; and on the fourteenth of *December* embarked, in order to proceed Northward. Ill Fortune perſecuted them to the utmoſt. A Storm obliged them the firſt Day to throw the greateſt Part of their Proviſion overboard. A few Days after the Yawl ſunk at Anchor, with one of the Men in her, who periſhed; and the Barge not being able to carry the reſt, they were obliged to leave four of their Number on Shore; upon that deſolate Coaſt.

After repeated unſucceſsful Endeavours of getting on, they were at laſt reduced to the Neceſſity of going back again to the Place whence they had ſet out; where they arrived in the Middle of *February*, the moſt perfect Examples of Miſery perhaps ever offered by human Nature.

Hence they bargain'd with ſome *Indian* who came accidentally in a Canoe, to carry them to the Coaſt of *Chili*.

They were now eleven in Number. They embarked in the Barge on the ſixth of *March* on this Expedition; and about four Days after the Captain and four of the principal People being on Shore, the other ſix, with the *Indians*, put off to Sea, and never returned to them.

With Captain *Cheap* were left on ſhore Mr. *Hamilton*, the honourable Mr. *Byron*, Mr. *Cambell* and Mr. *Elliot*, the firſt a Lieutenant of Marines, the laſt Surgeon, and the two others Midſhipmen.

In this Diſtreſs the other *Indian* propoſed ſtill to carry them to *Chiloe*, and conduct them to ſome of the *Spaniſh* Settlements, Mr. *Elliot* died on the Journey; but the others were landed ſafe at *Chiloe*, where the *Spaniards* treated them with great Humanity.

They were ſent thence to St. *Jago*, and after about a Year ſpent there, the Captain with Mr. *Hamilton* and Mr. *Byron* returned in a *French* Ship to *Europe*. Mr. *Cambell* changed his Religion, and took another Courſe.

This was the Fate of the *Wager* and her Company, a Story ſcarce to be equalled in all the Naratives of Diſtreſs from the Invention of Navigation.

CHAP. CXLII.

The Commodore proceeds on his Voyage.

THE *Anna* Pink was broke up at *Juan Fernandez*, being paſt Reparation in the preſent Circumſtances of the Squadron; and in the Beginning of *September*, Preparations were made for departing.

A Sail appeared on the Eighth, and after approaching the Iſland for ſome Time, ſteer'd off to the Eaſtward.

The *Centurion* was mann'd, the Rigging ſet up, and as there was no Doubt of her being *Spaniſh*, they got under ſail to chace her.

In the Evening they loſt her, but during the ſucceeding Night, Chance threw her in their Way again. Early in the Morning they were in full Sight, and the *Spaniard* bore down towards them, hanging out a Signal, by which it was underſtood ſhe had a Conſort, and took the *Centurion* to be that Veſſel. It was too late for them to eſcape, when they diſcovered their Error.

The Commodore fired a few Shot among the Rigging and they ſubmitted.

It was a large Merchant Ship, that had left *Callao* with two others: the Commodore when he reached *Juan Fernandez*, reſolved to ſeparate his Squadron, as he might ſo have moſt Chance for Prizes; and it appeared that the *Spaniards* neither knew that he had got round Cape *Horn*, or ſuppos'd he ever could.

The *Tryal* had been now reinforced, and diſpatched after another of the *Spaniſh* Veſſels, whoſe

Deſtination they knew, by the Papers on board the other; and on the Nineteenth of *September*, the *Centurion*, with her Prize the *Carmelo*, ſailed from *Juan Fernandez*, leaving the *Glouceſter* there Inſtructions.

The *Tryal*, who had taken her Prize, met the Commodore ſoon after; and this was a conſiderable Ship. The *Tryal* herſelf was ſo diſabled, that it was found neceſſary to deſtroy her, and man the Prize in her Stead.

The Commodore's next Expedition was againſt the Town of *Paita*, which he took, plundered, and burnt. The *Spaniards* eſtimated their Loſs at about a Million and a half of Dollars.

On the Sixteenth of *November*, he ſailed from the Coaſt of *Paita*: he was ſoon joined by the *Glouceſter*, whoſe Cruiſe had not been unſucceſsful; for ſhe came in with a Prize, and brought an Account of another, and of ſome more Ships which his People had ſeen, but he could not reach them.

It was reſolved now the Squadron was joined, to ſail Northward to Cape St. *Lucas* on *California*, or to Cape *Corientes* on the Coaſt of *Mexico*; to cruiſe in that Part for the *Manila* Galleon, then underſtood to be at Sea, and deſtined for the Port of *Acapulco*.

The expected Time of this Ship's Arrival, was in *January*, and it being only the Middle of *November*, when the Reſolution was taken, there appeared all the Probability imaginable, of their getting to the Place in Time to intercept her. The Value of this Ship was well known; and the Sailors were in high Spirits at the Thoughts of taking her.

The Squadron with the Prizes now made eight Sail; but to prevent Delay, two of them being worſe Sailers than the reſt, were cleared ſoon after and burnt. In the Beginning of *December*, the Commodore arrived at *Quibo*.

On the Twelfth of the ſame Month, he ſtood from *Quibo* Weſtward. The Captains of the Men of War and Commanders of the Prizes were ordered their Courſes to ſteer in Caſe of Separation; and directed to endeavour with all poſſible Diligence to get to the Northward of the Harbour of *Acapulco*.

Various were the Conjectures, and as various were the Hopes and Fears reſpecting this great Object of their Attention, during a long and unſucceſsful Cruiſe on this Occaſion; in the End, inſtead of the Golden Promiſes they had made themſelves, they thought they were extremely happy, when after a four Months Cruiſe, with only ſix Days Water on board, they made the Harbour of *Chequetane* about thirty Leagues to the Weſtward of *Acapulco*.

At *Chequatan* they found Difficulty in getting Proviſions: and as their next Expedition muſt be thence to *Aſia*, great Precautions were taken to make every poſſible Preparation for ſuch a Voyage.

At *Chequetan*, the *Tryal's* Prize, the *Carmelo*, and the other, were condemned to be deſtroyed: not that the *Trial's* Prize was unfit for Service; but the People were too few. It was impoſſible with the preſent Number of Perſons, to navigate more than two Ships to *Aſia*, and conſequently the reſt were cleared and deſtroyed.

The *Centurion* and *Glouceſter* were the only Ships now remaining; and the neceſſary Repair of them for ſuch a Voyage, took up till the Month of *April*.

Some Time was loſt after this in waiting for the Cutter ſent in for Neceſſaries; and it was in fine the Sixth of *May* 1742, when the Commodore left the Coaſt of *America*, with only one Ship beſide his own, the *Glouceſter*, for *Aſia*.

The *Glouceſter* became diſabled on the Voyage; and the Commodore was reduced to the Neceſſity of taking out her Hands and Stores; and deſtroying her.

'Twas on the Fifteenth of *Auguſt* ſhe was condemned; torn by irreparable Leaks; and full of Water; but as the Iſland of *Guam* was judged not to be far diſtant, 'twas held adviſeable to ſet her on fire, leaſt ſome chance Wind might drive her a Wreck upon the Enemy's Territories. Hence purſuing the Courſe which the Storm which diſabled the *Glouceſter* had interrupted, the Commodore arrived in the latter End of *Auguſt* at *Tinian*: where a new and very alarming Diſaſter happened.

A Tempeſt drove the *Centurion* from her Anchors to Sea, with Part of her People on board; leaving the Commodore with about a hundred and thirteen Perſons on Shore.

The Proſpect to both Parties was inevitable Deſtruction. The People on Board unprepared and unable to ſtruggle with the Tempeſt, gave all up for loſt, and to thoſe on the Shore, there did not appear the leaſt Proſpect of ever getting off the Iſland.

Mr. *Anſon* with great Preſence of Mind, inſtead of joining the reſt in their Deſpair, propoſed the only rational Means of regaining their Ship.

He told them, probably the People on board would bring her back in a few Days; but if not able to do that, that they would certainly make for *Macao*; and he therefore propoſed cutting aſunder and lengthening a ſmall Bark they had taken from the *Spaniards*, to carry them thither to join her.

In this Labour himſelf aſſiſted, and by his Example he made all the reſt induſtrious; the Carpenters had their Tools on Shore, ſo that they could ſet rationally about it: and all Hands being employed, the Deſign went on ſucceſsfully.

Eighteen Days was the Labour inceſſant on Shore; and the Toil not leſs in the Ship, the People on board not being able to manage her without all being at Work at once.

On the Nineteenth Day from her Departure, ſhe came again into the Offing; and the Men on Shore went off, and brought her to an Anchor.

On the Twenty-firſt of *October*, all was ready for the Departure of the Commodore and his People from *Tinian*: they ſailed for *Macao*; and came to an Anchor there in the Road on the Eleventh of *November*.

More Folly and Impertinence were experienced from the People there, than could eaſily be conceived; and partly with this, and partly with the Cunning of ſome intereſted Perſons, the Commodore found great Difficulty in procuring what he wanted.

His Prudence and his Reſolution got the better of thoſe Obſtacles at length; and on the Nineteenth of *April* 1743, he ſailed. He had given out at *Macao*, that he was bound to *Batavia*, and thence to *England*; but his Reſolutions were of another Kind: the *Manila* Galleon was yet the Object of his Attention; he determined to meaſure back in Search of her a great Part of this uncomfortable Paſſage; and he ſucceeded.

The *Acapulco* Ship had been the Year before kept in Port, by the Terror of his Squadron, ſo that he now expected there would be two ſent out; the Value of theſe Veſſels he very well knew, and he reſolved to riſque again the Dangers of the *Pacifick* Ocean, and cruiſe for theſe Veſſels, returning off *Cape Eſpiritu Sancto*, on the Iſland of *Samal*.

CHAP. CXLIII.

The Taking the Manila *Galleon.*

AS ſoon as the *Centurion* was clear of the Coaſt, the Commodore called all his Men to the Quarter Deck and declared his Purpoſe; he repreſented in a juſt Light, the Value of the Prize, and the Eaſineſs of the Capture. He told them, he could not fail meeting her on the intended Cruiſe; and that with their good Efforts, there was little Doubt of taking her.

The Men anſwered with a Huzza; and the Commodore ordered all Preparation to be made for the Purpoſe.

When they left *Macao*, they ſtood ſome Days to the Weſtward, and on the firſt of *May* ſaw the Iſland *Formoſa*; after this they ſaw the *Baſhe* Iſlands, and thence making for *Cape Eſpiritu Santo*, they came in Sight of it on the Twentieth.

The *Manila* Ship was expected there in *June*, and the Eyes of all the People were continually attentive.

On the Twentieth of that Month they diſcovered a Sail at Day-break from the Maſt-head, in the South Eaſt Quarter.

The Commodore inſtantly ſtood toward her, and at Seven they could ſee her from the Deck. The Galleon, for it was really ſuch, at this Time lowered her Top-ſails and fired a Gun: this Mr. *Anſon* ſuppoſed to be a Signal for her Conſort to come up; and to amuſe her, he anſwered with one Gun to Leeward.

All this Time the Galleon bore down upon the *Centurion*, very well knowing what ſhe was, and reſolved to fight her: but this the Commodore not imagine to be the Caſe.

At Noon they were within a League: the Commodore had taken all Precautions to make the beſt Uſe of his Strength; and placing thirty of his ſureſt Markſmen in the Tops, he ordered two Men to every Gun for loading, and the reſt in Gangs of ten or twelve, to go from Deck to Deck, and fire them one by one, as they were ready.

He had not Men for any other Method of fighting, and this had its Advantages; for the *Spaniards* who were accuſtomed to ſkulk at the Diſcharge of a Broadſide, and riſe again when it was over, were by this Method expoſed in a Manner unuſual to them, to a continual Fire.

It was an Act of Neceſſity of Commodore *Anſon*, who had not Men enough for his Guns in the common Way of fighting; but it had this Benefit.

Some foul Weather ſeparated the two Ships; and for a few Hours about Noon, hid the Galleon from the Sight of the Commodore; but when the Weather cleared up, they ſaw her again reſolutely lying too.

About one, they were within Gun-ſhot, and the *Centurion* hoiſting her broad Pennant and Colours, fired upon the *Spaniard*.

As obſtinately as the Commander had faced the Danger, he was not yet prepared for an Engagement: his People were now clearing their Ship, and throwing Lumber overboard.

The Guns the Commodore fired, were anſwered in the ſame Manner. And when he prepared for boarding, by getting the Sprit-ſail-yard fore and aſt, the *Spaniard* did the ſame.

The Commodore now came within Piſtol-ſhot, and the Engagement began in earneſt. While the great Guns did great Execution in their Way, the Markſmen placed in the Tops made a terrible Havock; they, according to their Directions, ſingled out the Officers; and taking Aim at them as they came upon Deck, killed or diſabled them as faſt as they appeared. Their firſt Volley had driven the People from their Tops; and this Havock among the principal Perſons was ſo great, that of all the Officers who appeared upon the Deck, only one eſcaped unhurt. An Hour and a half decided the Conteſt: the *Spaniard* ſubmitted.

Thus the Galleon fell into the Hands of Mr. *Anſon*, a Veſſel larger than his own, and of vaſt Value. It is ſingular in this Action, that but two Perſons on board the *Centurion* were killed; and of the wounded, (who were but a few) one only was hurt mortally.

The Commodore made the beſt of his Way to *Canton* River; here he ſupplied himſelf with Stores, and on the Seventh of *December* unmoored and ſtood down.

The Merchants of *Macao* purchaſed the Galleon for ſix Thouſand Dollars, and the Commodore with the Treaſure on board his own Ship, ſailed for *England*.

CHAP. CXLIV.

The Return of the Centurion.

MR. *Anſon* who had enquired the State of Affairs in *Europe*, while among the *Engliſh* at *China*, found all the Reaſon in the World to believe the War with *Spain* continued; and conjectured, not improbably, the *French* might have engaged in Favour of *Spain*, before he arrived in the *European* Seas.

Poſſeſſed of ſuch a Treaſure, it became him to conſider who were and who were not his Enemies. He knew no Intelligence of his Succeſs could reach *Europe*, but from *China*; and he reſolved, if poſſible, that none ſhould arrive thence, before he came thither himſelf.

This was the ſole Method to prevent the Enemy from forming Deſigns to intercept him: of this he made the right Uſe, and finiſhing in Haſte his Buſineſs at *Canton*, ſailed on the Fifteenth of *December* 1743, for *England*.

On the third of *January*, he came to an Anchor in the Streights of *Sunda*, and having watered there, weighed on the Eighth, and ſtood for the *Cape of Good Hope*, where he arrived on the Eleventh of *March*.

He continued there till the Beginning of *April* 1744; entered about forty new Men, and then weighed and put to Sea; on the Nineteenth of the ſame Month they paſſed by the Iſland of St. *Helena*, and arrived in the Soundings in the Beginning of *June*, where they received the firſt certain Notice of a War with *France*.

This might indeed have been fatal to all his Expectations, and the Labour of ſo many Years Dangers have been fruſtrated almoſt at Home, for there was at that Time a *French* Fleet of conſiderable Force cruiſing in the Mouth of the Channel.

Of this Mr. *Anſon* knew nothing; but Fortune preſerved him. A Fog concealed his Ship as he paſſed them, and he came to an Anchor at *Spithead* on the Fifteenth of *June*.

CHAP. CXLV.

The Engliſh Fleet is detain'd by contrary Winds.

ALL this Time the Fleet under Sir *John Norris* was detained by adverſe Winds; and tho' frequent Attempts were made to get out, they were ſtill put back.

The Force and Number were as follows:

Princeſs Amelia, Starboard to lead.
Torbay, Larboard, Tack aboard,
Philip Cavendiſh, *Eſq; Admiral of the Blue.*

Rates.	*Ships.*	*Guns.*	*Men.*	*Commanders.*
3	Prſs. Amelia	80	600	John Hemmington
4	Fawkland	50	300	John Oliphant
3	Lenox	70	480	Covill Mayne
3	Prſs. Caroline	80	600	Thomas Griffin
3	Cambridge	80	600	Tho. Worwood
4	Lyon	60	400	——Cotterel
3	Kent	70	480	Thomas Durell
	* Blaze, Fireſhip.			

Sir John Norris *Admiral.*

4	Deptford	60	400	Chr. Pockington
3	Orford	70	480	*Lord* Aug. Fitzroy
4	Superb	60	400	*Hon.* Wm. Hervey
3	Boyne	80	600	Tho. Groves
3	Norfolk	80	600	Samuel Faulkner
3	Chicheſter	80	600	R. Garlington
4	Weymouth	60	400	——— Knowles

* Fox } *Twenty Guns.*
* Winchelſea }

Etna 45 *Men.* } *Fireſhips.*
Firebrand 459 }

Princeſs Royal, *Hoſpital-Ship*, 92 Men.

Sir Chaloner Ogle, *Rear-Admiral of the Blue.*

4	Dunkirk	60	400	Edward Baker
4	Jerſey	60	400	Edward Williams
3	Pr. of Orange	70	480	William Davis
3	Shrewſbury	80	600	Rich. Townſhend
3	Elizabeth	70	480	Edw. Faulkingham
4	Auguſta	60	400	Tho. Lawrence
3	Torbay	80	600	Chriſt. Parker.
	* Phaeton, *Fireſhip.*			

N. B. *Theſe Ships, except the four Sloops thus* * *mark'd, with the following added thereto, compoſed Sir* Chaloner Ogle'*s Fleet for the* Weſt Indies; *and upon their Arrival there, the whole were under Command of Admiral* Vernon.

Rates.	*Ships.*	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*	*Men.*
3	Ruſſel	Denniſon	80	600
3	Cumberland	Steward	80	600
3	Pr. Frederick	*Ld.* Aubry Beauclerk	70	480
3	Grafton	Ricot	70	480
3	Buckingham	Gaſcoign	70	480
3	Suffolk	Danvers	70	480
3	Rippon	Jolly	70	480
3	York	Coates	70	480
3	Montagu	Chambers	70	480
4	Lichfield	Oſborne	50	300
4	Newcaſtle	Fox	50	300
4	Aſſiſtance	Cleland	50	300
6	Seahorſe	———	20	130
6	Scarborough	———	20	92

Scipio } *Fireſhips.*
Strombulo }
Veſuvius }
Vulcan }

On the twenty-ſixth Sir *Chaloner Ogle's* Fleet ſailed. In the mean time every Thing was conducted by the Admiralty, to the perfect Satisfaction of the Merchants; and all Meaſures were taken for the Defence of thoſe Parts of the *Britiſh* Dominions, whoſe Situation laid it all open to the Inſults of *Spain*.

The *Italian* Merchants in the Beginning of the Year 1741, addreſſed the Lords of the Admiralty, with their Thanks, for the Protection their Trade receiv'd from the Orders given to Admiral *Haddock*; to whom they alſo ſent a Letter of Thanks for his Vigilance and Compliance with thoſe Orders: and about the ſame Time Accounts having been taken of the Condition of the Fortifications of *Dartmouth*, and of the Iſles of *Wight* and *Scilly*, Cannon, Powder, and all Kinds of military Stores, were ordered thither from the Tower.

On the twenty-firſt of *February* a Proclamation was publiſhed for the Encouragement of Sailors who ſhould enter voluntarily, offering two Guineas to the able Seamen, and thirty Shillings for every ordinary Man; and in the ſucceeding Month a ſecond Proclamation offered Five Pounds to every able, and Three Pounds to every ordinary Seaman who ſhould offer voluntarily. This ſhews the juſt Senſe then entertained of voluntary Service, and Unwillingneſs of preſſing.

An Act had paſſed a little before this Time, granting Liberty for Ships to ſail from the Sugar Iſlands, directly to any foreign Port; and Captain *Elphinſton* in the *Walpole* of *Barbadoes*, was the firſt who us'd the Privilege by ſailing to *Leghorn*.

The Privateers of *Spain* grew numerous and bold. Our People fought them with Spirit; but they ſet out too powerful for any Reſiſtance Merchant-ſhips could poſſibly make; and they prey'd very ſucceſsfully for ſome Time upon the *Engliſh* Commerce.

On the twenty-ſixth of *October* Sir *Chaloner Ogle* ſail'd from *Portſmouth* with ſeven and twenty Men of War. On the firſt of *November* following a Storm did vaſt Damage on the *Engliſh* Coaſts, and People feared for this Fleet; but Sir *Chaloner* was fairly out, and tho' he did not eſcape free, ſuffered leſs than was imagined.

One of the Ships only return'd, the *Buckingham*; the reſt, tho' diſabled, held on their Courſe. The Ships as at laſt ordered, were;

Ships Names.	*Captains.*	*Guns.*	*Men.*
Ruſſel	*Sir* Chal. Ogle, Norris	80	600
Amelia	Hennington ——	80	600
Boyne	Leſtock ——	80	600
Carolina	Griffin ——	80	600
Chicheſter	Trevor ——	80	600
Cumberland	Steward ——	80	600
Norfolk	Graves ——	80	600
Shrewſbury	Townſend ——	80	600
Torbay	Gaſcoigne ——	80	600
Buckingham, *	Mitchell, ——	70	480
Orford	*Lord* Aug. Fitzroy	70	480
Pr. Frederick	*Lord* Aub. Beauclerk	70	480
Pr. of Orange,	Oſborne ——	70	480
Suffolk	Davers ——	70	480
Auguſta	Denniſon ——	70	400
Deptford	Mortyn ——	70	400
Dunkirk	Cooper ——	60	400
Jerſey	Lawrence ——	60	400
Lyon	Cotterel ——	60	400
Montagu	Chambers ——	60	400
Rippon	Jolley ——	60	400
Superbe	Harvey ——	60	400
Weymouth	Knowles ——	60	400
York	Cotes ——	60	400
Litchfield	Cleland ——	50	300
	Hoſpital-Ships.		
Princeſs Royal	Tucker ——		95
Scarborough	Carter ——		95
	Fire-Ships.		
Ætna	Fenwick ——		45
Phaeton	Kennedy ——		45
Strumbolo	Hay ——		45
Firebrand	Barnard ——		45
Veſuvius	Gay ——		45
Vulcan	Pellet ——		45

They had on board a large Body of Marines, and Land-Forces under the Command of Lord *Cathcart*. Two of them found Occaſion afterwards to put into *Liſbon*; but the reſt purſued their Courſe without Interruption.

Captain *Jenkins* who had returned the Year before an Inſtance of *Spaniſh* Inſolence and Barbarity, now gave the World an Example of *Britiſh* Courage.

The Commander of a *Spaniſh* Veſſel, into whoſe Hands he had fallen, had cut off his Ear: He this Year received a conſiderable Reward for defending his Ship the *Harrington*, and three ſmaller, againſt the Pirate *Angria*, whom he fought nineteen Hours off *Goa*, and diſabled and drove him away, after the Deſtruction of a hundred and fifty Men. He wiſh'd, and others wiſhed with him, that his Courage had been employed againſt thoſe who had inſulted his Country in his Perſon; but all he could he did: He behaved as became a *Briton* in his alloted Circumſtances.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXLVI.

Tranſactions in 1741.

OUR Fleets now awed our Enemies; the *Spaniards* kept a conſiderable Squadron in Employment, and when aſſured that our Force was at a Diſtance, ventured out, and made ſome Havock among defenceleſs Veſſels; but they dreaded to face the Force of our Arms.

Admiral *Haddock* who lay at this Time at *Gibraltar*, behaved with a moſt honourable Spirit and Prudence. He diſcovered a Deſign of giving up that important Place to the *Spaniards*, and he laid the Guilty in Irons.

The Thing was to have been done by Surprize; a few deſperate Forces were to have been concealed on board *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* Veſſels loaded with Proviſions from the *Barbary* Coaſt; and theſe, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome Treachery within, were to have ſeized the Place in the Night.

Men ſpoke variouſly of this Event; and 'tis fit it be remembered now: Admiral *Haddock* deſerves great Honour, for he certainly did his Duty.

This Deſign quaſhed, and the Authors and Abettors puniſhed, he ſailed with all the homeward bound *Turkey* and *Italian* Ships in Convoy, and determined on his Return, to ſeek the *Spaniſh* Squadron on the Seas, or keep them in their Ports uſeleſs.

Early this Year Sir *John Norris* ſailed with a very formidable Squadron from *Spithead*, the Ships were

First Rates 100 Guns, 850 Men.

Victory	Ad. Norris Falkner
Royal George	Falkingham
Royal Sovereign	Rob. Allen

Second Rates, 90 Guns, 750 Men.

St. George	Will. Dilkes
Duke	Mead
Marlborough	Geddes

Third Rates, 80 Guns, 600 Men.

Cambridge	Joſ. Lyngen

Seventy Guns, 480 Men.

Bedford	Ja. Cornwall
Buckingham	John Toury
Naſſau	Hen. Medley
Elizabeth	Tho. Durell
Lenox	Ja. Compton
Eſſex	Robinſon

Fourth Rates, 60 Guns, 400 Men.

Argyle	Rich. Norris

Fifty Guns, 300 Men.

Aſſiſtance	Roger Martin
Ruby	Frogmore

Goſport *a 5th Rate*, Blaze *and* Lightning *Fireſhip*.

Such was the Naval Strength of our Country at this Period, that with all this Force abroad, another Squadron was talked of for the *Baltick*, and upon Computation, there were found Ships enough at *Portſmouth* to form it.

The Privateers of St. *Sebaſtian*'s were at this Time cunning and inſolent. They had taken a Multitude of Prizes from us; and tho' the *Ruby* Man of War had met with, and taken ſome, the reſt were only by this made more cautious.

One of the firſt Operations of Sir *John Norris*'s Fleet was, to drive them from the Seas; and his good Conduct very well anſwered the publick Expectation.

A Camp was at this Time formed near *Colcheſter*, and a Train of Artillery, with a hundred Matroſſes were ſent thither. This is a Piece of Military Prudence we are now happily and wiſely repeating; 'tis not only in Fear of Invaſions, theſe Encampments are neceſſary: they accuſtom the Soldiers to the Manner of living when upon Service, and prepare them for all Occaſions.

Admiral *Haddock* having conveyed the Trade, cruiſed off *Cape St. Vincent*: the *Spaniſh* Ships of War ſecured themſelves in their Ports; but this left their richeſt Merchant Veſſels defenceleſs, and all that came that Way fell into his Hands.

Sir *John Norris* returned in *Auguſt* after a ſhort Cruize, with many Prizes; and in *September* ſailed again.

Captain *Ambroſe*, in the King's Ship *Rupert*, this Year diſtinguiſhed himſelf by Diligence in the Service, and afterwards by ſucceſsful Courage. He met the great St. *Sebaſtian* Privateer, the *Duke de Vendome*, and after a deſperate Reſiſtance took her. The Privateers of that Place had been long terrible to the *Engliſh*, and this was the largeſt of them all.

The Name of Admiral *Vernon* continued in the higheſt Honour: his Birth Day, and the Anniverſary of his Succeſs, were celebrated with the moſt ſincere Rejoicings; and every Expreſs brought News of his Vigilance and Spirit in the Service.

He ſailed on the firſt of *July* the preceding Year from *Jamaica*, with Major General *Wentworth*'s Troops, and on the Eighteenth entered *Walthenam* Harbour, on the South-ſide of the Iſland of *Cuba*, where the Land forces were diſembarked and encamped.

This Harbour of which the Admiral thus poſſeſſed himſelf, he found one of the fineſt in the *Weſt Indies*, capable of ſecuring a great Number of Ships, and he gave it the Name of the Duke of *Cumberland*.

The *Spaniards* had attempted at firſt to oppoſe them, but General *Wentworth* had taken ſo good Precautions, and the Men acted with ſo much

Spirit, that all Reſiſtance was ſoon over, and the *Engliſh* Forces in firm Poſſeſſion of a very fine Country, watered by a navigable River, and abounding with Proviſions.

On Notice of this, the Government immediately ordered a Reinforcement, and a Fleet conſiſting of four Men of War, as many Bomb-ketches, with forty Tranſports, with near four Thouſand Land-Forces ſailed from *Cork*, on the Eighth of *November* for *Cuba*.

Sir *John Norris* returned again after a ſhort Cruiſe; and the Merchants of *London* on the Thirteenth of *November*, preſented a Petition relating to the great Number of their Ships taken continually by the Enemy, notwithſtanding the vaſt Superiority of the *Britiſh* Naval Force.

All *Engliſh* Miniſtries ſhould obſerve, that the People never fail to know the State and Force of the Royal Navy; and that they will be as free in complaining, when their Property is not ſufficiently protected, as they are in paying their Money for that Protection.

The Naval Force of the Kingdom at that Time in Service, amounted to a hundred and two Ships of War, including Sloops; carrying ſeven Thouſand ſeven Hundred and ſixty ſix Guns, and employing about fifty four Thouſand Men. Beſides theſe, there were three and forty Ships of War out of Commiſſion. Our Commanders were brave; our Men influenced by their perſonal Spirit and by Revenge; yet *Spain* was too ſucceſsful. Thoſe who could not face us upon the Sea, preyed about the Coaſts upon our Commerce; and much was ſaid of Negligence in Office, and of *Spithead* Expeditions.

CHAP. CXLVII.

Tranſactions of the Year 1742.

OUR own People were not all who ſaw there was Omiſſion ſomewhere: the *Spaniards* found it, and tho' with an inferior Force, they ventured out to Sea at the Cloſe of the preceding Year.

Unobſerved by Admiral *Haddock*, the *Cadiz* Fleet in the Night, between the Twenty ſecond and Twenty third of *November* had paſſed the Streights, they conſiſted of

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
El Real	114	1700
St. Iſabella	80	800
St. Iſidore	70	700
St. Turnando	60	600
El Retiro	60	600
El Brilliant	60	600
El Notarno	60	600
El Orient	60	600
El Pades	60	600
El Sorveto	60	600
El Roſairio	60	600
El Fama	50	500
El Galga	50	500
El Palama	40	400
El Inſendio	40	400
La Formoſa	18	180
Iſabella	18	180

Upon the News of this Admiral *Leſtock* ſailed from *St. Helen's* with five Ships, to reinforce the Admiral.

The *French* about the ſame Time ſent a Squadron from *Toulon*; but Storms ſhattered their Ships, and drove them little better than Wrecks into *Carthagena*; and the ſame Tempeſt drove the *Cadiz* Fleet again into the Ocean.

In *America* the Heavens ſeem'd to war againſt the *Spaniards*. Don *Blaſs*, a diſtinguiſhed Officer in their Service, died in the Beginning of this Year: Soon after this Don *Rodrigo de Torres*, the *Spaniſh* Admiral, ſailed from *Carthagena* in the *Santa Anna*, but that Ship was run aground on Rocks in going into the *Havannah*, and beat off half her Keel, for which they were obliged to careen her.

The Admiral had then hoiſted his Flag on board the *Invincible*, a new Ship, built at the *Havanna*, and never at Sea, which was ſoon after blown up by the Lightning; and in her four Millions of Pieces of Eight. The Ship having lain within Piſtol-ſhot of the Walls, the Town was deſerted by every Body whilſt ſhe was burning; but two Churches were extremely damag'd by the Blaſt, and the Dome of the principal one was deſtroyed.

Don *Rodrigo de Torres* himſelf narrowly eſcaped in his Boat; and the next Ship in which he hoiſted his Flag, had her Mainmaſt carried away in a Thunder Storm two Days after his coming aboard.

Admiral *Spinola* in the *Europa*, who went from the *Havanna* for *Vera Cruz*, to bring Money from thence, was alſo loſt in his Paſſage.

The Affair at *Cuba* this Year wore a leſs promiſing Aſpect. The Soldiers had ſuffered extremely by Sickneſs †. Their Commander was obliged to return with them to *Jama ca*; and Admiral *Vernon* cruis'd with eager Expectation of the Reinforcement from *England*.

In *Europe* Admiral *Haddock*, who at this Time commanded the following Ships,

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† *Strength of our Army in* Cuba *under General* Wentworth, October 5, 1741,

	Serj.	*Corp.*	*Drums.*	*Sold.*
General Harriſon's	22	23	8	172
General Wenworth's	22	17	8	172
Col. Wolfe's	20	23	6	138
Colonel Frazer's	22	21	6	109
Colonel Lowther's	22	24	8	182
Colonel Wynyard's	23	20	11	123
Colonel Cochran's	15	11	7	158

Ships	*Commanders.*		*Guns.*
Marlborough	Hon. Adm. Haddock		90
Somerſet	Sclater	—	80
Lancaſter	Cayley	—	80
Ipſwich	Martin	—	70
Dartmouth	Weſt	—	50
Panther	Gideon	—	50
Pembroke	Lee	—	60
Warwick	Tollard	—	60
Plymouth	Watſon, Sen.	—	60
Dragon	Barnett	—	60
Saliſbury	Oſborne	—	50
Oxford	Pawlett	—	50
Guernſey	Forbes	—	50
Folkeſton	Balchen	—	40
Feverſham	Watſon, Jun.	—	40
Roebuck	Brett	—	40
King's Zebeck	Stepney	—	80
Duke	*Fireſhips.*		
Anne-Galley			
Mercury			
Mary Galley	—	—	40
Durſley Galley		—	20
Winchelſea	—	—	20
Salamander Bomb			

Was now joined by Commodore *Leſtock* with the *Neptune*, *Barfleur*, *Bradford*, *Eſſex*, *Naſſau*, *Hampton Court*, *Royal Oak*, *Rowney*, *Wincheſter*, and *Winchelſea*.

On the uniting of theſe Squadrons a full Council of War was held, and Mr. *Haddock* reſign'd the Command of the Fleet to Admiral *Leſtock*, who made immediate Preparations for Service, and ordered all his Captains to be prepared for a ten Weeks Expedition.

This Year is characteris'd by the Oppoſition made againſt Sir *Robert Walpole* in the Houſe of Commons, and its Events; that great Stateſman ſaw which way every Thing was going, and met his Diſgrace, if it might be called ſo, with Temper.

The famous Affair of the *Chippenham* Election came before the Commons in *February*; and he declared if this went againſt his Wiſhes, he would never enter that Houſe any more. The Majority againſt him was ſixteen: He retired. The King created him Earl of *Orford* on the eighth of *February*; and the Houſe adjourning till the eighteenth, he that Day took his Seat there, having a Week before reſign'd all his Employments.

The Duke of *Argyle* at the ſame Time reſign'd all his Offices: Such Meaſures were then taken by ſuch Men, as make the preſent Confuſion of the Great ridiculous.

In the Beginning of *May* this Year Forces were ſent to *Flanders*; and about the Middle of *January* Admiral *Matthews*, with ſix Ships, failed from *Spithead*.

Captain *Norris* this Year behaved with the Spirit of an *Engliſhman*, and gained great Honour.

Upon his Cruize beween *Cape Rous* and *Villa Franca*, having Notice of five *Spaniſh* Gallies being failed from *St. Margaretta* to *St. Tropez*, he immediately followed them with his Majeſty's Ships under his Command; in order to detain them there till he ſhould receive Orders from the Admiral concerning them. But the ſaid *Spaniſh* Gallies beginning to fire upon the King's Ships, and thereby breaking the Rules which are uſually obſerved in a neutral Fort, Captain *Norris* immediately gave Orders to the *Duke* Fireſhip to ſet Fire to them, which was accordingly executed, and all the Gallies were immediately deſtroyed.

Toward the Cloſe of this Year the King of the *Two Sicilies* took Meaſures by no Means agreeable to *England*; and few Tranſactions of that Time do us more Honour than the Meaſures this Government took upon the Occaſion.

Unexpectedly, on the Nineteenth of *Auguſt* a Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships, conſiſting of the *Ipſwich*, Captain *William Martin*, Commodore; the *Panther*, Captain *Gideon*; the *Oxford*, Captain *Pawlett*; the *Feverſham*, Captain *Hughes*; and the *Durſley Galley*, Captain *De L'angle*, four Bomb-Veſſels, and four Tenders, appeared in the Bay of *Naples*.

Some Hours before they came to an Anchor under the Town, (which was about four o'Clock in the Afternoon) the Duke of *Monteallegre* ſent to his Majeſty's Conſul, to deſire him to go on board the Commodore; to know whether they came as Friends or Enemies: the Appearance ſeem'd, as he ſaid, hoſtile, but that his *Sicilian* Majeſty would be glad to receive them as Friends, deſiring nothing more than the Amity of his *Britannick* Majeſty.

The Conſul, upon this, went on board the Commodore, who communicated to him the Purport of the Orders he had received from Vice Admiral *Matthews*, and a Meſſage to be delivered in the King's Name to his *Sicilian* Majeſty; which was, that his *Britannick* Majeſty being in Alliance with the Queen of *Hungary* and the King of *Sardinia*, and the King of the *Two Sicilies* having joined his Forces with thoſe of *Spain*, in declared War with *England*, to invade the Queen of *Hungary*'s Dominions, contrary to all Treaties, he, the Commodore, was ſent to demand, that the King of the *Two Sicilies* ſhould not only forthwith withdraw his Troops from acting in Conjunction with thoſe of *Spain*, but that his *Sicilian* Majeſty ſhould

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Colonel Cotterel's	24	26	10	151
Firſt Battalion, Gouch's	16	11	3	129
Second ditto	10	7	3	90
Third ditto	10	7	3	79
Fourth ditto	6	7	1	107
Total	212	197	74	1610
Sick in the Camp	39	47	15	465
Total	251	244	89	2073

Two-hundred and eighteen Officers died in the Expedition, viz. One Commander in Chief; five Colonels; ten Lieutenant-Colonels; ſeven Majors; fifty-five Captains; one hundred and ſixteen Subalterns; fourteen Staff-Officers; and ten in the Hoſpital.

ſhould promiſe not to give them any farther Aſſiſtance of any Kind whatever.

Captain *De L'angle*, of the *Durſley Galley*, was charged with this Meſſage, and the Commodore deſired the Conſul to accompany the Captain and be his Interpreter.

They went to the Secretary's Office at five o'Clock. The King was then at Church, and was not to return till ſix. But the Duke of *Monteallegre* received the Meſſage, and told them, that when the King returned, he would give them an Anſwer.

At eight, the Duke of *Monteallegre* came down from the King in Council, and told them, the Demand would be complied with: he gave this in Writing, as required; but he deſired to have ſome Anſwer alſo in Writing, importing, that upon the ſaid Compliance, no Hoſtilities ſhould be committed on their Side.

After this he returned on board with General *Bourke*, who was ſent from his *Sicilian* Majeſty, to deſire this of the Commodore. He anſwer'd, his Orders were abſolute, and did not authorize him to give any Reply; but that he expected a Compliance in half an Hour's Time, or at fartheſt, an Hour after the Conſul's and Captain's being on Shore.

The Duke of *Monteallegre* then deſired that he might inſert in his Letter, that upon the Conſul's and Captain's Aſſurances by Word of Mouth that no Hoſtilities ſhould be committed, his *Sicilian* Majeſty did promiſe, *&c.* Captain *De L'angle* deſired the Conſul to tell the Duke, that he apprehended the Commodore would not be ſatisfied with that Condition. Upon this the Duke deſired the Conſul to aſſure the Commodore, that if he objected to it, it ſhould be left out; and that the Subſtance of the Letter being fully what was required, he hoped it would be ſufficient for that Night.

It was two Hours paſt Midnight, when the Conſul returned on board, and the Commodore was ſo far ſatisfied, as to promiſe he would not commence any Hoſtilities, upon the Aſſurances given him by the Conſul, that any Thing he objected to in the Form would be altered: accordingly in the Morning, another Letter was wrote in the exact Words required, and upon the Receipt of it, the Commodore ordered all the Ships to prepare for ſailing. They were under Sail before Night, and out of Sight the next Morning, the Twenty firſt, having been only Twenty four Hours at Anchor in the Bay.

The whole City was in the greateſt Alarm and Conſternation imaginable, during this critical Negociation.

A Tranſlation of the Letter, written by the Duke of Monteallegre, *to Commodore* Martin.

S I R, *Naples, Aug.* 20. 1742.

THE King had already reſolved, and given Orders, that his Troops which are joined with thoſe of *Spain*, ſhould withdraw, in Order to the Defence of his own Dominions.

His Majeſty commands me to promiſe you, in his Name, that he will forthwith repeat his Orders, that his Troops ſhall immediately withdraw from the *Romagna*, and that he will not, in any Manner whatſoever, either aid or aſſiſt thoſe of *Spain* any more in the preſent War in *Italy*. *Signed*,

The Marq. of *Salas.*
D. of *Monteallegre.*

In *America* the *Spaniards* took all Occaſions of aſſaulting our weakeſt Settlements; but they ſucceeded poorly.

The Colony of *Georgia* was a great Scene of this; and we now ſaw the good Effects of General *Oglethorpe's* Management of that Settlement, and his Treatment of the neighbouring *Indians*.

They joined our Forces, fought our Battles, and behaved very nobly: in particular, a Son of that *Thomocaci*, who had come over to *England* with the General, was at the Head of a Hundred of his People in one of the Engagements, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an uncommon Manner. He received a Wound from a *Spaniſh* Officer in the Beginning of the Action, and he ran in upon him to revenge it: his firſt Stroke laid the *Spaniard* at his Feet; and his People reſcued him from a Number of the *Spaniards*, who had attempted to ſurround him. This Incident gave an immediate Turn to the Fate of the Action: the *Spaniards* were diſheartened, and the *Engliſh* preſſed them with great Succeſs, till Evening cloſed the Engagement in their Favour; the *Spaniards* retiring with their beſt Speed.

The Year ended as it had began, very much to the Honour of our Country, whoſe Arms had been every where ſucceſsful; and whoſe Fleets had ſhewn themſelves capable of effecting more by Awe than thoſe of the Enemy by Force.

CHAP. CXLVIII.

Tranſactions of the Year 1743.

ADmiral *Vernon* returned to *England* the Beginning of this Year, and was received with Acclamations of Applauſe.

Our Fleets were early put in Readineſs for Service, and a Spirit of Intrepidity and Reſentment was univerſal.

Captain *Holmes* of the *Sapphire*, early this Year diſtinguiſhed himſelf: being on a Cruiſe on the Coaſt of *Portugal*, on the Twenty fifth of *December* ſaw two Sail, and gave Chace; about two o' Clock in the Afternoon, the two Ships parted, one keeping her Wind, the other bearing away; he continued chaſing the former, and about five took her. She was a *Spaniſh* Privateer of fifty Tons, with eight Carriage, and ſix Swivel Guns, and fifty two Men.

It being calm, Captain *Holmes* immediately ſhifted her Men into his Ship, and put a Lieutenant and thirty Men on board her, to row after the other Veſſel, which they came up with the next Evening, and retook: they found her to be a Sloop from *Limerick*, bound to *Liſbon* with a good Cargoe.

On the Eleventh of *January*, Captain *Holmes* was informed by the Maſter of a *Dutch* Ship, who had been ill treated by a Privateer at *Vigo*, which Place he had left the Eighth, that there were five Privateers in that Harbour, two of them cleaning on the Sand, and the other three near them by the Key: that in the Town by the Church, they had mounted 6 ſix Pounders; on the Key, cloſe to the Place where the Privateers lay, 3 twenty four Pounders on a new Battery; and on a Plain to the Southward of the Key, ſix or eight Guns, from 3 to 4 Pounders.

Upon this Intelligence, Captain *Holmes* ſailed for *Vigo*, and on the Fifteenth was off that Town. When his Ship was about half a Mile from the Place, the *Spaniards* fired from their Twenty four Pound Battery on the Key. One of the Shot diſmounted one of the *Sapphire*'s lower Deck Guns, killed one Man, took off another's Leg, and the Arm of a Third, and with the Splinters wounded five or ſix more; another Shot went through the Center of her Fore-maſt, about ſeven Feet above the Forecaſtle, and the Third ſtruck her betwen Wind and Water, and lodged in the Carpenter's Store-Room.

Captain *Holmes* deſpiſing this, ran farther in, and came to an Anchor. Having brought his Broadſide to bear upon the Batteries and Privateers, he began firing about twelve o'Clock, and between two and three the two Privateers which were afloat, ſunk; and the others, which were on the Sand, received a Number of Shot in them, by which they were rendered unſerviceable.

About the ſame Time, an Action of equal Reſolution, did Honour to Captain *Purcell* of the *Pulteney* Privateer: it happened in Sight of *Gibraltar*, a little to the Eaſt of *Europa Point*, and almoſt in Reach of the Guns.

The *Pulteney* Privateer was a large Brigantine, mounting Sixteen Carriage, and twenty ſix Swivel Guns: Captain *James Purcell*, had been cruiſing in her in the Streights Mouth, and was ſtanding in for this Bay from the Weſt, but with little or no Wind.

As ſoon as ſhe was ſeen from *Old Gibraltar*, two great *Spaniſh* Xebeques, each carrying a hundred and twenty Men, twelve Carriage Guns, and a great Number of Pattareroes and Muſquetoons were ſent out; and looking upon her as already their own, they made great Haſte with their Oars, and ſoon came up with her.

There was in the Bay an eighty Gun Ship, but without a Main-top-maſt; ſo that there was no aſſiſting the Privateer, but by a Reinforcement of Men: theſe might very eaſily have been ſent, when the Xebeques firſt ſtood out; but the Sea Officers, tho' applied to, refuſed ſo reaſonable a Requeſt, alledging, that it was impoſſible ſo ſmall a Veſſel, even full of Men, could eſcape ſo ſuperior a Force.

Captain *Purcell* was of a different Opinion; and tho' he had in all but forty two Men, and of thoſe three wounded, he was reſolved not to give up a Veſſel that had the Honour of a Commiſſion from the Admiralty, till the laſt Neceſſity; and finding his Officers and Men in the ſame Diſpoſition, prepared for an obſtinate Defence.

After a few ſingle Guns, the *Spaniards* came near and hailed the Veſſel by her Name, and the Captain by his, deſiring him to ſtrike and preſerve their Lives, otherwiſe no Quarter.

Theſe Threats were returned with Guns. The *Spaniards* attempted to board, but were reſolutely beat off; they attempted it twice more, but Captain *Purcell* prudently reſerving half his Broadſide, they had not Courage to board him, but expoſed themſelves ſo much, particularly in the laſt Puſh, that they could ſtand it no longer, but made off with their Oars towards *Malaga*; having loſt half their Men.

The Engagement laſted an Hour and three Quarters, and the *Pulteney* had only one Man ſhot through the Body, and five more wounded; but what is very remarkable, half the Men on board were ſhot through their Cloaths, and the Sails and Rigging were all cut to Pieces, ſome nine Pounders alſo went through his Hull and Maſts.

The *Pulteney* remaining becalmed after the Battle, ſeveral Boats went and towed her round; and the Garriſon of *Gibraltar* had ſo high a Senſe of the great Action, of which many Hundreds of them were Witneſſes, that the Governor and Officers made him a Preſent of a large Piece of Plate, with an honourable Inſcription.

In the Beginning of *March* Captain *Geary* took the *Pierre Joſeph*, a very rich Prize, and Captain *Martin* the *Saint Iſidore*, a ſeventy Gun Ship. In *America* our Privateers were as ſucceſsful, and *Spain* appeared at length to underſtand that the War which enriched her Enemy, was to herſelf deſtructive.

In the *Mediterranean*, the *Rupert*, in Company with another King's Ship, purſued a Barcalonga into the Bay of *Almeria*, which getting into ſhoal Water, they batter'd to Pieces. They afterwards ſent the Maſter of a *French* Tartan, which was in the Bay, to acquaint the Inhabitants, unleſs they ranſomed the Town, it would be beat about their Ears. The Inhabitants ſending Word, that in a Time fixed an Anſwer ſhould be given, in the Interim acquainted the Intendant of the Province with the Situation of Affairs, who ordered two hundred Soldiers to prevent the Sailors from landing. Theſe would not ſuffer the Inhabitants to ranſom the Town, but obliged them to ſend a Defiance to the Captains of the Men of War; who thereupon immediately fired upon the Place, which they continued to do all Night. In the Morning the Wind changing, they were obliged to make the beſt of their Way out of the Bay, but ſent the Maſter of the *French* Tartan into the Town to know what had been done, who ſoon brought Word that the Tower and great Part of the principal Church were beaten down, moſt of the Houſes demoliſhed or damag'd, and about thirty Settees, Barcalonga's, *&c.* which had been hawl'd into ſhoal Water, were beat to Pieces.

Major *Cawfield*, with three hundred Men under Convoy of ſix Ships of War, landed in *January* this Year on the Iſle of *Rattan*, and would have done great Service, but for the mutinous Diſpoſition and unconquerable Turbulence of his Men.

Commodore *Knowles* on the eighteenth of *February* attacked *La Guerre*; but there being a great Swell, could not get within a Mile of it. The *Burford*, *Norwich*, *Eltham*, and *Aſſiſtance* Men of War received ſo much Damage, as entirely diſabled them to continue the Attack.

The *Burford* receiv'd many Shot of forty-three Pounders in her Hold, and had her Rudder, Bowſprit, and Main-maſt ſhot away; and Captain *Luſhington* had his Thigh taken off by a Chain Shot, and ſoon after expired.

Night came on, and put an End to the Action. So that the Attempt miſcarried, after the Loſs of a great many Men, as by the following Liſt.

		Guns.	*Shot received.*	*killed.*	*Men wound.*
Suffolk	*of*	70	146	29	80
Burford		70	94	24	50
Aſſiſtance		50	54	13	71
Elkham		40	41	14	55
Norwich		50	9	1	11
Advice		50	10	5	15
Lively		20	10	6	24
Scarborough		20	3	0	2

The Commodore, when he had put his Squadron into as good a Condition as he could for Service, ſailed from *Curacoa* the 20th of *March*, intending to have ſtretched over directly for *Porto Cavallo*; but by reaſon of a ſtrong Lee Current, it was the 15th of *April* before he could come to an Anchor with his Squadron under the Keys of *Barbarat*, a little to the Eaſtward of that Place.

Mr. *Knowles* taking a View of the Enemy's Situation, ſaw twelve of their ſmalleſt Ships, and three Gallies, hawl'd up to the Head of the Harbour, out of Gun-ſhot, and two large ones, one of ſixty, and another of forty Guns, moor'd cloſe over to the other Shore, as there was not Depth of Water for them to go up the Harbour.

One Ship was laid acroſs the Channel in the Harbour's Mouth, ready to ſink, to prevent their entering, with a Chain from the Caſtle to her Stern, and another from her Head to the Main; where were three Faſcine Batteries, which extended a conſiderable Length.

On a low Point, called *Ponta Brava*, were two other Faſcine Batteries, one of twelve Guns, the other of ſeven; but perceiving they were ill deſigned, and might eaſily be flanked, he thought it would be no difficult Matter to render himſelf Maſter of them; and that if the Attempt ſucceeded, the Guns of both might be made Uſe of againſt the Caſtle.

Accordingly it was agreed, at a general Conſultation held next Morning, to ſend in two Ships in the Afternoon, to cannonade theſe Batteries, and to land the Volunteers, with about four hundred Seamen, the Detachment of *Dalzell*'s Regiment, and all the Marines, to take Poſſeſſion, after the Ships had ſilenced them; their Retreat being ſecurely guarded by his Majeſty's Ship the *Aſſiſtance*, which lay within Piſtol-ſhot of the Shore.

The Ships that were ſent in to cannonade the Batteries, ſilenc'd them by Sun-ſet, and by dark all Firing had ceaſed on both Sides; the Forces, conſiſting of about twelve hundred Men, Seamen and Soldiers, landed under the Command of Major *Lucas*, and on their March, which was all the Way on a Beach by the Water-ſide, the Commodore accompanied them in his Boat.

About eleven o'Clock he ſaw the Van fire, and (as he apprehended) engaged with the Enemy: ſoon after this two Guns were fired from the Faſcine Batteries, and preſently after he ſaw the Men running back in Confuſion and Diſorder, which they did not overcome till they got on board.

On the twenty-firſt a general Conſultation of Officers was held, wherein Conſideration being had of the late Miſcarriage of the Seamen and Land-forces againſt the Faſcine Batteries, it was reſolved to form one general Attack with all the Ships and Forces, againſt the Caſtle and thoſe Batteries.

Accordingly on *Sunday* the twenty-fourth about Noon, a ſmall Breeze ſpringing up, the Commodore made the Signal, and weighed, and ran down in the Order agreed on; the *Aſſiſtance*, *Burford*, *Suffolk*, and *Norwich*, to batter the Caſtle, and the *Scarborough*, *Lively* and *Eltham*, againſt the two Faſcine Batteries.

They began cannonading about eleven o'Clock, and continued till paſt nine at Night with great Obſtinacy on both Sides. The Enemy ſometimes ſlackened their Fire, good Execution being done upon them in diſmounting their Guns, beating ſeveral Embraſures into one, and ſilencing the Faſcine Batteries; but as Night came on, they grew briſker in their Service; and did more Miſchief. Some of the Ships having expended all their Ammunition, others the greateſt Part; and moſt of them being ſo ſhatter'd in their Maſts and Rigging, as ſcarce to be able to ſet a Sail, the Commodore made the Signal to cut, and went and anchored about a random Shot Diſtance.

During the Cannonading, the Enemy had ſunk the Ship that lay in the Harbour's Mouth, which effectually ſtopped up the Channel. The next Morning the Squadron weighed, and got again under the Key of *Barbaras*, to refit, and in the Evening were joined by the *Advice*, which had loſt Company three Days after they had ſailed from *Curacoa*.

On the Twenty eighth, at a general Conſultation, it was agreed, that the Squadron was no longer in a Condition to undertake any Enterprize againſt the Enemy; upon which the Commodore ſent away the ſtation Ships to their reſpective Places.

Before he left the Coaſt, he agreed to an Exchange of Priſoners with the Governor of *Porto Cavallo*; and the Officer who was appointed by the Enemy to manage that Matter, confirmed the Accounts Mr. *Knowles* had received from ſeveral Deſerters, as well as from the exchanged *Engliſh* Seamen, *viz.* that there were upwards of one Thouſand two Hundred Seamen belonging to the Ships and Gallies in the Harbour; and that the Factors, Companies Servants, Gunners and Soldiers, were about three Hundred Men more; beſides about four Thouſand *Indians*, *Mulattoes*, and *Blacks*, whom the Governor of *Caraccat* ſent down, when he received Intelligence of an Attack being intended.

Captain *Ambroſe* who had before diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the *Mediterranean*, this Year gained more Honour. He viſited with one other Ship, the ſeveral Harbours on the Coaſt of *Spain*, and took out ſixteen of their Ships without the Loſs of a Man.

CHAP. CXLIX.

The Battle of Dettingen.

THIS Year the King gained that diſtinguiſhed Victory over the *French* at *Dettingen*; in which Action his Royal Highneſs the Duke, who ſhared the Danger every where with the common Soldier, was wounded. The Circumſtances were theſe:

The King having received certain Advice that the Marſhal de *Noailles* intended to prevent our Junction with the Body of the *Lunenbourg* and *Heſſian* Troops, commanded by Prince *George* of *Heſſe*, ſent Orders to the ſaid Prince to halt at *Hanau*, and determined to join him with the whole Army.

Accordingly on *Wedneſday* the Fifteenth, upon ſeveral Motions which the *French* Army made to their Left, Orders were given for the Army to ſtrike the Tents at beating of the Tatoe, to remain under Arms till break of Day, and then to march from the Right in two Columns, the Troops in this March taking the Places aſſigned them in the Line of Battle. As his Majeſty was perſuaded, that if the Enemy attempted any Thing, it would be on our Rear-Guard, he ordered the three Battalions of *Engliſh* Guards, and the four of *Lunenbourg*, that covered the Quarters, as alſo all the *Hanover* Cavalry, with ſome Artillery, to bring up the Rear; and his Majeſty choſe to be there in Perſon, as the Place of Action.

Our Troops began to march at Break of Day, the *Britiſh* Cavalry in Front, followed by the *Auſtrian*; then the *Britiſh* Foot followed alſo by the *Auſtrian*.

As ſoon as the *French* ſaw us in Motion, they alſo began to march with great Haſte toward our Right. Several of our People that went down to the River Side, reviewed their Troops as they paſſed, and many of their Officers converſed with ours.

The *French* left their Camp ſtanding, which perſuaded us, that Marſhal de *Noailles* was to have executed his Scheme that very Morning.

His Majeſty had certain Advice, the Day before, of their making two Bridges upon the *Maine*, a little below *Selingenſtadt*, and Col. *Montague* and Col. *Gee* who relieved him at *Dettingen*, had both ſent Word, that many of their Squadrons had been ſeen on this Side of the *Maine*; ſo that we were under ſome Apprehenſion of their intending to cut off our Communication with *Hanau*.

Our Forces remained in the Poſition they were in, after the Troops taking their Poſts, halting upon the long March, and expecting the King's Orders, till eight o'Clock, the Front of our Horſe not more advanced than between *Klein Oſtein*, and *Dettingen*.

About this Time, a Battery of Cannon, which the *French* had placed at a little Chapel on the Right of *Hoechſtat*, began to play upon the *Hanover* Cavalry. This was anſwered by the *Britiſh* Artillery left in the Rear, which was well ſerved, and did great Execution. This they meant, to draw our Attention to that Side.

Whilſt this was paſſing in their Rear, we began to perceive a Line of the Enemy's Foot, and then a Second, extending between the Villages of *Dettingen* and *Welſheim* towards the Mountain, and two Columns of Horſe marching in the ſame Way; ſo that our Front, upon the Halt, being to the River, the Enemy's Army, at leſs than a Mile's Diſtance, was upon our right Flank.

The Danger was viſible and preſſing, and his Majeſty arriving that Inſtant, ordered the Generals of the Day, to make our Front immediately to the Enemy, by extending the Right towards the Mountain, and the Left to the River, and the two Lines of Horſe were immediately formed: His Majeſty ordered the Foot that were coming up to the Right, into the Wood, and ſome Battalions poſted to cover that Flank; and as faſt as they arrived, placed the Infantry, *Britiſh* and *Auſtrian*, as alſo four Battalions of *Hanoverians*, who all marched through the Intervals of the Horſe, from the Mountain to the *Maine* in two Lines, which were ſupported by the Cavalry of the right Wing, alſo in two Lines.

In making this Diſpoſition, which was a very fine one, and which, by Reaſon of the ſlow Motions of the Foot, took up a good deal of Time, the Earl of *Stair*, the Duke *d'Aremberg*, and the Marſhal *Neipperg*, aſſiſted with great Capacity and Activity.

The *French* had paſſed over a great Body of Troops during the Night: Their Horſe, the Houſhold at the Head, paſſed at the Fords, or ſwam over: The Foot, which our Troops ſaw marching without Baggage along the River, paſſed over the Bridges, and nothing could be better laid than this Plan of Marſhal *Noailles*, if he had left the Moraſs that he paſſed, in Order to attack us in his Front; for then the Village of *Dettingen* and the *Maine* had ſecured his Right, the Moraſs his Front, and the Mountains his Left: but probably his Perſuaſion of our Surprize, and that the King could not in ſo little Time make a Diſpoſition to oppoſe him, made him come into Ground where he was acceſſible by all his Front.

During the whole Diſpoſition, which laſted from eight to Twelve, the *French* Batteries, poſted on the riſing Grounds on the other Side of the *Maine*, did our Troops a great deal of Harm, flanking them from Left to Right within 200 Yards.

About Twelve, every Thing being ready, and the *French* advancing, his Majeſty ordered our Troops to march to meet them: Lieut. Generals *Clayton* and *Sommerfeldt*, and his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland*, as Major General, were at the Head of the firſt Line of Foot: The Earl of *Dunmore* Lieutenant General, and the Earl of *Rothes* Major General, at the Head of the Second. General *Honeywood*, Lieutenant Generals *Campbell*, *Ligonier*, and Baron de *Courriere*, and Lord *Albemarle* as Major General, were at the Head of the firſt Line of Horſe; and Lieutenant Generals *Cope* and *Hawley* at the Head of the Second.

Our Lines halted half Way to the Enemy, to give the Soldiers Time to breathe; and having given a general Shout or Huzza, marched on to them with great Alacrity.

A large Squadron of Horſe, that happened to be at the Head of the *French* Line of Foot, upon the Left of ours, their Center having kept that Poſt whilſt we were advancing, provoked Part of our Front Line to fire upon them: and this occaſioned all the Line to fire too ſoon.

However, this had no ill Conſequence, they loaded again in an Inſtant, and advanced to the Enemy, who were alſo moving towards us. The Fire in a Moment was general upon all the Front, our Line ſtill advancing and gaining Ground.

Lieutenant General *Clayton* ſent to deſire ſome Squadrons near the River, where he apprehended the Enemy might flank him. The Lieutenant General of the Day ſent Brigadier *Bland*'s Dragoons, who in that Poſt ſuffered extremely. The Fire from all the Batteries of the Enemy, and particularly from thoſe in our Flanks, was prodigious, and our Artillery anſwered very briſkly, tho' much inferior to theirs in Quality and Numbers.

About this Time the Black Muſqueteers detached themſelves from their Line, paſſed between the two Fires of the Foot, and came full Gallop to attack the Firſt Squadron on our Right. They were received as ſuch a raſh Action deſerved, were all cut to Pieces, and their Standard taken.

In the mean time the *Britiſh* and *Auſtrian* Cavalry, paſſing thro' the Intervals of the Foot, and attacked the Houſhold Troops of *France*: they found them interlined with Foot, and many of our Regiments were repulſed. However, they ſoon rallied and returned to the Charge, our Lines of Foot ſtill advancing: a Brigade or Detachment of Grenadiers poſted in their Front, behind a Curtain, opppſite to our Right Wing of Horſe, having given Way, all their Front began to do the ſame; till they put the Moraſs before them, and *Dettingen* ſtill upon their Right, and then their whole Army retired, with great Precipitation, towards the Wood and Village of *Welſheim*.

Lord *Stair* ordered the Lieutenant General *Campbell* and *Ligonier* to paſs the Moraſs, as well as they could, and march with the Horſe ſtraight to *Dettingen*; which having done, and ſent to reconnoitre the Village, they found it abandoned; then they marched to *Welſheim*, where ſome Squadrons ſtill appeared on the Skirts of the Wood, who, at their Approach, flung themſelves into the Woods, and behind the Village, which, tho' barricaded all round, and prepared Loop-Holes made through all the Walls and Tops of Houſes, we found likewiſe abandoned.

Lord *Stair* not thinking it prudent to venture the Horſe into the Wood, till the Foot could come up, ordered the former to halt, but moſt of the Enemy had, by this Time, repaſſed the River, either over their Bridges, or at Fords; where, in the Hurry many were drowned.

Thus ended this Day, wherein the Bravery of our Troops could not be too much commended. Our Infantry continually gain'd Ground from the Beginning till they remained Maſters of the Field.

Our Cavalry ſupported, for eight or nine Hours, the moſt ſevere Cannonade that ever was known; and then attacked the Houſhold Troops, who, to do them Juſtice, ſupported the ancient Reputation of their Corps with great Bravery.

In this Action *Ligonier*'s Regiment of Horſe, and *Bland*'s Dragoons, ſuffered moſt: but they gained great Reputation.

The Enemy loſt about eight thouſand Men, and our Loſs amounted to no more than two thouſand five hundred.

The King continued the whole Day at the Head of the Foot.

CHAP. CL.

Commodore Knowles*'s Attempt upon* La Guerra.

IT now appeared that when Commodore *Knowles* in the Beginning of this Year made his unſucceſsful Attempt upon *La Guerra*, the Purpoſe was betrayed; and the *Dutch* from *Curaſſo* furniſhed the Enemy with Powder and Ball againſt us.

There could be no Error in this Suſpicion. It was proved that the Governor had ſent in a Sloop loaded with Ammunition the Night before the Action, and ſeveral of the Balls pick'd out of the Sides of the Ships had the *Amſterdam* Mark upon them.

Againſt theſe, and all the Diſadvantages we have named, they demoliſhed moſt of the Churches, and public Buildings in the Place; and left it in Ruins.

This was all the *Engliſh* Courage could do againſt an Enemy ſupplied by our Friends; and who before knew the Purpoſe, tho' the ſole Hope was in Secrecy.

All this Time our Enemies were ſo much inferior at Sea, and ſo ſenſible of it, that they attempted nothing beyond the Surpriſe of a ſtraggling Merchant-Veſſel.

The Force they had we kept block'd up at *Toulon*. *France* had in that Port eighteen Ships of War; and *Spain* within two of the ſame Number.

Over theſe Chickens of the Sea, gathered under their Parents Wings for Safety, hung the *Engliſh* Kite, ſailing with eaſy Motion at his Pleaſure, and ready to fall on all that ſhould venture from their Safeguard. The Coaſts of *France* and *England* were fortified where expoſed to Inſults; and every Thing ſpoke on their Side the Terror of an inferior Combatant, and on ours that Caution which diſtinguiſhes the Wiſe in their Succeſs.

In the *American* Seas Sir *Chaloner Ogle* was very formidable, and very fortunate. He enriched his People with great Captures, and, diſtreſſed the Enemy much more.

The Regulations on board our Ships were excellent; Courts Martial were inflexibly juſt; and Men were diſmiſſed from the higheſt Command for Offences, that would perhaps at other Times have been thought deſerving no more than a ſlight Cenſure: Nor ſhould we omit the Care which extended even to the leaſt Things regarding Shipping.

The Deſtruction of Vermin on board was found ſo practicable by an eaſy Experiment, that one wonders it is not conſtantly uſed. The Trial was made on board the *Squirrel*, in which at that Time there was nothing but the Ballaſt. Some Brimſtone was fired upon this, and the Air holes all ſtopp'd. A few Minutes did the Buſineſs; the Rats were found ſuffocated, and dead in the Hold to the Number of five hundred.

CHAP. CLI.

Naval Tranſactions of the Year 1744.

THE Spirit of all Orders and Degrees in the Kingdom kept up its full Strength. The People were grateful for real Services: The Government ordered large Armaments; and Men of Courage and of Honour were employed in conducting them.

Admiral *Haddock* received a magnificent Piece of gold Plate, a Preſent from the *Italian* Merchants in *London*, with an Inſcription, denoting the Occaſion, and declaring their Gratitude for his Care in protecting the Trade; and the Name of *Vernon* was almoſt idolized.

Admiral *Matthews* commanded a large Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; another Squadron of great Force was ordered to rendezvous at *Spithead*, and deſtined to the Command of Admiral *Vernon*, and forty Thouſand Men were voted for the Sea, and thirty Thouſand for the Land Service.

In *February* the *Phœnix* Man of War brought Advice, that a *French* Squadron of one and twenty Ships, under three Flags, had ſailed a few Days before from *Breſt*, ſteering North: the Eyes of all People now were on the *Spithead* Fleet, and Sir *John Norris*, not Admiral *Vernon*, ſet out to take the Command.

What Men thought of theſe Events may be learn'd from the State of publick Credit. The Stocks fell at once Sixteen *per Cent*.

The Alarm ſpread faſt, the *French* Fleet cruiſed in the Channel, and were joined by ten more from *Rochfort*: two extraordinary Councils were held at St. *James's*, and double Guards mounted at that Place, and at the Tower.

On the 13th of *February* the Enemy were ſeen off *Torbay*, and the next Day Sir *John Norris* ſail'd from St. *Hellens* for the *Downs*.

The Garriſon at *Sheerneſs* was reinforced, and the *Woolwich* Artificers were kept at work Day and Night, and even on *Sundays*, to make up and diſpatch every Way warlike Stores: the King by a Meſſage acquainted both Houſes of Parliament, that the eldeſt Son of the Pretender was arrived in *France*; and all the Preparation in that Kingdom ſeem'd deſigned to favour an Expedition for him againſt *England*.

The two Houſes, the ſeveral Corporations, the Body of the People, all with one Voice, expreſſed their Duty and Affection for their Sovereign; their Abhorrence of all ſuch Schemes of his Enemies, and their Reſolution to expoſe their Lives as well Fortunes in his Service.

The Men in our ſeveral Yards were armed by Order of the Admiralty, and the Command in Chief of the Forces in *South Britain*, was given to the Earl of *Stair*.

On the Twenty fourth, Sir *John Norris* with his Fleet came in Sight of the *French* off *Folkſtone*, but Night and a Storm aſſiſted them in an Eſcape.

In the mean Time the beſt Regulations were appointed in the Civil Policy: all *Roman Catholicks* were ordered to depart to more than ten Miles diſtant from *London*.

Some Perſons were taken into Cuſtody by his Majeſty's Meſſengers; and among them the Lord *Barrymore*. On this Occaſion the King acquainted the Houſe of Commons, of which he was a Member, that he had been obliged to do this; and they in an Addreſs thanked his Majeſty, and deſired every ſuſpected Perſon might be taken up.

The King, could he have doubted the Love, Fidelity and Gratitude of his Subjects, might have rejoiced in an Incident, which ſo nobly as the preſent Alarm diſcloſed them. Beſide Addreſſes from all Ranks and Orders of Men, the Nobility, at their own Expence, raiſed Regiments; and Foreigners, who enjoyed the *Britiſh* Protection, offered, with the reſt, their Lives in his Defence.

The *Swiſs* in and about *London*, to the Number of five hundred, form'd themſelves into a Regiment in the King's Service, for the Occaſion. The Troops that could moſt readily return were called back from *Flanders*, and the Militia were ordered to be ready on immediate Notice.

The Coaſts were defended in proper Places with Artillery, and the Fleet ſtation'd where moſt likely to be needed.

Thus looked *England* in 1744, upon the Proſpect of an Invaſion.

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CHAP. CLII.

The Admirals Matthews *and* Leſtock *engage the combined Fleets of* France *and* Spain.

ADMIRAL *Matthews* with his Force, and in Conjunction with Admiral *Leſtock*, in the Beginning of this Year engaged the combin'd Fleets of *France* and *Spain* off *Toulon*.

The *Somerſet*, *Dragon*, and *Warwick*, joined the Admiral, and he at the ſame Time received Advice, that three Expreſſes were gone to *Toulon* the Day before, and that the conjunct Fleet, which was hawling out of the Port into the Road, would put to Sea next Morning.

Between three and four that Afternoon Captain *Marſh*, of the *Winchelſea*, one of the Ships appointed to watch the conjunct Fleets Motions, made a Signal that ſome of the ſaid Fleet were under Sail; upon which Admiral *Matthews* in the *Namur*, made the Signal for Unmooring, and putting the Ships in a Condition for Action, which was done with the utmoſt Alacrity and Expedition. In leſs than half an Hour they could ſee ſeveral of the Enemy from their Ships. A Signal was made by Captain *Marſh*, before it was dark, that he ſaw nineteen Sail, and about two in the Morning he ſent the Admiral Word, that they had anchored again under Cape *Sepet*.

As ſoon as it was Day next Morning they ſaw thoſe that came out from the Port into the Road the Night before, under Sail; and in a very little Time, the reſt coming out, being in all thirty four. The Admiral then got under Sail, the Wind blowing very freſh weſterly, expecting they would have come down to him; but ſoon found they had no ſuch Intention, at leaſt for that Day, for they kept plying to Windward, tho' there was all the Appearance of foul Weather, and ſome of the weathermoſt Ships were, at Night, Hull-to, their Sails drawn in, and the Helm laſhed to Leeward: He therefore ſtood too and fro in the Bay till Night, and then anchored, having left Cruizers out to watch their Motions; during which the *Warwick* touched Ground, but by ſtarting thirty Tuns of Water, was got off about nine that Night without any other Damage.

By Break of Day next Morning, our People ſeeing from the Maſt-head fifteen Sail, (the reſt being hid by the Iſland of *Porguerole*) the Admiral immediately got under Way, having but little Wind, and that at North, and made all the Sail he could to get to them, they ſtanding at the ſame Time towards the *Engliſh* Fleet with a ſmall Breeze weſterly.

After an Hour or two's Calm, there ſprung up a ſmall Breeze eaſterly, by which Means they neared each other. At the ſame Time the *Boyne* and *Chicheſter* appeared in Sight from under *Levant* Iſland, and the eaſterly Wind prevailing, they, and a Tender with Proviſions from *Mahon*, ſoon joined the Admiral, having had the good Fortune to come in with the Land to the eaſtward, without which they muſt have fallen into the Enemies Hands. The Enemy brought to in a Line of Battle; but for Want of Wind, and having a very bad Sea, it was Night before the Admiral could get near them, having had the Signal out all Day for the Line of Battle, and kept it out for ſome Time after it was Night.

At Duſk he brought-to, within a little more than three Guns Shot of them, and ordered the *Eſſex* to lie a Mile to Leeward of him, and the *Winchelſea* a good Muſket's Shot to Leeward of the *Eſſex*; to watch their Motions, and to make the proper Signals, and ſtand after them, in caſe they ſhould make Sail. They were ſo near that he could count the Enemies Ships after the Moon was down; but could not at the ſame Time ſee Vice-Admiral *Leſtock* and his Squadron, he having brought-to ſo far to Windward, that, when it was dawning, and the Admiral had made Sail, and the Signal for the Line of Battle a-Breaſt, the Vice-Admiral was full five Miles a-ſtern of him: The Enemy alſo made Sail, and went with their Topſails, and ſometimes ſet their Foreſails.

On the eleventh, at half an Hour paſt eight in the Morning, the *Royal Oak*, and two Tenders with Proviſions from *Mahon* joined the Fleet, having luckily fallen in to the Eaſtward.

Rear-Admiral *Rowley*, in the *Barfleur*, led the Van, but could never come near the *French* Squadron. M. *de Court*, the *French* Admiral in the *Terrible*, would ſometimes lie to, as if he deſign'd ſtaying for them; but when they drew near him, he made Sail again, till at laſt he had left moſt of the *Spaniſh* Ships a good Way aſtern of him.

The Admiral was then fully convinced he never would come to a general Engagement, but judged his Deſign was, by his Way of acting, to draw him down the *Streights*. About half an Hour after eleven the Admiral made the Signal for engaging, and ſoon after bore down, bringing to on the Larboard Tack, upon the *Spaniſh* Admiral, who was in the *Real*; and ordered the *Marlborough*, Captain *Cornwall*, to do the ſame.

The Action began about one. The *Norfolk* engaged M. *Navarro*, the *Spaniſh* Admiral's Second, who ſoon bore away, and never ſhortened Sail whilſt they could ſee her. The reſt of the Admiral's Diviſion a head engaged thoſe a-head. The *Marlborough* driving a little too near the Admiral, obliged him to fill his Sails, to prevent her coming on board him.

The ſhort Time Mr. *Matthews* was engaged, the Enemy greatly diſabled his Maſts and Rigging; and having but little Wind, and a large Swell, his Mizen Topſail handed, to prevent the Maſts and Rigging tumbling about their Ears, hindered their working the Ship, tho' he reev'd new Braces three ſeveral Times, ſo that he could not give the *Marlborough* the Aſſiſtance Captain *Cornwall* wanted, whoſe Behaviour was declared by Mr. *Matthews* to merit all imaginable Praiſe, and whoſe unfortunate Fate he greatly lamented.

The Enemy were extremely well ſerved with Gunners, the *French* training up a great Number of them, and having been exerciſing them at a Mark for upwards of three Months before the Engagement. The *Marlborough*'s Main-maſt and Mizen-maſt was brought-to by the Board, as if it had been but a Twig; and the Admiral's Main-maſt and his Bowſprit were ſhot thro' and thro', and the former had only two Shrouds to ſupport it; and all his Top-maſts were hurt.

The Enemy fired chiefly at our Maſts and Rigging; for tho' the Admiral engaged within Piſtol-ſhot, he had but nine Men killed outright, and forty wounded. His Captain's Arm was ſhot off in the firſt Broadſide.

The *Spaniſh* Admiral's Ship, the *Real*, was totally diſabled at Four; and when Mr. *Matthews* attack'd her Second, ſhe ſoon bore away, and made all the Sail ſhe could.

He then made the Signal for the *Ann Galley* Fireſhip to burn the *Real*, but her Commander was ſo tedious in priming her, and in coming down, that four *Spaniſh* Ships a ſtern got ſo near her as to prevent her Succeſs; when by ſome of their Shot, or ſome other unlucky Accident, ſhe blew up, (being then within Piſtol Shot, or leſs of the *Real*) with Captain *Mackay*, Lieutenant *Hillier*, and ſeveral of her Men, and deſtroyed alſo the *Spaniſh* Admiral's great Launch full of Men, which had been ſent to prevent the Fire-ſhip from boarding him.

The Admiral was himſelf at the ſame Time within Muſket-ſhot of the *Real*, and was afterwards engaged within leſs than Gun-ſhot by the ſame four Ships, which had paſſed by Mr. *Leſtock*; which Ships the Rear of the Admiral's Diviſion engaged, but at too great a Diſtance.

The *Somerſet*, *Princeſſa*, *Dragon*, *Bedford*, *Kingſton*, and *Berwick*, engaged the reſt of the *Spaniards* a-head.

One *Spaniſh* Ship of ſixty Guns, the *Poder*, fell into our Hands; during this Time M. *de Court* let Rear Admiral *Rowley* come along Side of him, where they had warm Work for near three Hours, as had alſo the *Princeſs Caroline*.

After that Time, M. *de Court* ſet his Fore-ſail, and left Mr. *Rowley*, who was then engaged by the *French* Admiral's two Seconds, but not for above twenty Minutes, before they went off: there were but three of the *French* Ships engaged, the reſt kept their Wind in order to tack and weather us, but that our Van keeping the Wind of them, prevented their Deſign from taking Place.

The Night coming on with very little Wind, and a very great Swell, hindered our improving the Advantage we had got; the *Barfleur* had eight Men killed and thirty eight wounded.

Notwithſtanding the *French* tacked again upon Rear Admiral *Rowley*, they did not think proper to engage him; they however retook the *Spaniſh* Ship, it being impoſſible to do any Thing with her, as ſhe had not a Maſt ſtanding, and as it was near dark, and the whole *French* Squadron had tacked upon them; Capt. *Hawke*, of the *Berwick* left her, but could not get his firſt Lieutenant and twenty three Men out of her; the Lieutenant having done all he could to perſuade the Men to quit her, but in vain.

About eight at Night, the Admiral ſhifted his Ship, and hoiſted his Flag on board the *Ruſſel*, Captain *Long*, not caring (ſhould there be an Engagement the next Morning) to riſque the Falling of all his Maſts.

At Break of Day they ſaw the Enemy's Fleet again to Leeward of them, and found they had towed their maimed Ships before the Wind all Night.

The Admiral chaced them again, the *French* lying in a Line of Battle to Windward of the *Spaniards*, moſt of them Hull-to; but as he drew near them, they made Sail, and left the diſabled ſixty Gun Ship. The Admiral then ſent the *Eſſex*, Capt. *Norris*, a-head, to burn this *Spaniſh* Ship, (not being able to ſpare any of his Squadron to carry her to *Minorca*) which Capt. *Norris* did, and ſhe blew up about half an Hour after nine at Night.

There was great Reaſon to believe, that if there had been any Wind, the *French* would have left the *Spaniſh* crippled Ships, as moſt of them had ſuffered greatly.

In the Afternoon, Captain *Watkins* of the *Burford* joined the Fleet; he had been in *Hieres* Bay the Day before, and hearing the Reports of Guns, and ſeeing the Smoak, he made directly for it.

At Night the Admiral brought to, that the ſternmoſt Ships might get up with him. He ſaw the Enemy again the next Morning, but at a great Diſtance.

After the Admiral had loſt Sight of the Enemy's Fleet, and found all his Endeavours to rejoin them, or to procure Intelligence of them ineffectual, (they being gone, as he ſuppoſed, down the *Streights*) he laboured for ſeveral Days, againſt contrary Winds and Storms, to get back again to the Bay of *Hieres*, which however he found impracticable, and was obliged to put into *Port-Mahon*, where he came to an Anchor and propoſed to get again out to Sea the firſt Moment that the neceſſary Reparations could be made of the Damages ſuſtained by ſeveral of his Ships, as well as in the Engagement with the *French* and *Spaniſh* Fleets, as in the conſtant Storms and foul Weather he had afterwards met with.

The *Marlborough* loſt in the Action forty three Men, her Captain and Maſter included, had ninety wounded, who were ſent to the Hoſpital at *Minorca*, and thirty ſlightly wounded, who remained on board.

Few Tranſactions in our Country's Hiſtory cauſed ſo much Clamour. Admiral *Matthews* ſuſpended Mr. *Leſtock* from all Authority in his Majeſty's Fleet, till he knew the royal Pleaſure; and ſent him home in the Ship *Saliſbury*.

The Fleet under Admiral *Matthews*, at the Time of the Action, was as follows:

A LIST *of his Majeſty's Fleet, as commanded by Admiral* Matthews, *in the Engagement in the* Mediterranean.

N. B. *Thoſe marked* † *fought with the* French, * *with the* Spaniards, *and thoſe not marked did not fight.*

Admiral ROWLEY's Diviſion, who led the Van.

Ships.	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*
Sterling-Caſtle	Cowper	70
Warwick	Weſt	60
Naſſau	Lloyd	70
Cambridge	Drummond	80
Barfleur	Rowley De Langle	† 90
Princeſs Caroline	Oſborne	† 80
Berwick	Hawke	* 70
Chicheſter	Dilkie	80
Kingſton	Lovet	* 60

FRIGATES.

Oxford	Pawlet	50
Feverſham	Hodſell	40
Winchelſea	Vanbrug	20

Admiral MATTHEWS's Diviſion.

Burford	Watkins, *joined next Day*,	70
Dragon	Watſon	* 60
Bedford	Townſend	* 70
Princeſſa	Pitt	* 74
Norfolk	Forbes	* 80
Namur	Matthews Ruſſel	* 90
Marlboro'	Cornwal	* 90
Dorſetſhire	Burriſh	* 80
Eſſex	Norris	* 70
Rupert	Ambroſe	* 60
Royal Oak	Williams	* 70

FRIGATES.

Guernſey	Corniſh	50
Chatham	Hughes	50
Saliſbury	Oſborne	50
Durſley Galley	March	20

Ann Galley Fireſhip.

Admiral LESTOCK's Diviſion.

Dunkirk	Pervis	60
Somerſet	Slaughter	* 80
Torbay	Gaſcoigne	70
Neptune	Leſtock Stepney	90
Ruſſel	Long	80
Buckingham	Towrey	70
Boyne	Frogmore	80
Elizabeth	Lingen	70
Revenge	Berkeley	70

FRIGATES.

Nonſuch	Strange	50
Romney	Godſale	50
Diamond	Crookſhanks	40

Mercury Fireſhip.

On the Second of *September* he reſigned the Command off *Genoa*, to Admiral *Rowley*, and on the Nineteenth of the ſame Month arrived in *London*.

The Preparations in *England* ſhewed the Enemy the Folly of their Deſign, and all became quiet: The Troops were ſent again to *Flanders*; the King thanked his Subjects for their Zeal, and the honeſt *Swiſs* were reviewed and diſcharged from their military Oath.

In the Night, between the Fourth and Fifth of *October* this Year, periſhed Admiral *Balchen* in the *Victory*; a Ship of one hundred and ten Guns, with eleven hundred Men.

This Veſſel was ſeparated from the Fleet under his Command, in a Storm, and ſunk near *Alderney*.

Parts of the Wreck were found by the People of *Alderney*, who alſo gave Account that they heard the Diſcharges of near a hundred Guns in the Night; Signals of Diſtreſs.

Commodore *Barnet* this Year commanded a Squadron of four Men of War, with about twelve hundred Men for the *Eaſt-Indies*; he were very ſucceſsful.

The *French* was then ſo negligent of their Commerce there, that three of their Ships ſailed for *Europe* without Convoy.

The Commodore, and Lord *Northeſk*, who commanded the *Preſton*, fell in with theſe, and after an Engagement of three Hours, took them.

The Captures in general on both Sides were very conſiderable.

The *Engliſh* took in the *European* and *American* Seas, to the Number of a hundred and ninety four *Spaniſh* Ships this Year; and the *Spaniards* of ours, one hundred and twenty two.

The Commerce of the two Kingdoms was greatly hurt; and as it always happens in theſe Caſes, much more Damage done to both, than Good to either.

CHAP. CLIII.

Naval Tranſactions of the Year 1745.

THE Year on which we now are to enter, ſtands diſtinguiſhed by a very great and honourable Atchievement, the taking of *Cape Breton*; the Duke of *Bedford* then preſiding at the Board of Admiralty; than whom, tho' not particularly bred to naval Studies, it would be hard to ſay who has at any Time conducted that great Charge better.

The Reſolution of attacking this Place, was early taken in *England*, and we had the good Fortune to lay the Plan in Secret.

Six Thouſand Forces were raiſed in the *North American* Colonies, and acted under the Command of Colonel *Pepperel*.

On the Twenty fifth of *April*, Commodore *Warren* arrived before the Place, quite unexpected of the *French*; in his Way he took a ſixty four Gun Ship of the *French*, the *Vigilant*, and ſome ſmaller Veſſels.

Monſieur *Guerin* eſcaped in a ſmall Veſſel under his Command, and aſtoniſhed the Government at *Paris*, with an Account of the Preparations he ſaw the *Engliſh* making againſt *Louiſburg*.

The *American* Forces, who demand the Honour of this great Succeſs, were like the old *Roman* Soldiery; Men, who left their Occupations, to fight their own Cauſe, and their Country's; and like the *Romans*, they were irreſiſtable.

On the Thirtieth of *April* they landed: a Detachment of the *French* attempted to prevent them, but they were driven back with Diſhonour and Loſs.

The victorious Troops marched directly up to the Ramparts of *Louiſbourg*; while Commodore *Warren* poſted himſelf off the Harbour to prevent all Supplies from the Sea, the Forces attacked the grand Battery; and adding to the Terror of the Enemy, by the Confuſion of firing the adjacent Store-houſes, put themſelves in Poſſeſſion of it with little Loſs, and immediately turn'd its Guns upon the Town.

In the mean Time, a large Detachment took Poſſeſſion of a Hill, which commanded the Place, and erecting a Battery there, fired inceſſantly upon the Town, at once annoying the Enemy, and covering their own Approaches.

This enabled them to open a Battery of eight and twenty Guns, within a hundred and eighty Yards of the Walls.

From this Time the Siege was puſhed with all poſſible Spirit; and all the Aſſiſtance intended for the beſieged, one ſmall Veſſel excepted, fell into the Hands of Mr. *Warren*, who during theſe Operations was conſiderably reinforced from *England*.

One large Battery the *French* kept well ſupplied, and this was ſo ſituated, as to command the Entrance of the Harbour, and gall thoſe on Shore.

It was reſolved to attack this with the Marines and Land Forces on board the Fleet, and if a Fog had not prevented the firſt Expedition, it would have fallen eaſily into our People's Hands.

In a ſecond, many were loſt; and the braveſt made Priſoners.

On the firſt of *June*, the Beſiegers opened a new Battery on a Hill, to which the *French* had ſuppoſed it impoſſible they could get up any Cannon, without expoſing themſelves to certain Deſtruction in the Attempt; but one Night performed the Work, and they ſaw their famous Battery, and the Entrance of the Harbour both commanded by our Cannon.

The Beſiegers at the ſame Time learned, that the *French* Fleet deſtined for the Relief of the Place, was blocked up in the Harbour of *Breſt* by an *Engliſh* Squadron, and they prepared for a general Aſſault.

The *French* ſaved them the Trouble, they hung out a Flag of Truce on the Fifteenth of *June*, and ſent the Governor's Offer to give up the Place.

The Terms were ſettled, and thus a Siege of forty nine Days gave the City of *Louiſbourg*, and the Iſland of *Cape Breton* to the *Engliſh* Government. The Terms were theſe *.

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CHAP. CLIV.

The Deſtruction of the Martinico *Fleet by Admiral* Townſhend.

IN the *American* Seas the *French* were for ſome time triumphant. Our Admiral *Dacres* had not an equal Force, but Admiral *Townſhend* being ſent to reinforce him with another Squadron, the Face of Things was altered.

The Forces being off the Iſland of *Martinico* the third of *October*, had been join'd by the *Woolwich* and *Pembroke*, with two *Martinico* Ships, one of them a Letter of Marque Ship of ſixteen Guns, the Captain whereof taking the *Pembroke*, for a ſmaller Ship than ſhe was, fired ſeveral Broadſides at her, and the *Pembroke* in return fired into her, and killed the Captain with ten of his Men, and ſhot away his Mizen maſt by the Board, on which they ſtruck.

The whole Number of Men taken Priſoners on board the two Prizes, was ninety-five.

In the Morning of the twenty-ſecond of *October*, the Vice-Admiral being cloſe under the North-end of the Iſland, ſaw ſome Ships, to which he gave chace, and diſcovered two of them to be *French* Privateer Sloops, and a third a Prize which they had taken, laden with Proviſion from *Dublin*.

The Vice-Admiral retook this laſt, and ſunk one of the others.

On the thirty-firſt, about ſeven in the Morning, he diſcovered forty Sail of *French* Ships coming round the South-end of *Martinico*, cloſe under the Shore, which he ſtemm'd with, and ſoon drew near enough to make them. Five or ſix appeared to be pretty large Ships, whereupon the Admiral formed the Line of Battle. But finding their Commodore endeavour to avoid him, he hawled down the Signal for the Line, ordered a general Chace, and purſued the Enemy with all the Expedition poſſible. This ſucceeded ſo well, that ſeveral of the *French* Ships were driven to Leeward, and taken up by thoſe of his Majeſty's Squadron.

Vice-Admiral *Townſhend* continued to purſue the Men of War, and one of them, called the *Ruby*, carrying away her Top-maſt, the *Lenox* got near enough to exchange ſome Broadſides, and forced her on Shore, into a ſandy Bay, under a Fortification on the South-ſide.

The Commodore, which was called the *Magnanime*, of eighty Guns, with great Difficulty got under the Protection of Fort *Royal*, and a Battery of forty Guns on the oppoſite Shore; but being in a great Hurry and Confuſion, ſhe there ran a-ground, where ſhe lay about forty-eight Hours, and in the Opinion of every Body muſt have received conſiderable Damage.

The reſt of the Day was ſpent in cutting their Trade out, and burning and deſtroying them. Fifteen were taken that Afternoon, and three burnt, and ſome bulg'd upon the Rocks. The next Morning the Vice-Admiral ordered the *Dreadnought* and *Ipſwich* in, to attempt the ſixty Gun Ship which lay aſhore. They fir'd ſome Broadſides at her, but finding the Shot did no Execution, quitted the Enterprize as impracticable.

The next Day ſome of the Trade having ſheltered themſelves under the Shore, the Vice-Ad-

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* I. That if your own Veſſels ſhall be found inſufficient for the Tranſportation of your Perſons and Effects to *France*, we will provide ſuch a farther Number of Veſſels as may be ſufficient for that Purpoſe. Alſo any Proviſions neceſſary for the Voyage, you cannot furniſh yourſelves with.

II. That all the Commiſſion Officers belonging to the Garriſon, and the Inhabitants of the Town may remain in their Houſes with their Families, and enjoy the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and no Perſon ſhall be ſuffered to miſuſe or moleſt any of them till ſuch Time as they can conveniently be tranſported to *France*.

III. That the Non-commiſſion Officers and Soldiers ſhall immediately, upon the Surrender of the Town and Fortreſs, be put on board ſome of his *Britannic* Majeſty's Ships, till they can alſo be tranſported to *France*.

IV. That all the Sick and Wounded ſhall be taken tender Care of, in the ſame Manner with our own.

V. That the Commander in chief now in Garriſon ſhall have Liberty to ſend off two covered Waggons, to be inſpected only by one Officer of ours, that no warlike Stores may be contained therein.

VI. That if there are any Perſons in the Town or Garriſon which you deſire ſhall not be ſeen by us, they ſhall be permitted to go off maſk'd.

The above we do conſent to, and promiſe on your Compliance with the following Conditions, *viz.*

I. That the Surrender and due Performance of every Part of the aforeſaid Premiſſes be made and compleated as ſoon as poſſible.

II. That as a Security for the punctual Performance of the ſame, the Iſland Battery, or one of the Batteries of the Town, ſhall be delivered, with all the Artillery and warlike Stores thereunto belonging, into the Poſſeſſion of his *Britannic* Majeſty's Troops, before ſix of the Clock this Afternoon.

III. That his *Britannic* Majeſty's Ships of War now lying before the Port, ſhall be at Liberty to enter the Harbour of *Louiſbourg*, without any Moleſtation, as ſoon after ſix of the Clock this Afternoon, as the Commander in chief of the ſaid Ships ſhall think fit.

IV. That none of the Officers, Soldiers, nor Inhabitants in *Louiſbourg*, who are Subjects of the *French* King, ſhall take up Arms againſt his *Britannic* Majeſty, or any of his Allies, until after the Expiration of the full Term of twelve Months.

V. That all Subjects of his *Britannic* Majeſty, who are now Priſoners with you, ſhall be immediately delivered up to us.

P. Warren. *W. Pepperell.*

miral ordered the *Ipſwich*, *Argyle*, and *Severn*, to deſtroy them; and they accordingly burnt a Ship and a Snow, and brought off a Brigantine.

The Day after, being the ſecond of *November*, was employed in burning and deſtroying what other Veſſels lay along Shore; and it appeared that upon the whole above thirty Sail were taken, ſunk, burnt, and deſtroyed: and as the Enemy had great Need of the Convoy, their Diſtreſs, upon the Diſappointment of receiving it, muſt have been inconceivable.

It appeared alſo, that the *French* had loſt a thirty-ſix Gun Ship going into *St. John's*, *Porto-Rico*, and had then but three Men of War left in thoſe Seas.

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CHAP. CLV.

The Scheme in Favour of the Pretender.

FRANCE, cruſh'd every where by the ſuperior Force of *England*, and oppreſſed by theſe repeated Captures; her Trade deſtroyed, her People beggar'd and mutinous, her Miniſtry broken, and her King ſtung at once with Diſgrace and Loſſes, now engaged the Son of the Pretender as her Dupe, in an Attempt upon the *Engliſh* Crown; meaning no more than to have bullied her Conqueror into a diſadvantageous Peace.

The Event is freſh in Memory, and needs not be repeated here; nor properly can make a Part of this Naval Hiſtory: but all conſpired to ſhew, that the People of *England* were as loyal as brave; that the Adventurer was a Tool in the Hand of a cunning Enemy; and that this Kingdom was equally a Match for the Strength, and Policy of *France*.

The Attempt gave Opportunity to no Naval Expedition. Admiral *Byng* guarded the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Scotland*; and Admiral *Vernon* awed the *French* from every farther Thought of moleſting us. He prevented their Embarkation at *Dunkirk* and *Oſtend*; and afterwards frighted them from the Thought of ſailing from *Boulogne*, or from *Calais*.

The Nation was ſoon reſtored to its Tranquillity, and knew how to deſpiſe the farther Menaces of ſuch Enemies.

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CHAP. CLVI.

The French *attack* Fort St. George.

THE Death of Commodore *Barnet* in the Beginning of the Year 1746, gave the Command of the *Britiſh* Squadron in the *Eaſt Indies* to Captain *Peyton*, who with the Dignity of Commodore, and with ſix Ships, from ſixty to twenty Guns, cruiſed between the Coaſt of *Coromandel* and the Iſle of *Ceylon*.

Monſieur *Bourdonnais*, who commanded the *French* Ships there, had formed a Deſign of attacking the *Engliſh* in their Settlements, and *Madraſs* was the intended Scene. In the mean time Commodore *Peyton* in his Cruiſe fell in with the Force of *Bourdonnais*.

On the twenty-fifth of *June* the two Squadrons diſcovered one another at Day-break, and by four in the Afternoon began what we are in theſe Times content to call an Engagement.

They fought till Night without doing much Damage; and lay looking at one another all the next Day without renewing the Conflict. The *Engliſh*, according to the Reſolution of a Council of War, went to *Trinquimal* Bay, on the Iſland of *Ceylon*, and ſpent till the Beginning of *Auguſt* in refitting the Ships.

After this, when they appeared at Sea, the *Frenchman* again inſulted them with the Offer of an Engagement; but neither Party deſired it, and nothing was done. The *Engliſh* went up the Bay of *Bengal*, and the *French* to *Pondicherry*: There Monſieur *Bourdonnais* laid his whole Plan; and having collected from many Circumſtances, that the *Engliſh* were not in a Condition, or not in a Humour to interrupt his Purpoſe, on the ſecond of *September* he appeared with his whole Squadron before Fort *St. George*.

The *Engliſh*, who underſtood that the Fleet was their proper Defence, loſt all Spirit, when they perceived the *French* came up unmoleſted.

The Numbers on board Monſieur *Bourdonnais* were four thouſand. He landed Parties from Day to Day; and when they had all joined, he beſieged the Place on the Land-ſide, while the Squadron ſhut out all Relief from Sea. The *French* bought off the *Nabob* from interfering; and the *Aſiatic* Inhabitants having left the *Engliſh*, the Garriſon abandoned the outer Town, where they nailed up their Cannon; and the *French* landed their heavy Artillery and Mortars. After four Days bombarding, the Governor ſurrendered the Place, which was plundered, and then ranſomed.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLVII.

Fort St. David'*s attempted.*

HIſtorical Truth has obliged us to record an Action in the laſt Chapter, not to the Credit of our Countrymen: the *French* whoſe Vivacity makes them naturally extravagant in Succeſs, no ſooner had made themſelves Maſters of one Place in the *Eaſt-Indies*, than they thought the Whole was in their Power; and they reſolved to fall next upon Fort St. *David's*.

Mr. *Bourdonnais* had been reinforced with three Men of War at *Pondicherry*; and he was failing on the Expedition, when a Storm ſeparated and greatly ſhattered his Veſſels.

Mr. *Hynd*, Governor of Fort St. *David's*, took this Opportunity of ſtrengthening the Place. He encreaſed the Fortifications, and received into pay a large Number of *Indian* Militia.

On the Eighth of *December*, a Thouſand *French* regular Troops, from the Garriſon of *Pondicherry*, with a great many Irregulars, approached Fort St. *David's*, with a large Train of Artillery.

Governor *Hynd* ſent out ſixteen Hundred of his *Indians*, who attacked them in the Night, and at Day-break they came to a regular Engagement.

The *French* made their Way againſt theſe; but a Sally from the Fort determined the Action; they had ſtood a long and bloody Conflict, and they could not face freſh Troops. They were driven back with Loſs; and retired to *Pondicherry*.

The *French* had this Year alſo projected great Things in the *American* World, which the Death of their Commander *Danville*, more than any other Cauſe, rendered abortive. Our People alſo undertook more than they could perform.

The Chance of War was various, and nothing of Importance was done, nor did our naval Commanders there, any more than in the Eaſt, acquire much Honour.

CHAP. CLVIII.

Naval Tranſactions of 1747.

THE Attention of *France* was bent upon diſtreſſing us in our remote Settlements, they determined again to attack Fort St. *David's*, and they in great earneſt undertook the former Deſign againſt *Nova Scotia*.

In the *Eaſt Indies*, they made a ſecond Attack in *February* this Year upon the ſame Place, with better Conduct, but with as little Succeſs.

They gathered Strength from their Repulſes, and were preparing for a third Attempt, which perhaps our People would not have been able to have oppoſed; but Commodore *Griffin*, ſent thither with a Reinforcement from *England*, appeared in happy Time before the Place, and landed a Thouſand Men.

The *French* could not proceed againſt this additional Strength: they retired with the Loſs of their Artillery and Baggage; and our Commodore turned the Tables upon them; blocked up *Pondicherry* by Sea, while the *Indians* at the Command of their *Nabob*, in our Favour did the ſame by Land.

People at home were extremely pleaſed with this Turn of Fortune: they flattered themſelves with the Notion of becoming Maſters of the only Settlement of Importance the *French* had in the *Eaſt Indies*; and the Government to favour their Expectations, and ſupport the Undertaking, ſent this Year an Admiral of equal Serenity in Action, and perſonal Courage, *Boſcawen*; with a conſiderable Reinforcement.

From this Commander whoſe Integrity was known, and whoſe univerſal Conduct had gain'd him the good Opinion of his Officers, and the Confidence and Hearts of the Seamen; every Thing was expected that Prudence could undertake, or Courage execute.

It was in *Auguſt*, that Commodore *Griffin* appeared before the Place; he found it ſtrengthened by many new Works, the Fortifications mounted with one Hundred and eighty Pieces of heavy Cannon, and the exterior Works flanked with ſix conſiderable Forts; the Magazine and Arſenal well ſtored, and the Garriſon with the armed *Indians*, amounting to near five Thouſand Men.

This was the State of *Pondicherry*.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLIX.

The Attack of Pondicherry *under Admiral* Boſcawen.

ADmiral *Boſcawen*, born to do Honour to a very noble Family, took the Command of a Squadron deſtined for this Service, toward the End of the Year 1747; and after ſome Diſtreſſes by bad Weather, arrived on the Fourteenth of *December* at the *Madeiras*: on the Twenty ſixth he ſailed again. He had with him the *Namur*, *Deptford*, *Cheſter*, *Ruby*, *Baſiliſk* Bomb-ketch, and an Hoſpital Ship; and fifteen Sail of *India* Ships.

Two of his Squadron, the *Vigilante* and *Pembroke*, which had been obliged to put into *Liſbon* to refit, arrived three Days after he had ſailed from *Madeira*, and in two more followed him.

The Eyes of all Men were upon this Expedition; and the two Ships joining him after a few Days, he arrived on the Eighteenth of *March* following, at the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Thence, he wrote home the State of his Squadron; the Ships in good Order, the Men in great Spirits, and not an Officer loſt ſince he had left *England*.

On the Eighth of *May*, the Rear Admiral ſailed from the *Cape of Good Hope*, with his Majeſty's Squadron under his Command, and ſix Ships of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, and, after a fatiguing Paſſage, occaſioned by a Series of contrary Winds, very unuſual at that Seaſon; on the *June* the Twenty third, at Day-break, they made the Iſland of *Mauritius*, having parted from three of the *Dutch* Ships in the bad Weather in their Paſſage.

Upon Sight of the Land, the Admiral conſulted with his Captains, about the moſt proper Paſſage for the Ships, in going in; and it being determined to run between *Long Iſland* and the *Gunners Quoin*, the Men of War to lead in Line of Battle, and the *India* Ships to follow them, Orders were given accordingly, and the greateſt Part of the Fleet anchored the ſame Night in a Place called *Turtle Bay*, between the River of that Name, and *Tomb River*, about two Leagues to the eaſtward of the Harbour: the reſt got in the next Day, having been fired at in their Paſſage from two faſcine Batteries of about ſix Guns each, but without receiving any Damage.

At Day-light, the Enemy began to fire from two other faſcine Batteries which they had raiſed on each Side of the Entrance of the two Rivers: they were perceived alſo to be hard at Work in the Wood fronting where the Squadron lay, in throwing up Intrenchments, and raiſing other Batteries, and ſeveral large Ships were ſeen in the Harbour.

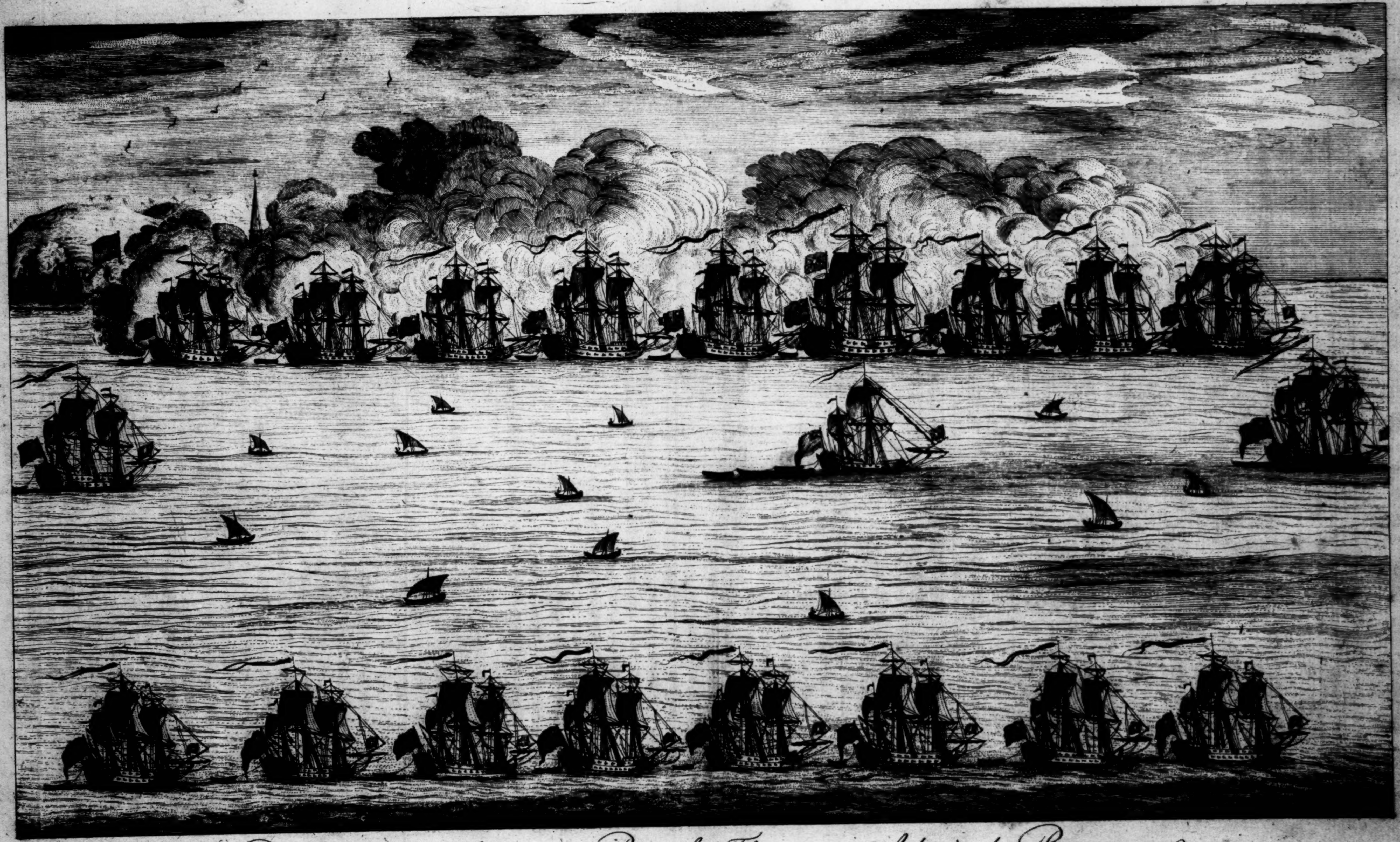
Hereupon the *Pembroke*, which was neareſt in, was ordered to fire and diſturb them at their Work, and the *Swallow* Sloop was ſent with Captain *Lloyd* of the *Eltham*, the two principal Engineers, and an Artillery Officer, to run along the Shore, and reconnoitre the Coaſt, in order to diſcover what Place would be moſt convenient for landing the Troops. Theſe on their Return, reported, that the Enemy had fired on them in their Paſſage, from eight different Batteries, as well as from the Forts at the Entrance of the Harbour; that a large Ship of two Tier of Guns lay with her Broadſide acroſs the Mouth of the Harbour; that there were thirteen other Ships in the Harbour (ſeveral of them large ones) fitted or fitting for the Sea; and that they thought it impracticable to land any where to the Eaſtward of the Harbour, on Account of the Thickneſs of the Woods, which came down cloſe to the Water-ſide. It was therefore judged neceſſary to attempt to land beyond the great River to the Weſt of the Town.

As ſoon as it was dark, the Maſters of the ſix line of Battle Ships were ordered to go in their Barges, and found all along the Shore to try the Depths of Water, and ſee particularly whether it was practicable to land at the Place now propoſed: but they, on their Return, declared there was a Reef of Rocks running all along about twenty Yards from the Shore, which made it impoſſible for Boats to land, except at the River's Mouth, right againſt where the Fleet lay, and at the Harbour; where the Channel was not above a hundred Fathoms wide, and very difficult to get in, as the Wind ſat right out. This determined the Admiral to call a Council of War, compoſed of principal Sea and Land Officers, to lay before them theſe Reports, and his Inſtructions, ſo far as they related to the Attack of *Mauritius*, and to conſult with them what was beſt to be done.

It was reſolved, as they were unacquainted with the Strength of the Enemy on the Iſland, to ſend three ten-Oar Boats, under the Command of Major *Cuming*, to endeavour to ſurpriſe, and get a Priſoner from the Shore. This was accordingly attempted, but in vain. The Council met again next Morning, and it appeared to them that the Reduction of the Iſland of *Mauritius*, was not the principal Deſign of the Expedition; and as there was ſuch a Strength of Ships in the Harbour, and the Preparations which the Enemy had made all along the Coaſt, made it certain that the Attack muſt be attended with conſiderable Loſs.

They were of Opinion, that upon theſe Conſiderations no Attempt ſhould be made at this Place, but that the Squadron ſhould proceed with the utmoſt Expedition to the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, ſo as to begin the Operations there before the Monſoons ſhifted.

It was two Days before the Fleet could leave this Iſland, ſeveral of them being ſo ſhort of Bread, Firewood and Water, as to make it neceſſary to take from one to give to another; and juſt



Pondicherry attack'd by the British Fleet under Admiral Boscawen.

juſt as they were under Sail, one of the *Dutch* Ships that had parted Company, joined them, but the other two were not heard of.

When the Fleet was under Sail, the *Dutch* Ships took their Leave, and ſtretched away towards the South, and the Admiral being deſirous, in Purſuance of the Reſolution of the Council of War, to make the ſhorteſt Cut poſſible to the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, paſſed thro' the Iſlands and Sands, to the Northward of *Mauritius*; and on *July* 29, the whole Squadron arrived ſafe at Fort *St. David*.

It being determined as Fort *St. David* to undertake the Siege of *Pondicherry*, they immediately ſet about landing the neceſſary Stores and Troops from the Ships, and formed a Camp about a Mile from the Fort, all the People continuing healthy, as they had done the whole Voyage; which the Admiral judg'd owing to the Air-Pipes, which were of infinite Service. The Marines ſerving in the Squadron of Rear Admiral *Griffin*, now at Fort *St. David*, being joined to thoſe of Mr. *Boſcawen*, a very good Battalion was formed of ſeven hundred Men.

On *Auguſt* 1, the *Exeter* was ſent to anchor off *Pondicherry*, and two Days after the *Chicheſter*, *Pembroke* and *Swallow* Sloop, to join her; and Captain *Pawlet*, of the *Exeter*, was directed to take the Soundings all about, and ſee how nigh the Ships could come to the Town, upon Occaſion, and to cut off all Communication upon that Side.

Every Thing being prepared, the Army began to march on *Auguſt* 8, with whom Mr. *Boſcawen* went himſelf, and left the Management aboard to Captain *Liſle* of the *Vigilant*, with Orders to anchor with the whole Squadron two Miles to the Southward of the Town, and remain there till farther Orders.

The Army continued their March on the ninth and tenth without any Appearance of an Enemy; but the eleventh they made a Shew of about three hundred Foot, and ſome Horſe, at an Intrenchment they had thrown up: but this they abandoned at the Approach of our People. This Poſt was ſituated by a ſmall River, and very defenſible; and about a Mile from it, on the other Side of the Water, was the Fort of *Aria Coupan*, on the Side of a River from whence it takes its Name.

Here the Admiral having learned by a Deſerter, that the Strength of *Aria Coupan* conſiſted only of an hundred Men, White and Blacks, reſolved to make an Attempt next Morning with the Grenadiers and Piquets to gain a Lodgment in the Village contiguous to it, and there raiſe a Bomb-Battery, as the Informer ſaid they greatly feared a Bombardment; their Magazine not being Bomb-Proof; and herein they would have ſucceeded, as they ſoon got Poſſeſſion of the Village, had not the Blacks, who were employed in carrying up the intrenching Tools, on a Shot coming among them, all run away.

And now, as the Enemy flanked them from two Batteries they had raiſed on the other Side of the *Aria Coupan* River, it was thought adviſeable to retire towards the Sea, to open the Communication with the Ships, to get on Shore Cannon and proper Materials for raiſing Batteries to deſtroy thoſe of the Enemy above-mentioned; and to carry on Approaches againſt the Port in Form, which they now found to be regularly defended with a Ditch, Draw-bridge, and Covered-way.

In the Attack of the Village they had one Lieutenant killed, and four Officers wounded; amongſt them was Major *Goodyer*, the commanding Officer of the Artillery, by a Cannon Ball, in his Leg: The Loſs of this Officer was the greateſt they could have ſuſtained, as he was a very able one, and would have carried on their Approaches in a quite different Manner to what the Engineers did. The Detachment lay on their Arms all Night, and the next Morning the whole Army marched to join them; and in the Afternoon One thouſand one hundred Seamen, whom the Admiral had cauſed to be diſciplined on board, and exerciſed in Platoons under the Command of Captain *Lloyd*, were landed, who mounted Guard, and did all other Duties with the regular Troops.

Having landed four twelve, and four eighteen Pounders on the ſixteenth at Night, they began to work on a Battery of four Guns, which was compleated and opened next Morning; but being placed by the Engineers quite differently from what was intended, it was of no Manner of Uſe, for there was a Cluſter of Trees between our Battery and that of the Enemy, ſo that an Angle only of the latter could be ſeen.

The next Morning a Battery built by the Artillery Officers was opened with great Succeſs, which the Enemy, with a Troop of ſixty *European* Horſe, ſupported by as many Foot, and ſome Sea-boys, made a moſt hazardous Attempt to deſtroy, but without Succeſs; for tho' our advanced guard in the Trench adjoining to the Battery at firſt gave Way, they ſoon rallied and repulſed the Enemy with great Loſs, the commanding Officer of the Horſe being takeu.

Soon after the Enemy's Battery blew up; and deſtroyed (as we were afterwards informed) upwards of an hundred Men, upon which ſome Royals were got into the Village, and they began immediately to bombard the Fort, which about two o'Clock in the Afternoon blew up likewiſe.

Our People marched directly, and took Poſſeſſion of it, and found that the Garriſon were withdrawn in great Haſte, having left their Cloaths and every Thing behind them.

On the 20th the Admiral removed his Camp to *Aria Coupan*, and from that Day to the 25th, the People were employed in repairing the Fort, which being compleated, they croſſed the River of *Aria Coupan*, and the ſame Evening got Poſſeſſion of a ſtrong Poſt in the bound Hedge of *Pondicherry*, about a Mile from the Walls; the Enemy having, to his Surpriſe, abandoned it on his advancing, tho' it was very capable of Defence by a ſmall Number of Men, and ſo ſituated as to have coſt a great many in the Attack, had it been diſputed.

This Poſt being to the North Weſt of the Town, the Admiral ordered the Ships down to the Northward of it, and on the twenty-eighth opened a Communication that Way, and began to land trenching Tools, and other Neceſſaries, in order to break

break Ground before the Place, ordering the Engineers to reconnoitre, and to lay Plans before him for carrying on the Attack: One of them producing a Plan which ſeemed feaſible, he was ordered to ſet about it immediately, and they broke Ground accordingly on the thirtieth at Night.

September 1, the Enemy made a Sally upon their Intrenchments with five hundred Whites, and ſix or eight hundred Blacks, but were repulſed by the advanced Guard of an hundred Men, with conſiderable Loſs. Monſieur *Paradis*, their chief Director of all their military Affairs, being mortally wounded, three or four other of their beſt Officers killed, and about an hundred Men killed or wounded.

The Engineers continued working every Night, but without much Progreſs, and the Batteries were compleated till *September* 25, when they began to play. They conſiſted of one of eight Guns, *viz.* ſix of twenty-four, and two eighteen Pounders; one of four Guns, two of twenty-four, and two 18 Pounders; one Bomb-battery of five large Mortars, and fifteen Royals, and another of fifteen Cohorns.

The Enemy, on their Part, were not idle, having in the mean time raiſed three Faſcine Batteries to play upon the Trenches, which annoyed our People very much, and put them to the Neceſſity of making two Batteries, one of three, the other of two Guns, to play againſt them, till the grand Batteries were finiſhed, and theſe two Batteries were likewiſe built by the Artillery Officers, who undertook it voluntarily, that the Engineers might not be diverted from the main Point.

Upon the firſt breaking Ground, the Admiral directed Captain *Liſle* to order the Bomb-ketch in, and to bombard the Citadel Night and Day, which ſhe continued to do; but in a very few Days the Enemy began to bombard her, and got her Length ſo exactly, that one Shell ſtaved her Boat a-ſtern, and another threw the Water in upon her Decks, ſo that ſhe was obliged always to leave off in the Day-time.

The Seaſon being now far advanced, and the Enemy having formed an Inundation in the Front of the Works, ſo as to render it impoſſible to carry them on any farther, the Admiral found, there was nothing left to do, but to endeavour to diſtreſs them as much as poſſible, and thereby reduce them to a Neceſſity of ſurrendering: and with this View he ordered Captain *Liſle* to extend the Men of War before the Town in Line of Battle, and warp in, and begin to cannonade the Town the Morning after the Batteries were opened, which he did.

The Enemy at firſt returned it very briſkly, but ſoon after ſlackened, and continued quiet towards the Sea, tho' they plyed the Batteries warmly on the Land Side.

In this cannonading, the Ships expended a conſiderable Quantity of Ammunition; and the Admiral finding it did not anſwer his End, he ordered Captain *Liſle* to haul off in the Night out of Gun-ſhot, and to remain in a Line as before, in order to be ready to haul in again, which he attempted to do; but the Wind having come in from the Sea in the Night, prevented his getting far enough off, and the Enemy began cannonading and bombarding them in the Morning, but without doing much Damage, except killing one Man on board the *Vigilant*, and Captain *Adams* of the *Harwich*, whoſe Thigh was carried away by a Cannon Ball, and whoſe Death was much regretted; he being a very good Officer.

Our Batteries continued firing, and beat down great Part of the Defence where the Attack was intended, but as they could not carry on the Approaches, by Reaſon of the Inundation beforementioned, nor were the Men ſufficient to begin a new Attack, or carry on the Siege, the Admiral had only to endeavour to make a Breach in the Curtain, at the Diſtance he then was. This being found impracticable, the Enemy having opened a maſked Battery of ſix Guns, in the very Curtain they then were attempting to make a Breach in, and begun to open another in the Curtain adjoining, ſo that their Fire became much ſuperior to ours, nine of our Guns being diſabled; the Admiral hereupon called a Council of War on the Thirtieth of *September*, where the State of Affairs being taken into Conſideration, and it appearing, that the Strength of the Army was reduced above 700 Men, ſince taking the Field, and was daily leſſening farther by Sickneſs, occaſioned by their Fatigue; that the Ships of War could be of no Service againſt the Enemy's Works, having cannonaded a whole Day without apparent Effect; that the Monſoons and rainy Seaſon were daily expected, which would not only oblige them to raiſe the Siege, with the Loſs of the Artillery and Stores, but in all probability render the Rivers impaſſible, deſtroy the Roads, and cut off the Retreat of the Army to Fort *St. David*, beſides the Riſk of the Ships being driven off the Coaſts: for theſe Reaſons it was unanimouſly reſolved to embark the Stores and Cannon, and raiſe the Siege.

From *October* the Firſt to the Fourth, they were employed in getting off their Things from the Shore; on the Fifth, they ſet fire to the Batteries, and reimbarked the Sailors; and the Sixth in the Morning, the Army began to march for Fort *St. David*, and having demoliſhed the Fort of *Aria Coupan* in their Way, they arrived the next Evening at Fort *St. David*.

The ſeveral little Rivers the Army had to paſs the laſt Day, were ſo ſwelled, and the Roads ſo full of Water, from the heavy Rains that fell the Night before, as to make it evident they had moved but juſt in Time, as another ſuch a Shower would have rendered them impaſſible in many Places.

The Garriſon of *Pondicherry*, by the beſt Accounts the Admiral could procure, conſiſted of one Thouſand eight Hundred or two Thouſand *Europeans*, and near three Thouſand *Blacks*; and his whole Strength, when he marched from Fort *St. David*, (excluſive of one hundred and twenty *Dutch*, lent from their Settlements, and two Thouſand *Blacks*) conſiſted of three Thouſand ſix Hundred and ninety Soldiers, one Hundred and forty eight Artillery People, and one Thouſand and ninety ſeven Seamen; out of which we loſt, during the Siege, ſeven Hundred and fifty ſeven

Soldiers, forty three Artillery Men, and two Hundred and ſixty ſive Seamen.

As to the *Blacks*, tho' they were ſo numerous, they were of no other Uſe than to lie on the Skirts of the Camp, to prevent our being ſurprized or harraſſed by the *Blacks* of the Enemy; for they would never maintain any Poſt they were put in, without the *Europeans* being ſent in to ſupport them. The Enemy loſt five Hundred *Europeans* in the Courſe of the Siege.

Thus having performed every Thing that could be conceived poſſible with his Strength, the Admiral ſailed, and in *April* 1750 arrived in *England*.

CHAP. CLX.

Admiral Hawke *attacks the* French.

WHILE theſe Things were doing in the Eaſt, our naval Force was well employed in *Europe*. Lord *Anſon* and Admiral *Warren* commanded a powerful Squadron deſtined to intercept the *French* Ships, and diſappoint their Meaſures; and they acquitted themſelves in that great Office to their own Honour, and the good of their Country.

Admiral *Hawke* had the Command of a Squadron, deſtined to intercept a large Convoy of Merchant Ships, with ſeveral Men of War, collected at the Iſle *d'Aix*.

They put to Sea on the Eighth of *October*, and on the Fourteenth, our brave Admiral fought them.

The Conduct of the Action, and its Succeſs, will be beſt read in his own Words. The following Letter brought the Account.

" *October* the Fourteenth, at ſeven in the Morn- " ing, being in Latitude 47 Deg. 49 Min. North, " and Longitude from Cape *Finiſterre* 1 Deg. 2 " Min. Weſt; the *Edinburgh* made the Signal for " ſeven Sail in the S. E. Quarter. I immediately " made the Signal for all the Fleet to chaſe.

" About eight, we ſaw a great Number of Ships, " but ſo crowded that we could not count them. " At ten, I made the Signal for the Line of Battle " a-head.

" The *Louiſa* being the headmoſt and weather- " moſt Ship, made the Signal for diſcovering ele- " ven Sail of the Enemy's Line of Battle Ships.

" Half an Hour after, Captain *Fox*, in the " *Kent* hailed us, and ſaid, they counted twelve " very large Ships. Soon after, I perceived the " Enemy's Convoy to crowd away with all the " Sail they could ſet, while their Ships of War were " endeavouring to form in a Line a-ſtern of them, " and hauled near the Wind under their Top-ſails " and Fore-ſails, and ſome with Top-gallant Sails " ſet.

" Finding we loſt Time in forming our Line, " while the Enemy was ſtanding away from us, at " eleven I made the Signal for the whole Squadron " to chaſe.

" Half an Hour after, obſerving our headmoſt " Ships to be within a proper Diſtance, I made the " Signal to engage, which was immediately o- " beyed. The *Lyon* and *Princeſs Louiſa* began the " Engagement, and were followed by the reſt of " the Squadron as they could come up, and went " from Rear to Van.

" The Enemy having the Weather-Gage of us, " and a ſmart and conſtant Fire being kept on " both Sides, the Smoak prevented my ſeeing " the Number of the Enemy, or what happened " on either Side for ſome Time.

" In paſſing on to the firſt Ship we could get " near, we received many Fires at a Diſtance, " till we got cloſe to the *Severne* of fifty Guns, " whom we ſoon ſilenced, and left to be taken up " by the Frigates a-ſtern. Then perceiving the " *Eagle* and *Edinburgh*, who had loſt her Fore- " top-Maſt, engaged, we kept our Wind as cloſe " as poſſible, in order to aſſiſt them.

" This Attempt of ours was fruſtrated by the " *Eagle*'s falling twice on board us, having had " her Wheel ſhot to Pieces, and all the Men at it " killed, and all her Braces and Bowlings gone. " This drove us to Leeward, and prevented our " attacking the *Monarque* of ſeventy four, and the " *Tonnant* of eighty Guns, within any Diſtance to " do Execution. However, we attempted both, " eſpecially the latter: While we were engaged " with her, the Breechings of our lower Deck " Guns broke, and the Guns flew fore and aft, " which obliged us to ſhoot a-head, for our upper " and quarter Deck Guns could not reach her.

" Captain *Harland* in the *Tilbury*, obſerving that " ſhe fired ſingle Guns at us, in order to diſmaſt " us, ſtood on the other Tack between her and " the *Devonſhire*, and gave her a very ſmart Fire.

" By the Time the new Breechings were all " ſeized, I was got almoſt along Side of the *Tri-* " *dent* of 64 Guns, whom I engaged as ſoon as poſ- " ſible, and ſilenced by as briſk a Fire as I could " make.

" Juſt before I attacked her, obſerving the *Kent*, " which ſeemed to have little or no Damage, at " ſome Diſtance a-ſtern of the *Tonnant*, I flung out " Captain *Fox*'s Pendant to make Sail a-head to " engage, as I ſaw it was in his Power to get " cloſe up with her, ſhe being ſomewhat diſa- " bled, having loſt her Main-top-maſt.

" I ſaw at the ſame Time ſome of our Ships " not ſo cloſely engaged as I could have wiſhed, " and not being able to diſtinguiſh who they " were, I flung out a Signal for coming to a cloſer " Engagement. Soon after, I got along Side, " within Muſket-ſhot of the *Terrible* of Seventy " four Guns, and ſeven Hundred Men. Near " Seven at Night ſhe called out for Quarters.

" Thus far I have been particular with Regard " to the Share the *Devonſhire* bore in the Action " of that Day. As to the *other* Ships, as far as fell within my Notice, their Commanders, Officers and Companies behaved with the greateſt Spirit and Reſolution; in every Reſpect like *Engliſhmen.* Only I am ſorry to acquaint their Lordſhips, that I muſt except Capt. *Fox*, whoſe Conduct on that Day I beg they would give Directions for enquiring into at a Court-Martial.

“Having obſerved that ſix of the Enemy's Ships had ſtruck; and it being very dark, and our own Ships diſperſed, I thought it beſt to bring to for that Night, and ſeeing a great Firing a long way a-ſtern of me, I was in Hopes to have ſeen more of the Enemy's Ships taken in the Morning; but inſtead of that I received the melancholy Accounts of Capt. *Saumarez*'s being killed; and that the *Tonnant* had eſcaped in the Night, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Intrepide*, who by having the Wind of our Ships, had received no Damage that I could perceive. Immediately I called a Council of War.

“As to the *French* Convoy's eſcaping, it was not poſſible for me to detach any Ships after them at firſt, or during the Action, except the Frigates; and that I thought would have been imprudent, as I obſerved ſeveral large Ships of War among them; and to confirm me in this Opinion, I have ſince learned that they had the *Content*, of 64 Guns, and many Frigates from 36 Guns downwards; however, I took a Step which ſeemed to me the moſt probable to intercept them, for as ſoon as I could man and victual the *Weazle* Sloop, I detached her with an Expreſs to Commodore *Legge*.

“As the Enemy's Ships were large, except the *Severne*, they took a great deal of Drubbing, and loſt all their Maſts, excepting two, who had their Foremaſts left; this has obliged me to lie by theſe two Days paſt, in order to put them in a Condition to be brought into Port, as well as our own, who have ſuffered greatly.

“I have ſent this Expreſs by Captain *Moore* of the *Devonſhire*, in the *Hector*, and it would be great Injuſtice to Merit, not to ſay, that he ſignalized himſelf greatly in the Action. We have taken the

		Men.	Guns.
Le Terrible *	———	686	74
Le Monarque	———	686	74
Le Neptune *	———	686	70
Le Trident *	———	630	64
Le Fougeux	———	650	64
Le Severne *	———	550	50

They were under the Command of *M. de l'Entendiere*, Chief d'Eſcadre, who got off with

Le Tonnant ——— 822 Men. 80 Guns.
L'Intrepide ——— 686 74

* Theſe were deſtined for *Martinico*, to bring home a Fleet from thence.

A LIST *of his Majeſty's Ships of the Line of Battle, under the Command of Rear Ad.* Hawke.

Ships.	*Commanders.*		*Guns.*
Devonſhire	Rear Adm. Hawke Capt. Moore	550	66
Kent	*Fox*	480	64
Edinburgh	Coates	480	70
Yarmouth	Saunders	500	64
Monmouth	Harriſon	480	70
Princeſs Louiſa	Watſon	400	60
Windſor	Hanway	400	60
Lyon	Scot	400	60
Tilbury	Harland	400	60
Nottingham	Saumarez	400	60
Defiance	Bentley	400	60
Eagle	Rodney	400	60
Glouceſter	Durell	300	50
Portland	Steevens	300	50

CHAP. CLXI.

The Taking of Port Louis *by Admiral* Knowles.

IN *America* Admiral *Knowles* gained great Honour. He ſailed accompanied by Governor *Trelawny*, from *Port Royal* Harbour in *Jamaica*, on *February* the Thirteenth, with eight Ships of War of the Line, ſtrengthened with a Detachment of two Hundred and forty Men of the Governor's Regiment in Order to attack St. *Jago de Cuba*, but the Winds continuing northerly, ſo as to prevent the Ships approaching that Coaſt, it was agreed to make an Attempt on *Port Louis*, on the South Side of *Hiſpaniola*; the Admiral thereupon made a Diſpoſition of his Ships for that Purpoſe, and began the Attack the Eighth of *March*, about one o'Clock, within almoſt Piſtol Shot of the Walls: and after a warm Cannonading for about three Hours, finding the Enemy were drove from their Guns, and ſilenced, he ſummoned the Governor to ſurrender. He ſoon ſent an Officer off with Propoſitions, which the Admiral rejected, and ſent back the Officer with a Copy of the Articles which he would allow, and gave the Governor but an Hour to determine on them, within which Time they were accepted, and are as follows. *

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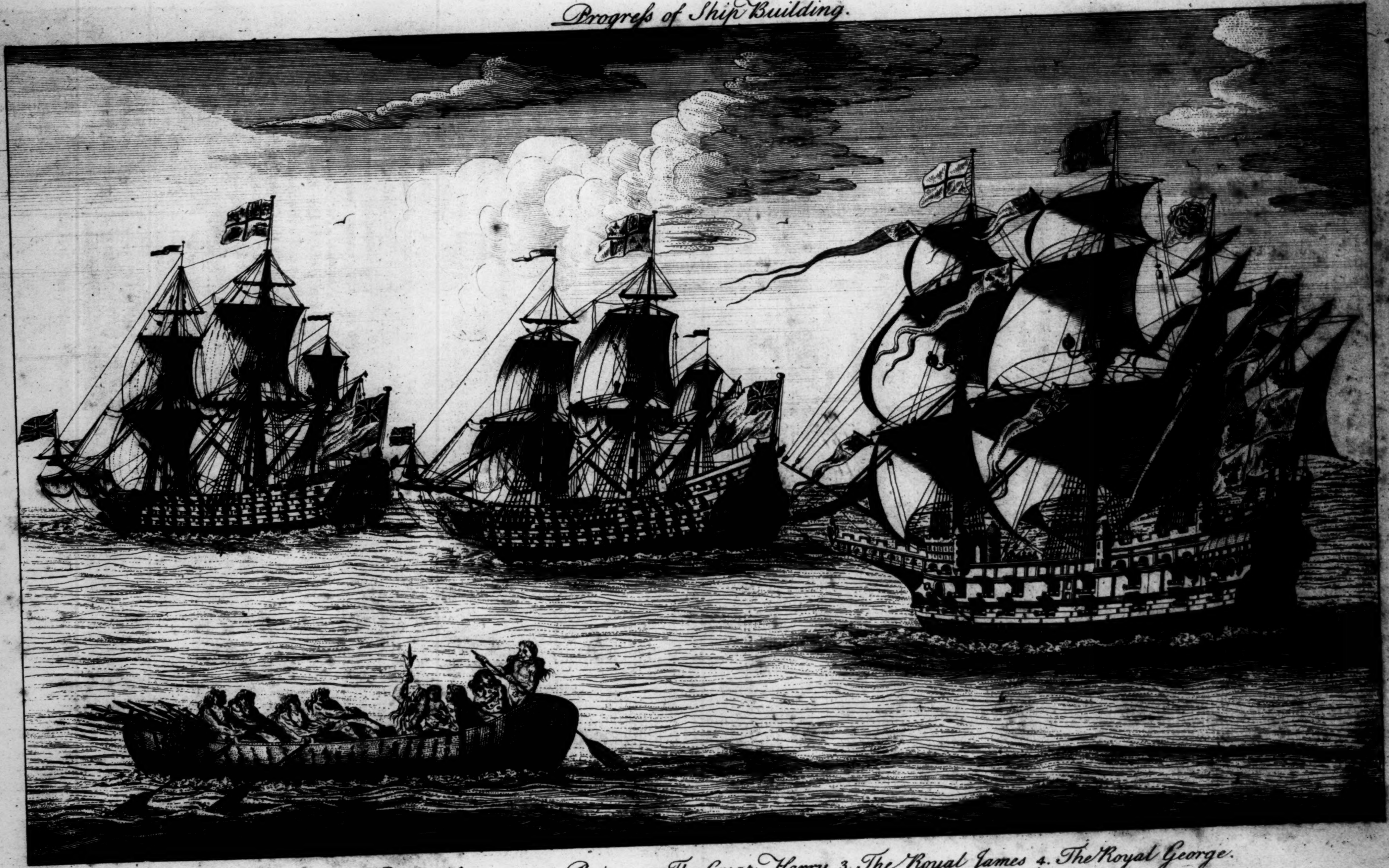
* That the Governor ſurrender inſtantly the Fort up to the Admiral, and no military Officer or Soldier in it ſerve againſt his *Britannic* Majeſty or his Allies for the Space of one Year and one Day from the Date hereof.

That on thoſe Conditions the Admiral conſents that the Garriſon march out with their Arms, Colours flying, and Drums beating, but without Cannon or Mortars, or any Ammunition whatſoever.

That all the Officers ſhall be allowed to carry ſuch Baggage as upon Honour is their own, but ſubject to be inſpected

Progreſs of Ship Building.



1. The wicker Boat of the Antient Britons. 2. The Great Harry. 3. The Royal James 4. The Royal George.

In conſequence of this Major *Scott*, of General *Fuller*'s Regiment, who had been deſired by the Admiral and Governor *Trelawney* to command the Detachment of the Governor's Regiment, and the Marines, was ſent on Shore to take Poſſeſſion of the Fort in his Majeſty's Name, and the Troops were landed directly.

There were ſeventy-eight Guns mounted in the Fort, moſtly forty-two, thirty-ſix, and twenty-eight Pounders; and five Mortars; with great Quantities of all Kinds of Ammunition and Stores, moſt of the Guns and Carriages were new; and many of the Guns weighed from ſixty-nine to eighty four hundred Weight, and every Thing in very good Order in the Fortreſs.

The Admiral found three Ships, a Snow, and three Privateer Sloops in the Harbour, which he took into his Poſſeſſion.

M. *Chateaunoye*, the General, arrived in the Town the Night before the Attack, with a Reinforcement of three Companies of Soldiers, ſo that he had the Mortification to ſee the Fort taken.

During the Attack the Enemy ſet Fire to a Ship, and endeavoured to ſend her on board the Admiral, or the *Elizabeth*; but Boats were ſent off which towed her clear, and took Poſſeſſion of two more deſigned for the ſame Purpoſe, though the Enemies Muſquetry fired very ſmartly on them all the Time. Though the Fire from the Fort was as briſk as it could poſſibly be, yet our Loſs in the whole Action was only ten Men killed, and ſixty wounded: among the Slain was Captain *Rentone* of the *Stafford*, and Captain *Cuſt* (who went a Volunteer in the Expedition) both much lamented. The Enemy acknowledged to have had one hundred and ſixty Men killed and wounded (four of whom were Captains) and they ſaid that one hundred and twenty-eight were killed.

The Admiral made what Diſpatch he could in blowing up the Fort, and then proceeded to put in Execution his firſt Deſign againſt *St. Jago*.

⁂

CHAP. CLXI.

The Admiral ſails for St. Jago de Cuba.

THE next Enterpriſe of this Commander was leſs ſucceſsful. After the Reduction of *Port Louis* Admiral *Knowles* ſailed immediately for *St. Jago de Cuba*, where Captain *Dent* of the *Plymouth*, being ſenior, demanded, as his Right that he might go in firſt; ſeconded by the *Cornwall*: on his Approach he found a Chain acroſs, with Bombs; as alſo two large Ships, and two ſmall ones filled with Combuſtibles and ready to ſet on Fire on the firſt Attempt to break the Chain.

They fired ſeveral Broadſides at the Caſtle, and the *Cornwall* had ſome Men killed. But after this Captain *Dent*, conſulting his Officers, they all agreed they muſt loſe their Ships if they attemptd to break the Chain, and therefore gave over the Enterpriſe, and return'd to *Jamaica*.

Peace followed this: The *French* were put into Poſſeſſion of *Cape Breton*; the naval Force of the Kingdom no longer needed in its full Strength was reduced; and ſome thought the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* had eſtabliſhed a laſting Friendſhip between *France* and this Kingdom; natural Enemies. The Convention between us and *Spain* followed, tho' with ſome Delay; and War ſeemed to have exhauſted all its Stores of Deſolation.

The Number of Seamen voted for 1752 was only ten thouſand, and the ſame Complement was judg'd ſufficient for the following Year and that which ſucceeded.

Thus were continued peaceful Thoughts and peaceful Meaſures to the Year 1754; but News began then to come faſt upon us of *French* Encroachments in *North America*.

The great Diſpute commenc'd, which continues to this Hour, and the Event of which human Wiſdom cannot gueſs. The *French* began the Hoſtilities: their Ambaſſador the Duke of *Mirepoix*, in the Beginning of the Year 1755, was indefatigable in his Endeavours to lull the *Britiſh* People; but Facts ſpoke too ſtrongly.

Remonſtrances came frequent. The Government prepared for Reſentment, and he left us. In the Beginning of this Year Admiral *Boſcawen* commanded a powerful Squadron, and Admiral *Holborn* another.

The *French* ſent out their Squadrons in Con-

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inſpected, if demanded; and that all the Negroes and Mulattoes that are abſolutely their Servants or Property, the Admiral will compliment them with; but all other Negroes and Mulattoes that are in the Fort ſhall be delivered up as a Right of Capture, together with the Fort, and all the Cannon, Ammunition, and Appurtenances thereunto belonging ſhall be delivered up.

Upon theſe Conditions the Admiral agrees, that this Evening the Garriſon may march out as before-mentioned; at the ſame Time the Key of the Caſtle ſhall be delivered up to the Officer whom he ſends to take Poſſeſſion, and the Troops of his *Britannic* Majeſty ſhall march in as the others march out.

That for what Lenity the Admiral is diſpoſed to ſhew the Town and Inhabitants, the Conditions ſhall be ſettled between Governor *Chateaunoye* and him to-morrow.

Dated on board his *Britannic* Majeſty's Ship, *Canterbury*, in *Port-Louis*, the 8th of *March* 1747-8.

tempt of thoſe Ships deſtin'd to intercept them; and in ſpite of all we had propos'd, they reach'd their Ports, and they return'd. Fogs were accus'd, and foul Weather. Men cannot conquer Accidents; but a great deal may be done to evade their Conſequences.

Sir *Edward Hawke* in *July* took out another Squadron; and before the End of the Year Admiral *Byng* a fourth. If we aſk what either of theſe performed, one Anſwer ſerves: Hiſtory finds nothing to record.

CHAP. CLXII.

Naval Tranſactions to the preſent Time.

THE King, in the Beginning of 1756, acquainted the Houſe of Lords with the Neceſſity of augmenting the naval, as well as Land-Force of the Kingdom: and proper Meaſures were taken.

The Navy of *England* again rode Sovereign of the Sea, and the Endeavours of our Enemies were employed not to oppoſe, but to evade its Force.

France maintain'd at this Time a reſolute and haughty Conduct toward this Kingdom. Tho' War was not declared: Our Captains had taken many of the *French* Ships which now remained in our Ports. Theſe were demanded back, with farther Satisfaction; and we were told, that if this was refuſed, the King of *France* would underſtand it as the moſt authentic Declaration of War.

Mr. *Fox* returned his Majeſty's Anſwer; and it was ſuch as became a King of *England.*

Orders were publiſhed in *France*, for *Britiſh* Subjects to leave the Kingdom, and to ſeize all *Engliſh* Veſſels in their Ports; and War was now commenced in every Thing but Form.

There ſeemed in *France*, a Purpoſe of invading the Kingdom ſoon after; but it proved a Maſk to a very different Purpoſe.

Minorca was the deſtin'd Scene of Operation, of this all *Europe* was truly ſenſible; and our Government ſent into the *Mediterranean*, a Fleet of ten Ships of the Line, under the Command of Admiral *Byng*. He ſailed on the Sixth of *April*; on the Eighteenth of *May*, War was declared in Form againſt *France*; and the Day after the *Britiſh* Fleet arrived off *Minorca*.

The *French* were by that Time upon the Iſland, a Number too large to be driven off; and under a Plan of Operations too well laid to be eaſily oppoſed.

Minorca fell into their Hands; and Admiral *Byng*, who had Command of the Naval Force, ſacrificed his Life; not in the Service, but at Home, in Conſequence of an unhappy Conduct.

He fell in with the *French* Fleet; and the Force was about equal: part of his Ships engaged, and part did not: himſelf had no great Share in the Action. His Conduct was arraigned, and his Judges, at once, by a ſtrange Sentence found him guilty, and declared him innocent. He ſuffered under a Sentence the Court ſuppoſed themſelves obliged to give by an Article of War, the Severity of which, they at the ſame Time lamented.

Theſe are the Facts; and a few Words record them: the Tranſaction is too new for Comments, but Poſterity will not fail to ſpeak its Senſe with Freedom.

FINIS.

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